

The Church in the Christian Roman Empire

by

J. R. PALANQUE, G. BARDY,
P. de LABRIOLLE, G. de PLINVAL,
and LOUIS BREHIER

Translated from the French by
ERNEST C. MESSERLE, Ph.D.

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TRANSLATOR'S PREFACE

The present work forms a sequel to *The History of the Primitive Church*, and consists of Volumes III and IV of the monumental *Histoire de l'Eglise* of Fliche-Martin. As in the case of the preceding work, the French volumes have been subdivided into two English ones. For purposes of convenience in reference, etc., it has been decided to make the pagination continuous throughout the four English volumes, and an Index will be provided at the end of the last volume.

The general principles which have been adopted in the translation are the same as those for *The History of the Primitive Church*.

I have added a few footnotes on my own responsibility, and these are indicated either by square brackets, or by the letters "Tr."

ERNEST C. MESSENGER.

PART ONE
THE CHRISTIAN EMPIRE

CHAPTER I

THE PEACE OF THE CHURCH¹

THE beginning of the fourth century witnessed one of the most important changes ever known in the history of the Church. Ignored or persecuted as it had been during the preceding period, it suddenly found itself completely free, and was soon to profit by governmental favours which would confer upon it very wide privileges. The Roman State, without all at once abandoning paganism, officially adopted the Christian Religion.

The name of the Emperor Constantine remains undoubtedly connected with this revolution. But the details of this transformation, and the personal ideas of the prince who originated it, present to the historian a number of disputed problems. We shall not attempt here to discuss or to settle all of these, but we will confine ourselves to advancing in this field, littered with daring and ill-supported hypotheses, such solutions as seem reasonable to us.

§ I. THE NEW RELIGIOUS POLICY (312-313)

The Church in 311-312

The edict of 311, by putting an end to the persecutions, restored to the Church the freedom it had enjoyed at the end of the third century.² But this act of clemency, though at that date a blessing for Christians, did not institute a really new régime in their regard, and in point of fact it applied only to the part of the Empire governed by Licinius after the death of Galerius, namely the Danubian and Baltic provinces. In the West, Constantine, who also signed the Edict, had already left his subjects in Gaul and Spain in complete peace, and the usurper Maxentius, held outside the Tetrarchy, manifested a decided tolerance towards the churches of Italy

¹ For Bibliography, see p. 392.

² On the Edict of Galerius, cf. *History of the Primitive Church*, Vol. IV, . p. 1085.

and Africa.¹ As for Maximin Daia, who in 311 added to his possession of the Eastern "diocese" the whole of Asia Minor, he was so far from signing or applying the Edict of Galerius that he in fact began then a new series of measures against the Christians of his original states and also those in his new provinces.² At the same time, this revival of persecution did not last long. In consequence of the grave political events and the civil wars, which reduced the number of the rulers of the Empire to two, the situation of the Church began to improve. In the autumn of 312, Maxentius was crushed by Constantine, who thus became the sole Emperor in the West; in the summer of 313, Licinius, the conqueror of Daia, similarly found himself the sole master of the Roman East. Between these two dates, several imperial letters, addressed to provincial rulers, completely modified the juridical situation of the Church.

Rescript of Maximin Daia (end of 312)

As soon as he entered Rome as victor on the 28th of October 312, and almost before he had been recognised by the Senate as the first Augustus (*Maximus Augustus*), Constantine wrote to Daia requesting him to stop the persecutions,³ and the latter acquiesced, at least in form. In the hope of securing an alliance with the Western Emperor against his near rival, he made a semblance of accepting the

¹ On the policy of Maxentius, cf. *History of the Primitive Church*, Vol. IV, p. 1078.

² On the policy of Maximin Daia, cf. *History of the Primitive Church*, Vol. IV, pp. 1087-1089.

³ This step is recorded by Lactantius, *De mortibus persecutorum*, xxxvii, 1, and by Eusebius, *Hist. eccles.*, IX, ix, 12. According to the latter, Licinius had a share in it: "Both, agreeing in will and thought," drew up "a completely perfect law," which they communicated to Maximin. Eusebius, however, has obviously confused this letter of Constantine ("Constantini litteris" is Lactantius's phrase), which was certainly written just after his victory (*infra*, n. 4), with the Pact of Milan in February. Must we infer that Constantine's messengers, while on their way, obtained Licinius's agreement with the letter of his colleague in the West? The text of Eusebius, perhaps, hardly merits such respect. Piganiol (*L'empereur Constantin*, p. 91, n. 1) considers and immediately dismisses the hypothesis of an act of Licinius alone; he rightly emphasises (*ibid.*, pp. 86-91) this "first measure taken by Constantine in favour of Christians."

toleration proclaimed in the rest of the Empire in the preceding year. A rescript to the Praetorian Prefect Sabinus (end of 312)¹ testifies to this change of attitude:

It is rather by gracious acts and exhortations that you will commend the cultus of the gods to those in our province. Hence, if anyone by his own choice prefers the worship of the gods who ought to be recognised, such a one should be welcomed, but if others wish to follow their own religion, let them do what is permitted them. . . . No one is to upset the inhabitants in our provinces by violence or by vexatious acts.²

There was nothing sincere in this sudden change: Maximin Daia was simply "compelled by necessity."³ His officials and subjects quite understood this: the prince had to confess very soon that "some governors were acting contrary to his orders," and that Christians "entertained some doubts as to his prescriptions, and only with much hesitation attended the ceremonies which pleased them."⁴ This uncertainty and mistrust prevented the religious pacification from being effective in the East prior to the victorious arrival of Licinius.

Legislation by Constantine (beginning of 313)

Peace already reigned in the West. When Constantine entered Italy, he found there a religious situation very much like that of Gaul which he had just left.⁵ But there was one

¹ Reproduced by Eusebius; *Hist. eccles.*, IX, ix, 14-22. The date is certainly 312, for it was the year following the entry of Maximin into Nicomedia and preceding the edict of the summer of 313. It must have been towards the end of the year, for that edict resulted from a letter written by Constantine after his victory on the 27th of October.

² *Loc. cit.*, 20-22.

³ Eusebius, *Hist. eccles.*, IX, ix, 23.

⁴ Expressions found in the edict of Daia in 313 (Eusebius, *Hist. eccles.*, IX, ix, 9). Cf. IX, ix, 24: "there was no guarantee other than against outrages, but it was not forbidden to hold meetings, or to build churches, or to practise any of those things which we are accustomed to do."

⁵ It is thus in no way necessary to suppose a law of toleration promulgated by Constantine after his Cisalpine victories and before the capture of Rome (cf. K. Bihlmeyer, *Das angebliche Toleranzedikt Konstantins von 312. Mit*

juridical problem which presented itself: the posthumous condemnation of the "tyrant" Maxentius and the subsequent abrogation of all his acts (January 313) restored the régime in existence prior to his time, namely, the persecuting legislation of Diocletian.¹ It has therefore been thought, and reasonably, that Constantine must at this time have published in his new provinces the edict of toleration of 311, which he had already promulgated amongst the Gauls, but which had not had legal force under Maxentius. Certainly an African official seems to have had in mind the text of this edict in 314.² But in our opinion, Constantine did not merely thus make uniform the juridical status of Christianity. At the same time he sent to his provincial governors formal instructions that they should restore to the churches the things confiscated from them:

We ordain that when this decree arrives, if anything which belonged to the Catholic Church of the Christians in a town or other place is still retained by citizens or others, you are to have it restored immediately to the said churches. . . .³

Beiträgen zur Mailänder Konstitution 313, in *Theologische Quartalschrift*, Vol. XCVI, 1914, pp. 65-100 and 198-224). The writers who have accepted this conjecture (Manso, Burckhardt, Keim, Zahn, etc., and recently Boissier, *La fin du paganisme*, Vol. I, p. 49; Sesan, *Kirche und Staat*, pp. 216-220) base themselves on a text of Eusebius (cf. *supra*, p. 4, n. 3) and on a passage in the "edict of Milan" which they think alludes to it. But the reference is to something else (cf. *infra*). As to the text of Eusebius, it is better not to rely on this, for it is certainly erroneous; it might perhaps be invoked for the legal act of January 313 (cf. *infra*, n. 2).

¹ On the *damnatio memoriae* and *rescissio actorum* of Maxentius, cf. E. Stein, in *Byzantinisches Zeitschrift*, Vol. XXXII, 1932, p. 117.

² We here follow the striking inferences of H. Grégoire in *Byzantion*, Vol. VII, 1932, pp. 648-9, utilising E. Caspar, *Geschichte des Papsttums*, Vol. I, p. 581. The promulgation must have been at the same time as the laws annulling the acts of Maxentius, two of which are conserved in the Theodosian Code under the dates 6th and 13th of January (O. Seeck, *Regesten*, p. 160); cf. E. Stein, *loc. cit.*, and J. R. Palanque, *A propos du prétendu Edit de Milan*, in *Byzantion*, Vol. X, 1935, pp. 607-616.

³ *Hist. eccles.*, X, v, 15-17. This is a mandatum to the African proconsul Anulinus. But these instructions cannot have been peculiar to one province, and we must suppose that there were similar ones addressed to each of the other governors of the States of Constantine. On the date and the significance of this document, cf. Baynes, *op. cit.*, pp. 68-69, and Palanque, *art. cit.*

A further step was soon taken: first in Africa¹ and then in all his dominions² he granted to the Catholic clergy the coveted exemption from *munera civilia*; in Africa likewise³ as in Rome⁴ he displayed a singular generosity in their regard. Restitutions, exemptions and subventions constituted exceptional favours for the Christian Church in the West, and went far beyond the attitude of tolerant indifference which the emperors had shown in the course of previous years.

Rescript of Licinius (June 313)

The same policy prevailed in the East at the same date. Here the change was the more noteworthy in that persecution there had continued almost without interruption for ten years, especially under Maximin Daia. Maximin disappeared in the summer of 313, after a defeat which deprived him of the whole of Asia Minor. In the spring he had rashly attacked Licinius, who had just concluded at Milan a close alliance with Constantine. Licinius, the victor of Thrace and the Bosphorus, entered Nicomedia without striking a blow, and as soon as he reached the capital of the Tetrarchy, he published on the 13th of June 313 the well-known rescript, the text of which presents the most complete expression of the new imperial policy. Here are its most important passages:

When we, Constantine Augustus and Licinius Augustus, so happily met at Milan, and considered together all that concerned the interest and security of the State, we decided that the first place among the things which seemed to us to be of use to the greatest

¹ Second letter to Anulinus, *Hist. eccles.*, X, vii, 1-2, written in the beginning of the spring (Anulinus replied on the 15th of April; cf. Baynes, *op. cit.*, p. 68).

² Laws of the 21st-31st of October 313: *Cod. Theod.*, XVI, ii, 2 and 1 (dates given by Seeck, *Regesten*, p. 161).

³ Cf. the letter to Caecilian of Carthage (*Hist. eccles.*, X, vi, 1-5), which mentions the instructions given to the *rationalis* Ursus and the *procurator* Heraclides concerning the distribution of large sums to the Catholic clergy. The date is probably close to that of the other African documents mentioned.

⁴ Cf. *infra*, pp. 25-28.

number of people was to be assigned to matters concerning the worship of the divinity, by granting to Christians and to everybody the free power to follow the religion of their choice, in order that all that is divine in the heavenly dwelling may be favourable and propitious towards us and to all who are placed under our authority. . . . In regard to Christians, we have furthermore decided concerning the places where they were accustomed to meet together, which were the subject of previous letters to your officials, containing certain instructions. Those who have bought these from our Treasury, or in any other way, must give them back to the Christians without money or claim, and without seeking for pretexts or the raising of doubts. Those who have received them as gifts must likewise restore them to the Christians with the briefest possible delay. If those who obtained them by purchase or by gift wish to receive something from our generosity, let them go to the vicar (of the diocese) in order that their requests may be met through our kindness. All must be given back to the Christian communities through you without delay. . . .¹

In presence of such formal and novel declarations, Maximin did not wish to remain behind. In the summer of 313, shortly before his death, he published a new edict, directly inspired by the Nicomedian rescript.² In this document, after recalling his desire to work for the good of his peoples, and his gestures of tolerance in the preceding year, which had been so poorly applied, he granted to each person the freedom "to accept the religion which he had decided to practise," and to Christians the right to build churches, and the restitution of the houses or lands which had been confiscated. This acceptance of the new policy, however, was without juridical consequences, for all the legislation of Maximin was abrogated by Licinius, who applied everywhere his own decree. This must have brought profound satisfaction to the Christians of the East after their prolonged

¹ Lactantius, *De mortibus persecutorum*, xlviii, 2-8. On the text of Eusebius, cf. *infra*, p. 9, n. 1.

² *Hist. eccles.*, X, vii, 11.

trials. But they had reason to mistrust such liberal proclamations, and it was probably in order to allay their anxiety that, when promulgating his law in the Eastern "diocese" after the death of Daia, Licinius added to it a preface, which mentioned the imperfect execution of the Edict of Galerius and the vexations imposed by the administrative authorities.¹

Effect of this Legislation

With this the last traces of the persecution disappeared throughout the Empire. The legislative documents which we have just analysed swept away all its effects, for from one end to the other of the Roman Empire the Christians received once more the buildings which the persecuting princes had taken from them ten years earlier. This was indeed "a very serious measure,"² for in order to give effect to this restitution individuals in good faith could be dispossessed of properties regularly acquired by them.

This has rightly been called a policy of liberation and of liquidation.³ But it was also "the beginning of a new order of things."⁴ For the first time,⁵ each Christian community, each church⁶ was officially recognised as such, with its right to organise its worship as it wished, and to possess legally the necessary places (churches, cemeteries) as well as the buildings and lands useful for its upkeep. The clergy, at least in

¹ *Hist. eccles.*, X, v, 2-3 (there follows, in 4-14, the passage already known by Lactantius). The phrase: "for a long time now . . . we have ordered Christians to keep the faith of their sect . . ." certainly refers to the edict of 311; the allusion which follows to "numerous and various conditions" leading to apostasies, would apply, according to some writers (Duchesne, *Histoire ancienne de l'Eglise*, Vol. II, p. 35, n. 4) to the laws of Maximin. But it is preferable to follow Baynes (*op. cit.*, pp. 72-74), who thinks that the reference is to restrictive instructions from Galerius himself or from Licinius. The addition of this preface has sometimes been explained differently (cf. *infra*, p. 11, n. 4).

² Piganiol, *op. cit.*, p. 96.

³ Batiffol, *La paix constantinienne et le catholicisme*, p. 247; E. Caspar, *Geschichte des Papsttums*, Vol. I, p. 106.

⁴ The phrase comes from Paul Allard (quoted by E. Chénon, *Les conséquences juridiques de l'édit de Milan*, 313, in *Nouvelle Revue historique de droit français et étranger*, Vol. XXXVIII, 1914, pp. 255-263).

⁵ With the limitation explained below, p. 11.

⁶ Not the Universal Church as such (Chénon, *loc. cit.*).

the West, found its spiritual mission recognised by the granting of privileges hitherto enjoyed only by the pagan priests. It is not exaggerating to describe Christianity now as a State religion, if we understand the phrase to mean one of the religions recognised, protected and favoured by the State, and provided we do not forget that paganism, or rather the multitude of pagan cults, did not cease to possess the same official character. The legislation of 313 established a veritable parity between paganism and Christianity.¹ Christians certainly could never, in the preceding years, have conceived the possibility of so sudden a change. After the terrible trials they had undergone, they might perhaps have expected a precarious toleration which would enable them to reconstitute their forces. But an unhopèd for turn of events obtained for them the protection of the laws and the favour of the prince. Truly this was for the Church the beginning of a new era.

Was there an "Edict of Milan" ?

At the commencement of this new religious policy, the majority of modern historians put an act of Constantine to which they give the name of the "Edict of Milan." Contemporary critics, and particularly Otto Seeck and H. Grégoire,² have shown, however, that there was no Edict promulgated at Milan in February 313: the document which has been thought to contain the substance of a decision of Milan is the rescript of Licinius published in the East

¹ This is the aspect strongly emphasised, amongst other writers, by Sesan (*Kirche und Staat, passim*). Some writers, on the other hand, such as V. Schultze (*art. cit.*, and *Geschichte des Untergangs des griechisch-römischen Heidentums*) give to the Church already in 313 the position of a State religion with exclusive privileges (*alleinherrschende Staatsreligion*). The problem will come up again more urgently when Constantine becomes the sole Emperor in 324 (*infra*, pp. 59 *et seq.*).

² O. Seeck, *Das sogenannte Edikt von Mailand*, in *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*, Vol. XII, 1891, pp. 381-386; H. Grégoire, *art. cit.*, pp. 261-264. Cf. also J. R. Knipping, *Das angebliche Mailänder Edikt vom J. 313 im Lichte der neueren Forschungen*, in *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*, Vol. XL, 1922, pp. 206-218; R. Laqueur, *Die beiden Fassungen des sog. Toleranzedikt v. Mailand*, in *ΕΠΙΤΟΜΕΙΟΝ* H. Swoboda dargebracht, Reichenberg, 1927, pp. 132-141; E. Caspar, *op. cit.*, pp. 105 and 581-582.

towards the middle of the year. Juridically, the reasoning of Otto Seeck admits of no question.¹ Nevertheless, some writers have tried to save the Edict of Milan by allowing that this may have been merely a "protocol" drawn up by the two emperors on the occasion of their meeting, and that a version of this was published by Licinius in his new States, with some slight variations.² Some defenders of this idea insist on the distinction between the *litterae Licinii*, transmitted by Lactantius, and the *litterae Constantini*, known through Eusebius of Caesarea.³ But the hypothesis, however ingenious, is, it must be said, quite an arbitrary one. It is certainly preferable to explain otherwise the divergence of the texts, as we have said above. Moreover, the distinction between an original protocol emanating from Constantine, and editorial developments due to the officials of Licinius,⁴ while not impossible, rests upon no satisfactory basis.

¹ The answer of F. Goerres (*Eine Bestreitung des Edicts v. Mailand durch O. Seeck*, in *Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Theologie*, Vol. XXXV, 1892, pp. 282-295) is very weak.

² This is in particular the point of view of A. Crivellucci, *L'editto di Milano*, in *Studi storici*, Vol. I, 1892, pp. 239-240, and *Intorno all' editto di Milano*, *ibid.*, Vol. IV, 1895, pp. 267-273; J. Wittig, *Das Toleranzreskript von Mailand 313*, in the Doelger collection (mentioned below, p. 397), pp. 40-65; P. Batiffol, *L'edit de Milan*, in *Bull. d'anc. littér. et d'archéol. chrét.*, Vol. III, 1913, pp. 241-264 (cf. *La paix constantinienne*, pp. 229-259); F. Martroye, *A propos de l'edit de Milan*, *ibid.*, Vol. IV, 1914, pp. 47-52. Cf. also Baynes, *op. cit.*, pp. 69-70, who gives a bibliography on the question.

³ We find this conjecture formulated especially by J. Maurice, *Numismatique constantinienne*, Vol. II, Paris, 1911, p. lii, and in *Bull. de la Société nationale des antiquaires de France*, 1913, pp. 349-354, and lastly in *Bull. d'anc. littér. et d'archéol. chrét.*, Vol. IV, 1914, pp. 45-47. Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 247-249, for its refutation by Mgr. Batiffol.

⁴ Hypothesis of H. Huelle, *Die Toleranzerlasse römischer Kaiser für das Christentum bis zum J. 313*, Berlin, 1895, and of C. Carassai, *La politica religiosa di Costantino il grande e la proprietà della chiesa*, in *Archivio della R. Soc. rom. di storia patria*, Vol. XXIV, 1901, pp. 95-157, adopted by E. Galli, *L'editto di Milano del 313*, in *La Scuola cattolica*, 1913, 5th ser., Vol. II, pp. 39-73, and by J. Wittig and P. Batiffol, *op. cit.* Several passages in this gloss have given rise to discussions, as for instance the phrase "*amotis omnibus condicionibus quae prius scriptis ad officium tuum datis super christianorum nomine videbantur*" (Lactantius, *De mortibus persecutorum*, xlviii, 9), concerning which there are the same divergences as for the interpretation of the Eusebian preface (cf. *supra*, p. 9, n. 1).

Internal criticism enables us fairly easily to reconstitute a central "nucleus" distinct from an explanatory gloss.¹ But can it be asserted that the gloss comes from Licinius, and the nucleus from Constantine? The very first phrase (. . . *ego Constantinus Augustus . . . ego Licinius Augustus apud Mediolanum . . .*), with its verbs in the past tense (*convenissemus . . . credidimus . . .*) would seem not to have been drawn up at Milan, and must therefore be regarded as the work of Licinius, desiring to emphasise his agreement with Constantine, whose name he puts in the first person side by side with his own. It remains true in any case, according to this text itself, that the law of Licinius reflects the decisions made at Milan on the occasion of the meeting in February; and, moreover, it must not be forgotten that the most important of the prescriptions promulgated in June at Nicomedia had been published in the West by Constantine already in January or February.² Accordingly, from the critical standpoint, one should not speak of an Edict of Milan. But there were letters from Rome and Nicomedia which brought about a veritable revolution in religious policy, and we have every right to speak of a "Constantinian Peace," for it was Constantine who, before his colleague, and in a more complete way, conferred upon the Church this lasting blessing.³

§2. THE CONVERSION OF CONSTANTINE

Historical Testimonies to the Conversion of Constantine

The two emperors who in 313 divided the Roman Empire between them thus agreed in protecting Christianity. What were the motives of so sudden a change of policy? Ecclesiastical tradition very soon explained it by the miracle of a sudden and complete conversion of Constantine to the Christian religion. Quite apart from the later legend,

¹ It is this "nucleus" that we have quoted above (cf. *supra*, pp. 7-8), after Batiffol, *La paix constantinienne*, pp. 234-238.

² Cf. *supra*, p. 6, n. 3.

³ Constantine doubtless had a forerunner in Maxentius (cf. *History of the Primitive Church*, Vol. IV, p. 1078), but he legislated practically only for Rome, and his legislation as a usurper against the Tetrarchy had every prospect of disappearing with him. But Constantine, by making it his own, assured its final success.

according to which the conqueror of Maxentius was welcomed in Rome by Pope Silvester, received baptism from him, and then conferred upon the Pope a veritable sovereignty over the Eternal City¹—a legend as unacceptable as the pagan version given by Zosimus, who likewise places in Rome the adoption of Christianity by the Emperor, but under date 326²—there are some well-known texts which narrate certain marvellous events which are said to have led Constantine to embrace the Christian Faith. According to Lactantius and Eusebius, a message from the Almighty revealed the Christian Religion to the prince during the campaign of 312, and Constantine thereupon gave plain signs of his conversion.

Lactantius mentions briefly a dream on the eve of the decisive battle of the 27th of October: "Constantine was warned during his sleep to carve upon his shields the heavenly sign from God, and then to engage in the combat. He did as he was commanded and . . . he carved the Christ upon his shields."³

Eusebius, in his sermon at the dedication of the church at Tyre, about 316, speaks of the two emperors as zealous Christians who "spat in the faces of the dead idols . . . and derided the old error which had been handed down," and who "confessed the Christ . . . proclaiming Him to be the Saviour on the standards."⁴ In his *Ecclesiastical History*, written about 325, he gives an equally enthusiastic and vague eulogy, but of Constantine alone, who, "adhering quite naturally to the religion of God,"⁵ engaged in combat with

¹ Silvester in reality succeeded Miltiades only in January 314. On the Silvestrian legend, current already in the fifth century, and which still has its defenders—e.g. Philippin de Rivière, *Constantin le grand, Son baptême et sa vie chrétienne*, Paris, 1907; cf. L. Duchesne, *Liber Pontificalis*, Vol. I, pp. cix-cxviii; F. J. Doelger, *Die Taufe Konstantins und ihre Probleme*, in the collection *Konstantin der gr. und seine Zeit*, pp. 377-447, and E. Caspar, *op. cit.*, pp. 128-130 and 584.

² Zosimus (*Hist.*, II, xxix) attributes the conversion to the influence of an Egyptian who went from Spain to Rome subsequent to the murders of Crispus and Fausta.

³ *De mortibus persecutorum*, xlviii, 5. On the sign carved on shields, cf. *infra*, p 22, n. 1.

⁴ *Hist. eccles.*, X, iv, 16.

⁵ *Hist. eccles.*, IX, ix, 10.

Maxentius only after praying to the God of Heaven and Jesus Christ,¹ and who, after his victory, bore witness to his faith by erecting in the most populous place in Rome his own statue with a cross in his hand.²

Finally, in his *Life of Constantine*, the same Eusebius describes at length, according to information given him by the prince himself, a miraculous episode which apparently took place at the beginning of the campaign of 312. One afternoon, Constantine had a vision, in presence of the whole army, of a shining cross in the sky, together with the words: "In this sign thou shalt conquer." On the next night, he received in a dream the order to copy this sign; on the morrow these apparitions were explained by Christian priests, and a standard was made in accordance with the divine command.³ In Philostorgus we have a narrative of a similar vision, seen in the night-time.⁴

Difficulties in the Narratives

These various testimonies, which are somewhat discordant, give rise to a number of problems. The statements in Eusebius's *History* are full of inexactitudes: Licinius was never a Christian,⁵ and Constantine himself had in no wise repudiated paganism, especially at the date in question.⁶ Yet this text would lead one to suppose that he had always been quite naturally a Christian. As to the Roman statue with the cross, it is to be feared that the historian of Caesarea mistook the signification of this monument, and that its Christian character rests entirely on a misunderstanding of the imperial *vexillum*, and an ambiguity in the inscription on the pedestal.⁷ And as to the account in the *De vita*

¹ *Ibid.*, ix, 2.

² *Ibid.*, ix, 10-11; *De vita Constantini*, i, 40.

³ *De vita Constantini*, i, 28-30.

⁴ Philostorgus, *Fragm.* 6: the cross appeared surrounded by a circle of light, within which a group of stars represented the inscription: "In this sign thou shalt conquer." All these texts are collected together by J. B. Aufhauser, *Konstantine Kreuzvision* (*Kleine Texte* hgg. v. H. Lietzmann, Vol. CVIII), Bonn, 1912.

⁵ On the sentiments of Licinius, cf. *infra*, ch. III.

⁶ Cf. *infra*, p. 23, nn. 2 and 3.

⁷ The unlikelihood of a patently Christian imperial statue on the Forum in 313 is indeed obvious; writers have discussed this point at length without

Constantini, there is strong ground for suspecting that it contains fantastic embellishments. Might not the vision of the Cross in full daylight be a natural meteoric phenomenon?¹ A possibly true incident may have been given a number of most unlikely developments by the imagination of the historian, or of the emperor himself.² The standard, which is minutely described, is simply the Constantinian *labarum*, found also on coins³; it is certain that it could not have been made in the course of the lightning campaign of 312, for the time and artists were lacking at that date.⁴ Further, is it possible that Constantine was unable to understand the significance of the cross without the explanations of the priests? "It is difficult to admit that he was so ignorant of Christianity until that time?"⁵ Lastly, the details given scarcely harmonise with the testimony of Lactantius.⁶

arriving at any agreement (cf. Brieger, *art. cit.*, pp. 200-203; V. Schultze, *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte Konstantins d. gr.*, I, *Die römische Bildsäule mit dem Kreuze*, in *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*, Vol. VII, 1885, pp. 343-352). H. Grégoire (*La statue de Constantin et le signe de la croix*, in *L'Antiquité classique*, Vol. I, 1932, pp. 135-143) seems to have proved that the statue had in its hand merely a *vexillum* of honour, an emblem which is known to have been cruciform, and that the inscription ran: "*in hoc singulari*" and not "*salutari signo*." But on the exact sense of this *signum*, cf. J. Gagé, *La 'virtus' de Constantin, A propos d'une inscription discutée*, in *Revue des études latines*, Vol. XI, 1934, pp. 398-405, and *infra*, p. 24, n. 3.

¹ Cf. Baynes, *op. cit.*, p. 58.

² On the joint responsibility of Constantine and Eusebius, both accustomed to such "embellishments," cf. Boissier, *La fin du paganisme*, Vol. I, p. 29.

³ On the *labarum*, cf. the critical bibliography in N. H. Baynes, *op. cit.*, pp. 50-65 and *infra*, p. 22, n. 1.

⁴ Hence Pio Franchi de Cavalieri (*Il labaro descritto da Eusebio*, in *Studi romani*, Vol. I, 1913, pp. 161-188; cf. *ibid.*, Vol. II, 1914, pp. 216-223) puts this episode some months before the Italian campaign, during a march on the Rhine frontier. This hypothesis is still more unlikely, as Batiffol has shown, in *Bulletin d'ancienne littérature et d'archéologie chrétienne*, Vol. III, 1913, pp. 301-305.

⁵ Duchesne, *Histoire ancienne de l'Eglise*, Vol. II, p. 59.

⁶ In particular, for the place and date of the dream, Lactantius gives the eve of the battle of the Milvian Bridge; Eusebius puts it in the weeks preceding the campaign and therefore in Gaul. Some writers have even tried to ascertain the place of the vision, in spite of the absence of any indication on the subject (cf. Baynes, *op. cit.*, pp. 64-65). There are divergences also on the form of the monogram (*infra*, p. 22). Moreover, the

Denials of the Conversion: Constantine as a Mere Politician

These textual difficulties certainly render the problem of Constantine's conversion a singularly difficult one. Some historians have solved it in a categorical manner by denying the reality or sincerity of the conversion. Among these, a first group is constituted by those who think that Constantine, personally without religion, utilised religion in the interests of his policy. From Gibbon in the 18th century down to our time, this system has found powerful defenders,¹ who complain that the strong personality of the prince has been misrepresented by the least intelligent and the least honest of the writers of panegyrics,² or else they explain the whole Constantinian history by the "will to power" in their hero.³ This radical idea is open to very serious objections. If Constantine studied only his own interests, apart from any personal conviction, what advantage could it have been to him to displease the great majority of his subjects by joining a religion despised both by the masses and by the *élite*?⁴ Again, it is pointed out that a great and ambitious man is not necessarily a sceptic, and moreover, a freethinker would indeed be a *rara avis* in the fourth century.⁵ This makes it doubly unlikely that Constantine was a mere politician.

Yet that is the thesis which H. Grégoire has recently supported by new arguments. To those who are impressed by the testimonies of contemporary Christian writers, he *caeleste (signum dei)* of Lactantius signifies "sublime" (cf. Batiffol, in *Bulletin de la Société nationale des antiquaires de France*, 1913, pp. 211-216; Baynes, *op. cit.*, p. 63). Hence we cannot regard this as an allusion to the "heavenly" vision reported by Eusebius.

¹ Among them being Manso, Burckhardt, Brieger (with some very sound reservations), Goerres, Schwartz, Andreotti, and also Duruy, Beugnot, Geffcken, Harnack, Costa, and Caspar.

² Burckhardt.

³ Schwartz.

⁴ The argument is set forth powerfully by Boissier, *La fin du paganisme*, Vol. I, pp. 34-35, and by Seeck, *Geschichte des Untergangs der antiken Welt*, Vol. I, pp. 58-61, and is adopted by Sesan, *op. cit.*, pp. 125-126 and Lot, *La fin du monde antique et le début du moyen âge*, pp. 34-35. On the small number of Christians in the East at this time (they were only a tenth of the population), see *History of the Primitive Church*, Vol. IV, p. 1091.

⁵ The expression comes from Duchesne, *op. cit.*, p. 60, n. 2. Cf. also Boissier, *op. cit.*, pp. 24-25; Seeck, *op. cit.*, p. 469; Lot, *op. cit.*, pp. 33-34.

replies that the account of Lactantius must be a transposition of a pagan vision alluded to in a Panegyric of 310,¹ and that the account in the *De vita Constantini* is merely an interpolation belonging to the second half of the fourth century and without any historical value.² As for Constantine's interests in this matter, he thinks he can account for these by formulating an ingenious historical law, which applies to all the emperors of that time: "What determined their actions was not so much a desire to respect the faith of their immediate subjects as a wish to draw to themselves the mass of the soldiers and civilians in the parts of the Empire over which they hoped to extend their sway."³ In particular, Constantine, he suggests, made advances to the Christians in 312 in order to conciliate those living in the states of Maxentius, just as in 324 he took a similar step in regard to the subjects of Licinius.

However ingenious and powerful this explanation may be, we regard it as nothing more than a brilliant paradox, founded on questionable postulates. Certainly the history of the Church would not be radically disturbed if one were to accept it, and it may well be that "this somewhat revolutionary conception of the history of the triumph of Christianity" would in no wise lessen "its pathetic majesty."⁴ Even so, it seems difficult to accept this refinement of criticism concerning Lactantius and Eusebius⁵ and this much too systematic "historical law," which simply manifests the bias already pointed out: it is hardly likely that mere political opportunism suffices to explain the religious attitude of all the emperors!

¹ *Paneg.*, vii, 21. C. Jullian (*Histoire de la Gaule*, Vol. VII, p. 107, n. 2) places this "vision" in the temple of Apollo at Grand among the Leucæe.

² This account, it is suggested, was invented to accompany a similar vision of Constantius in 351, mentioned in a letter—possibly apocryphal—of Cyril of Jerusalem. ³ H. Grégoire, *art. cit.*, p. 264. ⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 269.

⁵ The comparison between the texts of the Panegyrist and Lactantius is not at all convincing, for the similarity is not very pronounced. J. Bidez (*L'Antiquité classique*, Vol. I, 1932, p. 6) sees in the text of the Panegyrist only "a rhetorical prosopopœa," and rejects any communication from Constantine. As to the alleged unauthentic character of this passage of the *De vita Constantini*, this is only a weak conjecture (cf. also J. Zeiller, in *Le Correspondant*, New series, Vol. CCXCVII, 1933, pp. 87-88).

Constantine as a "Syncretist"

Accordingly another group of historians,¹ without refusing to believe in Constantine's sincerity, regard him as a religious man, but one who was only half a Christian. Accepting, as his father did, the Syncretistic Theism of his time, he sought, according to this view, to graft Christianity on to the vague paganism he professed, and his ignorance and superstition, no less than a desire to please all the world, led him to adopt an equivocal attitude, which lasted until 324, if not until his death. This thesis has a certain historical probability; it is based in particular on undeniable facts, such as the pagan character of the official texts (formulae of the Panegyrics, coins and inscriptions) and the retaining of the pagan pontificate among the imperial offices. But it makes the mistake of entirely neglecting the Christian testimonies. This is done, for instance, by A. Piganiol, who, adopting the critical attitude of H. Grégoire, rejects the account in Lactantius as a mere "Christian adaptation" of the "authentic" pagan vision in 310, and represents Constantine as a superstitious man hesitating between the divergent interpretations of the magical signs he had adopted, and a follower at once of solar myths, Gnosticism, and the Christian Faith—in brief, down to his death "a muddled man who was groping his way." But in our opinion, this is to extend too far the undoubted hesitations in Constantine's mind, and above all, it misrepresents the mental outlook of the great emperor who was a sincere Syncretist at first, a cautious politician throughout his life, but also a convinced Christian after 312.

Character of Constantine

His Christianity certainly needs to be defined, and his conversion calls for explanation and for distinctions. Between the uncritical panegyrists² and the historians who,

¹ During the past hundred years, this tendency has been represented by Riffel, Keim, Zahn, Flasch, Salvatorelli, and Piganiol.

² Among the moderns, we can link up with this group some particularly well-informed scholars like Sesan and Maurice. See also F. Savio, *L'apparizione della croce e la conversione di Costantino magno*, Rome, 1913; H. Schroers, *Die Bekehrung Konstantins d. gr. in der Ueberlieferung*, in *Zeitschrift für katholische Theologie*, Vol. XL, 1916, pp. 238-257.

though not rejecting his conversion, paint a picture of him full of scorn and contempt,¹ there is room for an analysis which will endeavour to remain within the bounds of likelihood and at the same time will respect the requirements of criticism.²

The character of Constantine³ was above all that of a strong and bold man: to the Army he was a trainer of men, and a bold strategist; in the Court he liked display and magnificence; he acted as a man of culture with a lofty mind, and always took delight in action and creation. He desired to astonish men and to win the hearts of his subjects, and also to retain the attention of posterity. In order to satisfy his ambition, or merely his vanity, he spared neither reforms nor expenses, without thinking of the consequences or reactions, for usually his decisions were made on the spur of the moment. He was impulsive, open to influence, but also profoundly conscious of his mission. His will to dominate was upheld and increased by the consciousness of his duty and his confidence in his destiny: he trusted in his star, for he felt that he was directed by divine forces. He was a great politician, and in no wise a cold calculator confined within systems or intrigues; he was one of those minds, powerful though confused and superstitious, in which a sincere mysticism is combined with a boundless ambition. He did not separate his own interests from the service of the State or from that of his God, for he regarded himself as the visible representative of both. Hence we can understand that, in his religious evolution, political motives, which were more or less present to his mind, were combined with convictions which were certainly sincere. The object of his worship changed indeed, but not his temperament.

¹ E.g. Seeck, *Die Bekehrung Constantins d. gr.* in *Deutsche Rundschau*, Vol. LXVII, 1891, pp. 73-84; *Geschichte*, Vol. I, pp. 42-75, and Lot, *op. cit.*, pp. 31-44.

² These various points of view seem at least partly reconciled in Schultze, Boissier, Funk, Koch, Batiffol, Mueller, and Baynes, who think that from 312 Constantine was really and sincerely animated by Christian sentiments (cf. lastly E. Stein, in *Catholic Historical Review*, Vol. XXI, 1935, pp. 129-131).

³ For a more complete portrait, cf. J. R. Palanque, *Constantin*, in *Hommes d'Etat*, Vol. I, pp. 363-369.

The Stages in his Conversion

It was by successive stages that he reached Christianity, and not through the illumination of a single day. We find in him precisely the three degrees of conversion mentioned by Lactantius in one of his works: "The first (degree) judges the false religions and rejects impious cults; the second discovers that there is only one supreme God; the third reveals the minister whom this God sent on earth in order to announce Him."¹

Solar Syncretism

The first stage² was merely a purified form of paganism which, it would seem, Constantine inherited from his father Constantius. For the latter, who, in the words of an ecclesiastical historian, "turned away from the Hellenic cults,"³ professed the Solar Syncretism made fashionable by the philosophers and pagan mystics of the third century, and in particular, he worshipped under the name of Apollo the heavenly divinity who was as popular in his own native Illyria as in the Gaul he ruled. We may reasonably ascribe the same beliefs to Constantius's son. When he acceded to the imperial office in 306, reasons of State compelled him to honour the gods of the Tetrarchy, Jupiter and Hercules, and particularly the former, the patron of Maximian, whose daughter he married.⁴ But in 310 when, having broken with his father-in-law, he substituted for the "Heracleian" dynasty a new lawful succession, and this official dynasty of the "second Flavians," supposed to have sprung from Claudius the Goth, had as its official dynasty the *Sol invictus*. In this connection, some have spoken of a "first conversion"

¹ Lactantius, *De ira Dei*, ii, 1-2.

² The analysis of Constantine's religious thought prior to 312 has been well made by R. Pichon, *La politique de Constantin d'après les Panegyrici latini*, in *Comptes rendus de l'Acad. des Inscr.*, 1906, pp. 289-297; J. Maurice, *Les discours des Panegyrici latini et l'évolution religieuse sous le règne de Constantin*, *ibid.*, 1909, pp. 165-179, and *Numismatique constantinienne*, Vol. II, pp. xi-xlvi; P. Batiffol, *La paix constantinienne*, pp. 216-228.

³ Socrates, *Hist. eccles.*, I, ii. On Constantius's religion, cf. Sesan, *op. cit.*, pp. 70-74; Piganiol, *op. cit.*, p. 35.

⁴ In 307: cf. *Paneg.*, vi.

of Constantine¹; it would perhaps be more correct to see here a return to his family and personal beliefs, no longer affected by respect for the Tetrarchy.

Philosophical Monotheism

The second stage, that of Monotheism, was, moreover, reached already in 311: the official phraseology of the *Panegyrics*, setting aside all mythology, renders homage now only to "the Divine Spirit by which the universe is governed,"² and which has its symbolical incarnation, as it were, in the sun. If we may rely on many literary and numismatic texts,³ the prince must have remained a long time in this philosophical belief, expressed in Stoic or Neoplatonist terms but animated by a real religious spirit. This "sovereign Creator" is invoked in the *Panegyric* of 313⁴ and the prince appeals to the *divinitas*,⁵ himself being *invictus*, like the god of his empire.⁶

A Superstitious Christianity

Yet Constantine in 312 passed on to the third stage: apart from Eusebius, whose account one must definitely set aside,⁷ Lactantius, whose veracity can scarcely be doubted,⁸ bears express witness to this fact: in consequence of a dream, the emperor caused a Christian emblem to be carved on the

¹ Batiffol, *La paix constantinienne*, p. 217; Baynes, *op. cit.*, p. 8.

² *Paneg.*, viii, 10 (311).

³ Cf. J. Maurice, *Numismatique constantinienne*, Vol. II, pp. xlix *et seq.*

⁴ *Paneg.*, ix, 26: a truly monotheistic prayer, in which the author hesitates between the idea of a deity immanent in the world, and that of a transcendent God.

⁵ Cf. *infra*, p. 23, n. 2.

⁶ Cf. J. Maurice, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, pp. 219-222 (Roman coins of 317-320).

⁷ The account in Eusebius is rejected by those who deny all supernatural elements (Jeep, Seeck) and also by the historians who consider that Constantine was unworthy of a divine revelation (Keim), or who refuse to regard the cross as a warlike emblem (Zahn). Duchesne, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, pp. 56-60, and Baynes, *op. cit.*, pp. 9 and 58-60, leave the question open.

⁸ Cf. J. Maurice, *La veracité historique de Lactance*, in *Comptes rendus de l'Acad. des Inscr.*, 1908, pp. 146-159. The contrary view is upheld by H. Schroers (*Konstantins des gr. Kreuzerscheinung: Eine kritische Untersuchung*, Bonn, 1913; and *Zur Kreuzerscheinung Konstantins des gr.*, in *Zeitschrift für katholische Theologie*, Vol. XI, 1916, pp. 485-523), who himself prefers Eusebius.

shields of his soldiers.¹ Engaged as he was in a very dangerous enterprise, on the eve of a decisive battle, and lacking the support of the pagan powers, who seemed to withdraw themselves,² this was without doubt merely the superstitious action of a gambler, who wished to test a mysterious force. Had not the Christian God already proved His "virtue" by causing the most fearful persecution to collapse? Was it not desirable to consider Him and to propitiate Him? Victory followed upon this appeal, motivated by interest.³ Constantine saw definitely in Christ the envoy of the supreme God, whom he had already worshipped under the form of the sun.⁴ This belief was as yet

¹ " . . . transversa X littera summo capite circumflexo Christum in scutis notat" (Lactantius, *De mort. persec.*, xlviii, 5). The interpretation of this phrase has given rise to numerous discussions: cf. Brieger, *op. cit.*, pp. 194-200; Franchi de Cavalieri, *art. cit.*; P. Bordeaux in *Revue des études grecques*, Vol. XXVI, 1913, pp. 88-91; Maurice, *Numismatique constantinienne*, Vol. II, pp. 1-li and in *Bull. de la Soc. nat. des antiquaires de France*, 1913, pp. 262-266; Batiffol, *ibid.*, pp. 211-216, and *Bull. d'anc. littér. et d'archéol. chrét.*, Vol. III, 1913, pp. 301-305; P. Allard, *Deux récentes controverses*, II: *La date du labarum constantinien*, in *Revue des questions historiques*, Vol. XCV, 1914, pp. 89-101; M. Sulzberger, *Le symbole de la croix et le monogramme de Jésus chez les premiers chrétiens*, in *Byzantion*, Vol. II, 1925, pp. 337-448; H. Grégoire, *ibid.*, p. 408; Baynes, *op. cit.*, pp. 63-64. The classical form X to which Eusebius alludes, cannot have been the original form: to reconstitute the latter, Franchi de Cavalieri proposes † (X upside down and P combined); Maurice thinks that the I crossing the X was surmounted by a black ball, a deformation of a white one representing the O of XPICTOC, the left hand part forming the C of the same word; Batiffol thinks that the line crossing the X was surmounted by an arrow, forming with it a *tau*, the symbol of the cross. Piganiol, who thinks this emblem was adopted as a magical sign, regards as original one of the variant forms: I in a X, surmounted by a dot or dash (*op. cit.*, pp. 70 and 74).

² The auguries were contrary, according to the official orator of 313 (*Paneg.*, ix, 2).

³ The "divine" character of the victory is admitted by the pagan orators of 313 ("quisnam te deus, quae tam praesens hortata est majestas," *Paneg.*, ix, 2) and 321 ("a vision of heavenly armies," *Paneg.*, x, 14: possibly the first version of the Eusebian account). Cf. the somewhat mysterious exaltation of the imperial *virtus* in the *Panegyrics* and inscriptions (texts quoted and commented on by Gagé (*art. cit.*, *supra*, p. 14, n. 7, and Στραυὸς νικοποῦδος, *La victoire impériale dans l'empire chrétien*, in *Revue d'histoire et de philosophie religieuses*, Vol. XIII, 1933, pp. 370-400).

⁴ Cf. the text of Lactantius quoted above, p. 20.

"only a beginning of Christianity"¹; for his new devotion was not at first separated from his former belief: his "conversion," far from being a break with the past, was but the culmination and confirmation of his own ideas. Why then should he abandon the language he had hitherto used, especially as its vagueness would give satisfaction to enlightened pagans? We can understand that the official phraseology remained vaguely monotheistic,² and that the *Sol invictus* continued to be honoured,³ especially as this could be regarded as a quasi-Christian symbol, and at the very least as harmless.⁴ In an Empire still containing a majority of pagans, and with a colleague himself pagan, such equivocal conduct would be the most diplomatic attitude to adopt, if not the only possible one.

The unconscious Syncretism of a convert not fully aware of the exigencies of his faith, and the conscious desire to please the polytheistic majority and his cultivated subjects suffice to explain the "pagan survivals" which one finds in Constantine after 312. Similarly, the desire to safeguard the independence of the State and the imperial sovereignty prevented him from being baptised⁵ and from giving up the

¹ Batiffol, *La paix constantinienne*, p. 258. Cf. A. de Broglie, *Deux portraits de Constantin*, in *Le Correspondant*, new series, Vol. CXVII, 1888, pp. 589-611: "Constantine at the Milvian Bridge was not St. Paul on the road to Damascus. . . . He was merely a man who had made a request, and was happy to have had it answered" (p. 594).

² Cf. the inscription on the triumphal arch erected by the Senate in honour of Constantine ("instinctu divinitatis . . .," *Corpus inscriptionum latinarum*, VI, 1139), the Nicomedia rescript ("divinitatis reverentia . . . quicquid est divinitatis in sede caelesti"), the prayer of Licinius's soldiers ("summe deus . . .," Lactantius, *De mort. persec.*, xlii, 6). Note the absence of any polytheistic expression, and the similarity between the Licinian and Constantinian formulae (cf. *infra*, Ch. III).

³ Especially on coins (Maurice, *art. cit. supra*, p. 20, n. 2, and *Numismatique constantinienne, passim*). Cf. the law of the 3rd of July 321 (*Cod. Theod.*, II, viii, 1) making Sunday rest obligatory: "venerabili die solis."

⁴ Cf. the very wise remarks of Baynes, *op. cit.*, pp. 95 *et seq.* He rightly regards Maurice's argument as insufficient (independence and initiative of Christian financial officials). Cf. also H. P. L'Orange, *Sol invictus imperator*, in *Symbolae Osloenses*, fasc. 14, 1935, pp. 86 *et seq.*

⁵ He was baptised only on the eve of his death (cf. Doelger, *Die Taufe Konstantins*).

pagan pontificate.¹ He thus retained a footing in both camps, and down to the day of his death he remained, strictly speaking, outside the Church, and not even a catechumen, much less a member.² But all this must not lead us to reject the reality of his conversion: from 312 Constantine believed in the redeeming Christ, and he adopted His monogram for the shields of his soldiers, even before he fixed it on his helmet and his standard, and depicted it on his coins.³ Again, from 312 he was devoted to the Church, which he honoured, protected and favoured in every way possible. In this way we can explain the new religious policy which he began to apply in January 313, and which was the subject of an agreement with Licinius on the occasion of their meeting at Milan in the following month.

§3. CHURCH AND STATE IN THE WEST AFTER 313

The Christian Counsellors of Constantine

From this year, 313, official links were forged between the imperial power and the Christian Church. The prince was not as yet a believer belonging to its obedience; but the day was not far distant when he would be one. Indeed, Constantine did not hesitate to have his children brought up in the Christian religion, and when he sought a tutor for his

¹ On the significance of this attitude, cf. Sesan, *op. cit.*, pp. 249 *et seq.*; Bréhier and Batiffol, *Les survivances du culte impérial romain*, Paris, 1920, p. 56.

² Nevertheless some writers speak incorrectly of Constantine's catechumenate (Sesan, *op. cit.*, pp. 333-337; Caspar, *op. cit.*, p. 107).

³ Was it not probably this sign that Constantine had placed on his Roman statue, and which is alluded to in the inscription on the pedestal: "in hoc singulari signo quod est verae virtutis insigne" (Rufinus, *Hist. eccles.*, IX, ix, 10)? We can only put the question. On the primitive forms of the monogram, cf. *supra*, p. 22, n.1. The classical form appears on the imperial standard or *labarum* (etymology given by H. Grégoire, in *Byzantion*, Vol. IV, 1927-8, pp. 477-482). Some writers refuse to regard it as a Christian emblem (V. Gardthausen, *Das alte Monogramm*, Leipzig, 1924; G. Costa, *Critica e tradizione. Osservazioni sulla politica e sulla religione di Costantino*, in *Bilychnis*, Vol. III, 1914, pp. 85-105). Maurice puts its adoption later than 317; Baynes thinks that it may go back to 313 (*op. cit.*, p. 64).

eldest son Crispus,¹ he sent for Lactantius, the writer, from the East.² Already in 313 he had among his close advisers a bishop, Hosius of Cordova. Doubtless the Emperor of the West had also some pagan advisers³; it is none the less significant to find in his court the presence and influence of these two personages.

Hosius of Cordova

The personality of Hosius and his precise position during these first years is almost entirely unknown to us.⁴ How did Constantine come to know him? Did he have him brought from Spain? Did he meet him in Gaul, or find him in Rome when he made his victorious entry there? We do not know. But it is certain that he already then made use of his services,⁵ and probably that he took counsel of him. Hosius will follow the emperor to the East in 324, and we shall find him again at the Council of Nicaea.

Lactantius and the "De mortibus persecutorum"

The personality and work of Lactantius are better known. We have already studied⁶ the activity of this African professor, transplanted into Nicomedia, prior to 313. In spite

¹ Crispus was the son of Minervina, a concubine or first wife of Constantine; he was born about 300 (Tillemont, *Histoire des empereurs*, Vol. IV, p. 84), or in 307 (Seeck, *Geschichte des Untergangs*, Vol. I, 2nd edn., pp. 474-475), or more probably about 303 (cf. J. Maurice, *Numismatique constantinienne*, Vol. I, pp. 120-121). He was proclaimed Caesar on the 1st of March 317, with his half-brother Constantine the Younger, who had just been born.

² On this date (about 316?), cf. Monceaux, *Histoire littéraire de l'Afrique chrétienne*, Vol. III, p. 295. The arrival of Lactantius may have coincided with the appointment of Crispus as Caesar, at about 14 years of age.

³ Piganiol, *L'empereur Constantin*, p. 124 *et passim*.

⁴ Born about 256 (he died a centenarian after 357), he was Bishop of Cordova from the end of the third century, and sat at the Council of Elvira. We know little of him save his part in the Arian crisis, cf. *infra*, pp. 83 *et seq.*, 147 *et seq.*, 187, 275. On his name, cf. C. H. Turner, *Ossius of Cordova*, in *Journal of Theological Studies*, Vol. XII, 1911, pp. 275-277.

⁵ He was in 313 given the task of distributing the emperor's subventions to the African churches (cf. *infra*, p. 28, n. 3).

⁶ *History of the Primitive Church*, Vol. IV, pp. 956-959.

of the mediocrity of his character and thought, we may say that the reputation of his teaching and the abundance of his output made this convert the best known of Christian writers. When he was called to Constantine's court, he had doubtless just written the last and best known of his works, the *De mortibus persecutorum*.¹ This short work is, as we have said, an account of the persecutions suffered by the Church since the time of Nero, and particularly since Diocletian. The writer dwelt close to the imperial palace in which Diocletian, Galerius, Daia and Licinius had lived in succession, and he had witnessed all the phases of the crisis. He sets forth in his work the failures and lamentable ends of all the persecuting princes. In all his works he had affirmed the work of Providence in the world; now he shows it in contemporary history, and "the philosopher becomes a historian." "The Scriptural idea of a Providence ruling the destinies of empires, watching over its people, and striking down its enemies," was in no sense new, "but Lactantius was the first to set it forth in clear terms, and to develop it at length; he was also the first to make it the subject of a historical work."² It is doubtless a one-sided history, and savours of the pamphlet, but the correctness of its information is praised by the most competent judges,³ who see in this little book "one of the masterpieces of Christian literature. . . . As a Christian attempt at a philosophy of history, the *De mortibus* occupies an important place in literary history: it opens up the way to all those who have based a historical system on the Biblical conception, from St. Augustine down to Bossuet."⁴

Naturally, a work of this kind must have attracted Constantine's attention, and in any case he may have known

¹ The authorities do not agree as to the exact date of the work: Monceaux (*op. cit.*, pp. 305-306) suggests 314; Seeck (*Geschichte*, Vol. I, 2nd edn., pp. 458-460) puts it forward to 321; Borleffs (in *Mnemosyne*, Vol. LVII, 1929, pp. 427-436) gives shortly after 315.

² Monceaux, *op. cit.*, pp. 344-345.

³ Cf. J. Maurice, *La véracité historique de Lactance*, in *Comptes rendus de l'Académie des inscriptions*, 1908, pp. 146-159; Monceaux, *op. cit.*, pp. 340-353; P. de Labriolle, *Histoire de la littérature latine chrétienne*, pp. 288-293.

⁴ Monceaux, *op. cit.*, pp. 352-353.

the writer at Nicomedia before 306. The prince could hardly fail to be in agreement with the apologist who cast down his enemies in order to exalt the good servants of the Godhead. Hence it is not at all impossible that, as some have suggested, Lactantius dedicated to the prince a new edition of his *Institutiones Divinae*,¹ and further, that Constantine caused his son's tutor to draw up the curious *Discourse to the Saints* in which we find once more several of the ideas developed in the *De mortibus*.²

¹ Some manuscripts of this work have at the commencement (I, i, 13-16) and the end (VII, xxvii, 12-14) dedications to Constantine, *imperator maximus*, who, *primus romanorum principum*, "honoured the majesty of the true God," and whom "providentia summae divinitatis" raised to power. These dedications would belong to the beginning of 313, according to P. Batiffol, *La paix constantinienne et le catholicisme*, pp. 224-228; or to 322-323 according to A. Piganiol, *L'empereur Constantin*, pp. 135-136. Their authenticity is questioned; they are regarded as apocryphal by Brandt, in *Vienna Corpus*, Vol. XIX, pp. xxx *et seq.*, xlviii *et seq.*, and *Berliner philolog. Wochenschrift*, Vol. XXIII, 1903, p. 1225, and also by Monceaux, *op. cit.*, pp. 301-303.

² The *Oratio ad sanctos*, given by Eusebius in an Appendix to his *Vita Constantini*, raises a number of problems, which are indicated, with an excellent bibliography, by N. H. Baynes, *Constantine the Great and the Christian Church*, pp. 50-56. Constantine, into whose mouth this discourse is put, addresses the Christian populace here in a language at once florid, simple and impassioned: he proclaims the intervention of Providence in human affairs, and in particular in the punishment of the persecuting princes, whose wickedness he strongly denounces; and he also makes a profession of Christian belief, with a decidedly sketchy theology. Plato and Virgil are laid under contribution, and the utilisation of the fourth *Eclogue* in particular has caused a lively controversy. The authenticity of this discourse is greatly questioned. In his edition of *Eusebius*, Vol. I, pp. xci-cii, and in *Kritische Beiträge zu den Constantinschriften des Eusebius*, Ivar Heikel, following many others, regards it as a clumsy Byzantine forgery. But it is at least possible, if not certain, that the Greek text of *Eusebius* is a translation from the Latin, and that this work was "composed on the Emperor's instructions by one of his literary advisers" (Wendland, in *Berliner philolog. Wochenschrift*, Vol. XXII, 1902, pp. 229-232; cf. also Pfaettisch, *Die Rede Konstantins d. gr. an die Versammlung der Heiligen*, in the collection Doelger, pp. 96-121). A. Piganiol (*L'empereur Constantin*, pp. 137-138) sees in it the work of Lactantius, and thinks that the Emperor did in fact deliver "this unlikely discourse" at Thessalonica on the 7th of April 323. Kurfess (*Kaisers Konstantins Rede an die Versammlung der Heiligen*, in *Pastor Bonus*, Vol. XLI, 1930, pp. 115-124) and Fabri (*L'ecloga quarta e Costantino il Grande*, in *Historia*, Vol. IV, 1930, pp. 228-235) date it Easter 313. It

Beginnings of Christian Legislation

Inspired and advised henceforth by Churchmen, clerical or lay, Constantine began to introduce Christian ideas into the old Roman law: the spirit of equity, the respect for the human person, which seem to inspire many of his laws of 315-316, seem certainly to depend upon the moral ideas of the Gospel.¹ In any case, we must see in them the first steps in a comprehensive Christian legislation which, after a first display about 320, reached its fullest development after 324, when Constantine became sole emperor.²

Constantine's Generosity in Africa

It was doubtless ecclesiastical influence which led to the magnificent generosity of the Emperor towards liberated Christian communities. In Africa, already in the beginning of 313, he ordered considerable sums to be given to the Bishop of Carthage. Anulinus the proconsul, Patricius the vicar, Ursus the *rationalis*, and Heraclides the procurator received express instructions as to this, and Constantine wrote directly on the matter to Bishop Caecilian.³

In Rome

In Rome, buildings were handed over or constructed at the expense of the State: in 313 the Lateran Palace, a personal possession of the Empress Fausta, was given to the

is perhaps wiser to imitate the reserve of Baynes, who expresses no view on the points discussed, and adds that it is not possible to distinguish in the *Discourse* the part of Constantine, that of the Latin redactor, and that of the Greek orator who adapted it.

¹ Laws of the 2nd of June 315 (*Cod. Theod.*, II, xxx, 1) forbidding the seizure of a peasant's animals; that of the 18th of July 315 (*ibid.*, VIII, xviii, 1) protecting the inheritance of minors who had lost their mothers against spoliation by their fathers; that of the 31st of March 316 (*ibid.*, IX, xl, 2) forbidding the branding of the faces of criminals, "who have been formed in the image of heavenly beauty," and that of the 4th of December 316 (*ibid.*, IX, i, 1) protecting peasants against usurpations by rich landowners.

² Cf. *infra*, p. 62.

³ Eusebius has preserved for us this letter to Caecilian (*Hist. eccles.*, X, vi) dealing with instructions given to various African officials. The sum distributed amounted to 3,000 *folles*, but the procurator was ordered to add whatever the bishop might think necessary.

bishop, and it would remain his dwelling throughout the Middle Ages.¹ Next to the new pontifical residence, there was soon built the first church of the Lateran, copying in its architecture that of the secular basilicas.² Equally, in Constantine's time there were built the first basilica of St. Peter at the Vatican, the *Basilica sessoriana* (Holy Cross of Jerusalem) near the palace of Helena, and perhaps also the churches of St. Agnes on the Via Nomentana, St. Laurence on the Via Tiburtina, SS. Peter and Marcellus on the Via Lavicana, and St. Paul outside the Walls on the Ostian Way. Each of these places of worship was richly provided with liturgical furniture at the expense of the State. The *Liber Pontificalis* has conserved for us a list of the altars, sacred vessels, reliquaries, lamps and other gifts handed by the Emperor to the principal churches, the Lateran, St. Peter's at the Vatican, and St. Paul's outside the Walls. These three sanctuaries received in addition the gift of important revenues, amounting to a total of more than 13,000 golden *solidi*.³

When the basilicas dedicated to the Apostles were completed, their relics, which had been venerated since 258 in the Catacomb of St. Sebastian on the Appian Way, were solemnly transferred to these edifices, which had been built upon the very places which tradition assigned to their martyrdom.⁴ This ceremony, which took place perhaps at the end of Constantine's reign⁵ was, as it were, the culmination of the Roman activity of this ruler, to whom were due the first sanctuaries of the Lateran and the Vatican.

Constantine and the Papacy

These surprising favours must not allow us to overlook

¹ The Roman Council of October 313 was held in the *Domus Faustae in Laterano*. Cf. P. Lauer, *Le palais du Latran*, Paris, 1911.

² Cf. P. Lauer, *Date de la dédicace de la basilique du Latran*, in *Bull. de la Soc. nat. des Antiquaires de France*, 1924, pp. 261-265, on the weakness of the dates traditionally given, 9th of November 319, 320, 323 or 324.

³ Duchesne's edition of *Liber Pontificalis*, Vol. I, pp. 172-180; Batiffol, *op. cit.*, pp. 356-359; A. de Waal, *Constantin des gr. Kirchenbauten in Rom*, 1913; Caspar, *op. cit.*, pp. 124-127.

⁴ Cf. *History of the Primitive Church*, Vol. I, p. 237 and Vol. II, p. 311.

⁵ A. Piganiol (*L'empereur Constantin*, pp. 210-211) gives the dates 18th and 25th of January 336.

the mediocre position in which Constantine confined the successor of the Apostles. It has been said very truly that "there is an astonishing lack of proportion between his generosity towards the Roman Church and the small place he made for the Papacy in his ecclesiastical policy."¹ Pope Miltiades (2nd of July 310-11th of January 314)² was certainly called upon to express his opinion on the Donatist matter, but the Roman synod of October 313 was, in the mind of the Emperor, only a modest commission of arbitration. Miltiades, "with an intelligence and a dignity which henceforth belong to the tradition of the Roman Church,"³ cleverly endeavoured to widen the tribunal and to make it a veritable Council, but the imperial policy prevented this attempt from bearing fruit. After Miltiades, the long episcopate of Silvester (31st of January 314 to 31st of December 335) was "the emptiest of the century."⁴ By the will of the prince, and perhaps through the weakness of the pontiff, the Roman Church remained outside the great events of Christendom; his legates sat indeed in the great Councils, at Arles in 314 and later on at Nicaea, but without playing a noteworthy part, much less a decisive rôle.

The Council of Arles (August 314)

The Council of Arles, which was held in August 314 and included bishops from all the Constantinian West, is a striking example of this effacement of the Papacy, and the heavy hand of the civil power controlling a docile episcopate. At the beginning of this meeting we have, for the first time, an imperial summons. It was the prince who decided upon the Council, and it was he who invited the bishops, and put the public posts at their disposition and that of their retinues

¹ Batiffol, *La paix constantinienne*, p. 360. Same idea in Caspar, *op. cit.*, pp. 122-123; he emphasises the contrast between this period with that of Victor, Callistus, and Stephen.

² The beginning of the pontificate of Miltiades is usually put in 311; H. Leitzmann (*Petrus und Paulus in Rom*, 2nd edn., Berlin and Leipzig, 1927), puts it back to 310; cf. E. Caspar, *op. cit.*, p. 102. For all the other pontificates of this century, the dates indicated are those of L. Duchesne, *Liber Pontificalis*, Vol. I, pp. ccl and cclxi.

³ Caspar, *op. cit.*, p. 112.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 130.

(two priests and three servants for each bishop).¹ All the States of Constantine were represented at the Council, but no others; forty-six bishops or their delegates met there, under the presidency of Marinus of Arles. Sixteen bishops came from Gaul, ten from Italy, nine from Africa, six from Spain, and three from Britain. This assembly resulted in the addressing of a synodal letter to Pope Silvester, and twenty-two Canons, which have come down to us.²

The Synodal Letter to Pope Silvester

On the Donatist Schism, the Council gave a decision which, both in fact and in principle, was in conformity with the Roman decisions. Even so, it is significant that Constantine should thus have called in question the decision given in Rome, and that the bishops, "gathered together by the will of the most religious emperor,"³ should have agreed to constitute in this way a kind of court of appeal. The bishops indeed did not confine themselves to deciding the matter submitted to them; they took the opportunity of their meeting to deal with other questions. The results of their deliberations were communicated to the Bishop of Rome in an extremely deferential letter. In it the bishops express their sorrow at the Pope's absence; he was requested to send round each year to all the date of Easter,⁴ and respect was paid to the authority of his see in terms which are somewhat obscure but which in any case seem to recognise formally his primacy over all the West.⁵ All these deferential

¹ Cf. the letter to Chrestos of Syracuse in Eusebius, *Hist. eccles.*, X, v, 21-24.

² On the Council of Arles, cf. Hefelè-Leclercq, *Histoire des conciles*, Vol. I, 1st part, pp. 275 *et seq.*; Duchesne, *Histoire ancienne de l'Eglise*, Vol. II, pp. 113-115; Monceaux, *op. cit.*, Vol. IV, pp. 343-349; Batiffol, *La paix constantinienne*, pp. 285-293; C. Jullian, *Histoire de la Gaule*, Vol. VII, pp. 125 *et seq.* On its date, cf. *infra*, Ch. II. [Add to Bibliography: *The Church and the Papacy*, by T. Jalland, pp. 194-197.—Tr.]

³ "Ad Arelatensium civitatem piissimi imperatoris voluntate adducti" (Optatus, *Append.*, nos. 4-5).

⁴ Canon I.

⁵ The phrase "placuit etiam antea scribi ad te qui majores dioceseos tenes (et) per te potissimum omnibus insinuari" is not easy to interpret. Cf. J. Turmel, *Histoire du dogme de la papauté*, Paris, 1908, p. 198; P. Batiffol, *La paix constantinienne*, pp. 288-291; H. Koch, in *Zeitschrift*

actions, and even the synodal recognition of the Roman jurisdiction, must not lead us to forget that Pope Silvester himself was not present at the Council, and had no part in the decisions made: these were communicated to him, but they were not submitted for his approval.¹

The Disciplinary Canons

The decisions embodied in the canons of Arles are very important. In this great Council, the first to be held since the recent Peace of the Church, many disciplinary problems were discussed and settled. On several points the canons practically repeat the decisions of the Council of Elvira: excommunication for a time against circus drivers² and against Christians marrying pagans³; perpetual excommunication of those who falsely accuse their brethren⁴; prohibition of remarriage after repudiation⁵; priests must not lend money for interest⁶; bishops must respect sentences passed properly against the faithful of other churches⁷; hands must be laid on sick persons who are converted.⁸ But in other matters there are new regulations, which in turn will influence the Council of Nicaea: a bishop must always be consecrated by three others⁹; he must not trespass on the province of another bishop¹⁰; deacons must not regard

für Kirchengeschichte, Vol. XLIV, 1925, p. 183; Baynes, *op. cit.*, p. 78; Caspar, *op. cit.*, pp. 582-583. [Cf. also T. Jalland, *op. cit.*, p. 196.—Tr.] H. Schroers (*Drei Aktenstücke in betreff des Konzils von Arles, Textbesserungen und Erläuterungen*, in *Zeitschrift der Savigny Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte, Kanon. Abt.*, Vol. XI, 1921, pp. 429-439) thinks that the reference is to the authority of the Pope in Middle and Upper Italy. Batiffol and Caspar agree in interpreting it to mean that the Bishop of Rome has ecclesiastical authority over all the dioceses of the West. [C. H. Turner has suggested an emendation which would make the letter refer to Constantine himself as "holding the greater dioceses." Cf. T. Jalland, *op. cit.*, p. 196.—Tr.]

¹ Caspar, *op. cit.*, pp. 115-116.

² Canon 4 (= 62 of Elvira). Cf. Canon 5: excommunication of actors.

³ Canon 11 (= 15 of Elvira).

⁴ Canon 14 (= 75 of Elvira).

⁵ Canon 10 (= 9 of Elvira).

⁶ Canon 12 (= 20 of Elvira).

⁷ Canon 16 (= 53 of Elvira).

⁸ Canon 6 (= 39 of Elvira). Cf. Canon 22 on the reconciliation of apostates at the moment of death.

⁹ Canon 20 (= 4 of Nicaea).

¹⁰ Canon 17. But according to canon 19 a bishop in transit should be given permission to celebrate Mass.

themselves as equal to priests, especially in the celebration of the Eucharistic sacrifice¹; clerics of every rank must remain attached to their church, under pain of deposition.²

The most significant are canons 3 and 7. The latter, modifying the 56th canon of Elvira, declares that public officials must not be excommunicated *ipso facto*: a Christian appointed governor of a province will not be cut off from communion unless he acts against Christian discipline (doubtless this means, taking part in pagan worship), and the same applies to municipal magistrates. The former canon, on the other hand, decrees excommunication against soldiers who rebel against lawful authority: at least that is how we should apparently interpret an expression which is not very clear.³

Concessions by the Church to the State

These are two particular cases, but they are significant: the service of the State can no longer be regarded as evil; the civil militia, as well as service in the army, are recognised as lawful, and even in a certain degree as obligatory. The "conscientious objection" which some anti-militarists had advanced and practised under the pagan emperors⁴ was definitely repudiated, now that "Caesar" had become a Christian.

Christianity is from now on a State religion. In exchange for the benefits received, it has to adapt its discipline to the new situation. The Imperial Council of Arles certainly acted freely, if not spontaneously. But in other cases the royal liberator will intervene in Church affairs as a master who has to be obeyed. This will be especially evident in the Donatist schism.

¹ Canons 15 and 18.

² Canons 2 (= 25 of Nicaea) and 21.

³ "Qui in pace arma projiciunt": cf. Hefelè-Leclercq, *Histoire des conciles*, Vol. I, 1st part, p. 282; Albert Bayet, *Christianisme et pacifisme aux premiers siècles*, Paris, 1923.

⁴ Cf. *History of the Primitive Church*, Vol. IV, pp. 1028-1032.

CHAPTER II

THE DONATIST SCHISM¹

AFTER the Great Persecution, some quarrels and even schisms broke out in several Christian centres. At Carthage and Rome, as at Alexandria, a rigorist party set itself against the official Church and reproached it for its "treason" in face of the requirements of the civil authority, or again, its indulgent attitude towards apostates who repented. But the troubles in the Roman Church had come to an end before the Peace of Constantine,² and though the Meletian Schism continued in Egypt, we hear nothing of it until the efforts made to bring it to an end at the Council of Nicaea.³ The African Church alone remained sorely troubled and divided after the close of the persecution, which seems to have ceased already in 306. The rivalries and quarrels which broke out in these difficult years led to the outbreak in 311-312 of a veritable schism which, though always confined to the African provinces, was nevertheless extremely serious for more than a century, namely, the Donatist Schism.

§ I. THE SCHISM AT CARTHAGE

The Origins of the Schism

There is no need to go back to the antecedents of the Schism between 303 and 311.⁴ It must suffice to mention that at Carthage, during the episcopate of Mensurius, an opposition party had been formed, consisting of unbalanced, disappointed and ambitious persons, and that in the interior of the country the bishops of Numidia, more or less correct themselves, formed another group hostile to the primate. The position was delicate throughout the African Church, when the death of Mensurius suddenly produced a crisis.

¹ For Bibliography, see p. 394.

² *History of the Primitive Church*, Vol. IV, p. 1081.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 1081-1082, and *infra*, pp. 98-99.

⁴ Cf. *History of the Primitive Church*, Vol. IV, pp. 1079-1080.

The election of the archdeacon Caecilian, straightway consecrated by three neighbouring bishops, led to a rupture. He was a good administrator, sober minded, strict in discipline, and particularly detested by the opposition party. He was accused of having shown little sympathy towards the confessors, or at least towards the fanatics who exploited the memories of the persecution; he encountered above all the tenacious spite of the rich Lucilla, whose superstitious devotion he had rebuked. When he received definite proofs of the embezzlement of which several prominent persons had been guilty on the death of Mensurius, to the loss of the church of Carthage, a break was inevitable and final between the new bishop and the malcontents.¹

The latter invoked two arguments for the nullity of Caecilian's consecration: the absence of the bishops of Numidia, contrary to the traditional usage, and the unworthy character of the consecrating bishops, Felix of Aptonga, Faustus of Thuburbo and Novellus of Tyzica, who had apparently given way in the time of the persecutions. The protest was lodged before Secundus of Tigisi, senior bishop of Numidia, who hastened to Carthage with seventy bishops of his province. Caecilian was treated as an accused person and refused the presidency of this assembly; his election was annulled, and the council even refused to proceed to a fresh consecration, if it be true that such a proposal was seriously made.² This Council of dissidents, after appointing an administrator of the episcopal see, chose a new bishop, the lector Majorinus. A synodal letter notified all the African bishops of these arrangements.

That took place during the year 312. A few months afterwards the Schism had affected the whole of Africa: the generosity of Lucilla, the protector of Majorinus, had won

¹ Monceaux, *op. cit.*, Vol. IV, pp. 17-18. Batiffol (*La paix constantinienne*, p. 272) does not think that the rivalry between the Numidians and Carthage played any decisive rôle in the schism.

² "Let them consecrate me themselves, if they think that I am not a bishop!" are the words attributed to Caecilian (Optatus, I, 19). Monceaux (*op. cit.*, Vol. IV, p. 19) has no doubt that this was Caecilian's attitude. Yet it would be a singular one, and it is probably better to regard it as just an angry exclamation. This seems to be Duchesne's view (*Histoire ancienne de l'Eglise*, Vol. II, p. 103, n. 3).

to his side many of the faithful of Numidia; to the original dissidents were added the bishops whom Majorinus consecrated in order to oppose the partisans of Caecilian; and very soon the sect had a new head, Donatus, destined to give it his own name in history.¹

Donatus

Donatus the Great seems to have been a strong man from the standpoint of doctrine and rule, and to have been as vigorous in polemics as in action. He must certainly be identified with the Donatus of Casae Nigrae who played an active part in the beginnings of the Schism.² Born about 270, in the little Numidian town whose name remains attached to his own, he received a good education, and then entered the ranks of the clergy; he may even have been bishop of his native town.³ Compromised during the great persecution, he left Casae Nigrae for Carthage, where he seems to have acted as representative of the "Numidian party" against Mensurius, and then as the chief agent in the intrigue against Caecilian. Regarded doubtless as having compromised himself too deeply, he had to withdraw when Majorinus was appointed in 312, but when the latter disappeared, as he did very soon, Donatus was elected in his place, and thus became officially the head of the movement.⁴ Henceforth he was able to give free scope to "his temperament as an ambitious man, a warlike prophet, and a leader

¹ Cf. Monceaux, *op. cit.*, Vol. IV, pp. 19-20.

² Cf. Monceaux, *op. cit.*, Vol. V, pp. 100-105, who discusses and settles definitely the question of the distinction between the two Donati: he shows that Optatus and Augustine down to 405 did not question the identity of the agitator who came from Casae Nigrae and the Primate of Carthage, and that the distinction, officially accepted at the conference of 411, seems to have been an invention on the part of the Donatists, anxious to free their leader from the doubtful intrigues which marked the beginnings of the Schism; in any case Donatus the Great appeared in history precisely at the moment when the first Donatus disappeared—in itself a surprising fact.

³ He was certainly bishop in 312, if he was really one of those who consecrated Majorinus (St. Augustine, *De haeresibus*, lxix). Monceaux (*op. cit.*, Vol. V, p. 104) thinks nevertheless that "it is not certain that Donatus was a bishop in Numidia before his election to Carthage."

⁴ Monceaux, *op. cit.*, Vol. V, pp. 106-110.

of men.”¹ A desire to command and to dominate, and also a boundless pride animated this sectarian leader, who “thought himself superior to other men,”² and who “wanted to conquer the whole of Africa.”³ In order to realise his ambition, he constantly manifested a boundless energy, and also on occasion a clever diplomacy. He was able to bring to the service of his cause an undeniable literary talent, and above all a mordant and vigorous eloquence which explains the extraordinary ascendancy he enjoyed over his followers.⁴

Other Donatist Leaders

Around Donatus were centred some personalities of lesser note, but not without some importance. Secundus of Tigisi, senior bishop of Numidia, suspect of *traditio* during the persecution, showed himself remarkably clever in stifling unpleasant memories, and in avoiding tactical errors: “clearsighted in his fanatical command,” “a diplomat as well as a sectary.” Silvanus of Constantine, himself also a *traditor*, and later on guilty of peculation, appears as “a shameless intriguer,” but naïf and narrow. Purpurius of Limata, who had not hesitated to kill his own nephews, and who spoke of “breaking Caecilian’s head,” was a cynical fighter, as violent in his forensic eloquence as in his activity as a leader.⁵ These constituted a General Staff of unscrupulous agitators, leading a mass of fanatics.

Donatism in 313

For Donatists at once became very numerous. In Numidia above all, but also in Proconsular Africa, many cities very soon witnessed the organisation, in face of the official Church, of “the new Church which claimed to be the true Catholic Church and the Church of the martyrs.”⁶

¹ Monceaux, *op. cit.*, Vol. V, p. 111.

² Optatus, III, 3.

³ St. Augustine, *Psalmus contra partem Donati*, xcv.

⁴ Monceaux paints a portrait of Donatus with a masterly hand (*op. cit.*, Vol. V, pp. 117-120), and the above is based on it. On his eloquence, cf. *ibid.*, pp. 134-138; on his writings, cf. p. 297.

⁵ On these three personages, cf. Monceaux, *op. cit.*, Vol. V, pp. 9-13 and 28-29. The phrases quoted in the text are taken from this writer.

⁶ Monceaux, *op. cit.*, Vol. IV, p. 20 (cf. nn. 2, 3, 4).

Would the schism extend throughout Africa with impunity? And would the Universal Church be compelled to settle the savage fight between the party of Caecilian and the party of Majorinus and Donatus? Such were the two questions which arose in 313.

§ 2. THE CONCILIAR DECISIONS (313-314)

Intervention of Constantine

An external intervention tried to bring to an end this violent quarrel; but the initiative did not come from the "transmarine" churches. These all remained in communion with Caecilian, and extended only a cold welcome to the Donatist ambassadors¹; nevertheless they took no steps to reconcile the two parties. It was the recently converted Emperor Constantine who tried to bring back unity and peace to the African Christian communities. Already from the moment of his victory in 312, which gave him the possession of these countries, he manifested his preference for the Catholics: his generosity and grants of immunity in favour of the clergy were reserved for the Church of Caecilian, who was to be protected against his opponents.² Very soon Constantine went further still, and being officially requested by the schismatics to intervene, he took in hand the whole affair.

Appeal of the Donatists (April 313)

On the 15th of April 313, a delegation of Donatists presented itself to the proconsul Anulinus, and gave him two documents for the Emperor. One was a *supplicum* (*preces ad Constantinum*), in which the signatories asked the prince to have their quarrel with "the other bishops" decided by Gallic judges.³ The second, a sealed document, was a

¹ Monceaux, *op. cit.*, Vol. IV, p. 21.

² Letters of January and March 313 (Eusebius, *Hist. eccles.*, X, v-vii); cf. *supra*, pp. 6, 28.

³ Optatus, I, 22. The *supplicum* is signed "... a Luciano, Digno, Nasutio, Capitone, Fidentio e ceteris episcopis partis Donati." St. Augustine's copy had: "... partis Majorini." Monceaux (*op. cit.*, Vol. IV, pp. 206-207) suggests that the two readings are additions made by fourth-century copyists, and that "the original request ended either by a long list of names of bishops, or else by the words 'and the other bishops of the Catholic Church.'"

document setting forth their complaints against Caecilian (*libellus ecclesiae catholicae* [sic] *criminum Caeciliani*).¹ The proconsul transmitted these documents to the Emperor, together with a report.

The Council of Rome (October 313)

Constantine acceded to the request, and appointed three bishops of Gaul, for this country was, as the Donatists had urged, "the only one in which the persecution had not raged, and where in consequence one could find complete impartiality on the question of the *lapsi*."² This commission, consisting of Reticus of Autun, Maternus of Cologne, and Marinus of Arles, was to meet in Rome under the presidency of Pope Miltiades, with a fifth bishop named Marcus, in order to hear ten bishops from each side, and settle the question at issue.³ Miltiades thought it desirable to transform this Romano-Gallic commission of arbitration into a veritable Council. Summoning together fifteen bishops from all the Italian provinces,⁴ he continued the ecclesiastical tradition of Roman synods, which the emperor had apparently forgotten. The nineteen members of the Council assembled together in Rome, at the Lateran, from the 2nd to the 4th of October 313. They called before them the ten defenders of the Donatist cause and the ten defenders of that of Caecilian, heard their arguments,

¹ The *libellus* is unfortunately lost, but its contents are known through St. Augustine (Monceaux, *op. cit.*, Vol. IV, p. 205).

² Monceaux, *op. cit.*, Vol. IV, p. 21.

³ Letter of "Constantine Augustus to Miltiades, Bishop of the Romans, and to Marcus" (Eusebius, *Hist. Eccles.*, X, v, 18-20). We do not know who this Marcus was. Tillemont (*Mémoires*, Vol. VI, p. 702) and Otto Seeck (*Quellen und Urkunden*, in *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*, Vol. X, 1889, p. 512) think he was Merocles of Milan, but without grounds. Following A. de Broglie (*L'Eglise et l'Empire romain au IV^e siècle*, Vol. I, 1st part, p. 263, n. 1), H. Schroers (*Drei Aktenstücke in betreff des Konzils von Arles*, in *Zeitschrift für Rechtsgeschichte, Kan. Abt.*, Vol. XI, 1932, p. 432) thinks he was a sort of coadjutor to Miltiades, and that it was he who became Pope in 336.

⁴ The Bishops of Ostia, Praeneste, Terracina, Three Taverns, Capua, Beneventum, Pisa, Florence, Siena, Faenza, Forum Claudii, Rimini, Labicum, Urbinus (?) and Milan (Optatus, I, 23).

and the declarations of witnesses brought by both parties. Donatus was convicted of having rebaptised the faithful of the other Church, and of laying hands on *lapsi* in order to make them bishops. On the other side, the accusations against Caecilian could not be proved, and accordingly the Council decided unanimously in favour of the latter. In a spirit of moderation, only Donatus himself was condemned, as the author of all the evil: the bishops of his party were not to be thrown out of the Church if they wished to remain in it; but it was decided that, in cities where two bishops were ruling, the younger should give up his seat to the other, and be found a position elsewhere.¹

New Imperial Intervention

This compromise showed the peaceful intentions of the Roman judges, which were also manifested by the absence of any reminder of the principle already laid down in the third century concerning the validity of ordinations conferred by unworthy persons. But if they hoped thereby to extinguish the schism, they were mistaken. The Donatists maintained that their chief point had been neglected, namely, the unworthiness of Felix of Aptonga, the consecrator of Caecilian. They sent a protest to the Emperor, apparently claiming that the Gallic judges designated by him had been swamped in an Italian assembly.² On these two points, Constantine decided to meet their complaints. Already at the close of the year 313, he instructed the African Vicar to proceed to an enquiry in the matter of Felix of Aptonga, and he invited all the bishops of his States to meet together in council at Arles. These two decisions constituted a real blunder from the Church's point of view. For on the one hand it meant calling in question a conciliar decision which was perfectly valid, and on the other hand it

¹ Monceaux, *op. cit.*, Vol. IV, pp. 22 and 338-342. Caspar, *Geschichte des Papsttums*, Vol. I, pp. 111-113. The latter writer, who well brings out the way in which Miltiades was able to transform the character of the imperial initiative, thinks that the moderate compromise arrived at by the Council was due to the direct influence of Constantine, but this does not seem very likely.

² Monceaux, *op. cit.*, Vol. IV, pp. 207-208.

seemed to attach to the case of Felix of Aptonga an important bearing on the validity of the episcopate of Caecilian.¹

The Enquiry at Aptonga

The enquiry on the case of Felix was speedily carried through. The vicar Aelius Paulinus passed on the instructions to the proconsul Aelianus, who held the enquiry first at Aptonga and then at Carthage, where sentence was pronounced on the 15th of February 314.² The report has come down to us, and gives minute details of the procedure. The testimonies of the former magistrates of 303 made it evident that Felix was innocent, for he was absent from Aptonga at the time of the investigations. The enquiry also showed the malice of the Donatists, for they were convicted of having falsified a document in order to crush their opponent.³

The Decision of the Council of Arles

The Council of Arles, which met on the 1st of August 314,⁴ resulted equally in the confusion of the schismatics. The African vicar had been instructed to send to Arles Caecilian and Donatus, together with several of their followers.⁵ The Donatists were "condemned and rejected,"

¹ Batiffol, *La paix constantinienne*, pp. 279 and 282.

² On this date, cf. Monceaux, *op. cit.*, Vol. IV, pp. 219-220. He corrects the chronology previously accepted (cf. L. Duchesne, *Histoire ancienne de l'Eglise*, Vol. II, pp. 115-118).

³ The enquiry is known in all its stages, thanks to the *Acta purgationis Felicis*, conserved in an appendix to the work of Optatus. Cf. the detailed analysis of these documents in Monceaux, *op. cit.*, Vol. IV, pp. 216-228.

⁴ For a bibliography on the Council, cf. *supra*, p. 31, n. 2. The date 314 is given in the conciliar documents; in spite of the arguments of Seeck (*Urkundenfälschungen*, in *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*, Vol. XXX, 1909, p. 217), who proposes 316, it can be adhered to. Cf. L. Duchesne, *Le dossier du donatisme*, pp. 640-644.

⁵ Imperial letter, *Iam quidem*, to the vicar Aelafius (Optatus, Append. no. 3). Schroers, *art. cit.*, pp. 433-436, proposes several judicious corrections for the text of this letter. Cf. also N. H. Baynes, *Optatus*, in *Journal of Theol. Studies*, Vol. XXV, 1924, pp. 37-44, and Vol. XXVI, 1925, pp. 404-406; C. H. Turner, *Adversaria critica: Notes on the anti-Donatist dossier and on Optatus*, books I-II, *ibid.*, Vol. XXVII, 1926, pp. 283-296; K. Mueller, *Kleinere Beiträge zur alten Kirchengeschichte*, XII, *Zu den Erlassen Konstantins an Aelafius in den Anfängen des donatistischen Streites*, in *Zeitschrift für die neutestamentl. Wissenschaft.*, Vol. XXIV, 1925, pp. 278-292.

as we learn from the synodal letter to Pope Silvester.¹ This letter gives no further details on the settlement of the question. But two of the twenty-two canons of the Council relate to the African schism.² Canon 13 lays it down that the traditors ("qui scripturas sanctas tradidisse dicuntur vel vasa dominica vel nomina fratrum suorum") "are to be cast out from the clergy," provided the facts are established by official documents and not by mere rumours ("ex actis publicis . . non verbis nudis"), and another phrase formally rejects accusers who bring forward false witnesses. As for ordinations carried out by the traditors, these are valid, if there is nothing against those who have been so ordained. Canon 8 abrogates the African custom of rebaptising converted heretics, provided the first baptism was administered in the name of the Trinity. This ordinance, which put an end to the former disagreement of the third century,³ was not unconnected with the Donatist affair, for this "law" peculiar to the Africans expressed more or less clearly the idea that sacraments are not valid if conferred by unworthy persons (heretics or sinners). The validity of ordinations by sinners, proclaimed in Canon 13, necessarily involves the recognition of the validity of heretical baptisms, but the schismatics will find here a fresh reason for claiming to be the true heirs of the African ecclesiastical tradition.

In any case, for the second time a "transmarine" Council definitely settled a Carthaginian dispute: the Donatists were formally condemned in both cases. From the ecclesiastical point of view, the matter should have been regarded as ended.

§ 3. THE IMPERIAL CONDEMNATION

The Attitude of Constantine

The Emperor had been responsible for the calling of the Council of Rome and the Council of Arles; he was apparently

¹ Optatus, Append. no. 4.

² The source of some other canons may also be found in African matters: canon 14 on calumniators, canons 17, 20 and 21 forbidding bishops and clerics to trespass on to the territory of others (*supra*, pp. 32-33).

³ Cf. *History of the Primitive Church*, Vol. III, pp. 704-705; Vol. IV, pp. 1008-1010.

to be the "secular arm" of the Church. In point of fact, the principles at stake did not interest him at all: he was thinking only of the disturbance to public order. But the ecclesiastical decisions had not re-established this order, for the condemned persons were not disposed to bow to the judgement given. Hence, in Constantine's eyes, the Council of Arles had failed, and he dismissed the bishops by "a disagreeable and discouraging letter."¹ Conscious of his authority, and thinking that he could himself obtain the submission of the schismatics, he did not refuse the appeal which these addressed to him, but announced his intention of deciding the matter personally at Rome in presence of both parties.

The Projects of 315

Political events, however, delayed the carrying out of this plan. The autumn of 314 saw the war against Licinius, and Constantine remained in Macedonia or on the Danube until the middle of the following year. When he was able to return to Rome in July 315, he summoned there Caecilian and Donatus²; he likewise ordered the transfer of the Donatist Ingentius, convicted of forgery in the enquiry on Felix of Aptonga and imprisoned since 314³: in brief, all the accused were to appear before the imperial tribunal. But in fact, for one reason or another, those summoned did not turn up.

¹ Letter *Aeterna* (Optatus, Append. no. 5). Cf. Monceaux, *op. cit.*, Vol. IV, pp. 348-349. He supposes, but without motive, a fairly long delay between the holding of the Council and the writing of this letter, which he thinks "reached the bishops only in the last days of the year" 314. It is more likely that it was written in the summer, and that the Council broke up upon its receipt. Its authenticity, like that of the letter *Jam quidem*, is wrongly questioned not only by Seeck (*art. cit.*, *supra*, p. 41, n. 4), but also by Batiffol in *Bulletin d'ancienne littérature et d'archéologie chrétienne*, Vol. IV, 1914, pp. 284-287.

² Letter *Ante paucos* (Optatus, Append. no. 6). Its date is certainly a little before the arrival of Constantine in Rome on the 21st of July 315.

³ Letter *Aelianus praedecessor* (St. Augustine, *Epist.*, lxxviii, 4; *Contra Cresconium*, III, 70, 81). Monceaux (*op. cit.*, Vol. IV, pp. 202 and 221) dates it at the beginning of 315, Seeck (*Regesten*, p. 151), in September 315; it is certainly later than the 26th of April 315, a date when Probianus was not yet proconsul; it seems to us that it was written before Constantine's stay in Rome, and about the same time as the letter *Ante paucos*.

Constantine received them at Milan in October. Instead of judging them, he then conceived a singular project, which throws some light on his psychology and the aims of his religious policy. At the suggestion, it is said, of the courtier Philumenos, he interned Donatus and Caecilian at Brescia, and meanwhile sent to Africa the bishops Eunomius and Olympus with instructions to restore unity by installing a new bishop in the see of Carthage.¹

The Mission of Eunomius and Olympus

This meant making light of the matter in dispute: truth and equity were sacrificed to the purely political aspect of public order. The hope was an idle one in any case, for the mission of the bishops departed from the object assigned to it. Not only did they fail to reconcile the two parties, but after a serious investigation, and in view of the obstruction and systematic violence on the part of the Donatists, they did not hesitate to pronounce in favour of Caecilian. They decided that "that church is Catholic which is spread abroad in the whole world," and consequently, the Catholics are those who are in communion with the Church Universal. For the rest, "the sentence recently pronounced by the nineteen bishops (of the Council of Rome) cannot be upset."² Meanwhile Donatus escaped, and very soon Caecilian also returned to Carthage. The imperial authority thereupon released the four Donatist bishops, who had been

¹ Optatus, I, 26. The detention of the two leaders and the mission of Eunomius and Olympus have often been put in 317 (cf. L. Duchesne, *Histoire ancienne de l'Eglise*, Vol. II, p. 119; Hefelè-Leclercq, *Histoire des Conciles*, Vol. I, 1st part, p. 274). Monceaux (*op. cit.*, Vol. IV, pp. 24 and 209) has clearly shown that these things took place before the sentence of 316; he puts them in the summer of 316, but allows that "the account in Optatus, confused as it is, and perhaps altered or mutilated in this place, does not furnish us with precise chronological indications." We ourselves think that the events fit in better with the autumn of 315, the time when Constantine was himself in Upper Italy (Seeck, *Regesten*, p. 164), and when the letters to the vicar Celsus were written (cf. *infra*, p. 45, nn. 1 and 2).

² Optatus, I, 26. Cf. Monceaux, *op. cit.*, Vol. IV, p. 210. Attention has rightly been called to the singular absence of any allusion to the Council of Arles (Batifol, *La paix constantinienne*, p. 297).

kept in Gaul for two years.¹ Hence things were exactly where they had been at first.

New Projects

Constantine, however, was not discouraged, and did not give up the idea of settling the matter himself, hoping that an imperial decision would be accepted by all. When the African vicar, Domitius Celsus, sent to him at the beginning of 316 an alarming report on the progress of the Donatist agitation, he replied from Trèves that he intended himself to cross the sea and decide the interminable dispute on the spot.²

The Imperial Sentence (November 316)

The projected journey to Africa, if it was seriously entertained, could not be carried out, and the year 316 was spent in journeys from Gaul to Italy and Illyria.³ But during these movements, the Emperor did not forget the thorny matter the settlement of which seemed to him to form part of the duties of his office. On the 10th of November 316, after personally examining all the documents, he communicated to the Vicar of Africa, Eumelius, his final sentence, without appeal:

I have clearly seen that Caecilian is a man of perfect innocence, who observes all the duties of his religion, and serves it as is fitting. It is quite evident to me that, contrary to the accusations made against him in his absence by the hypocrisy of his opponents, no fault can be found in his conduct.⁴

¹ Letter from the Praetorian Prefects to the vicar Celsus (Optatus, Append. no. 8). This is usually put on the 28th of April 315; Seeck (*Regesten*, pp. 142-143) has shown that this date must be corrected to the 27th of February 316.

² Letter *Perseverare* (Optatus, Append. no. 7). This is usually put at the end of 315 (Monceaux, *op. cit.*, Vol. IV, p. 202); but it might just as well be contemporary with the letter from the prefects, and in any case it is prior to March 316, the date when Celsus was replaced by Eumelius.

³ Cf. Seeck, *Regesten*, pp. 164-165.

⁴ St. Augustine, *Contra Cresconium*, III, 71. In spite of what is said by Monceaux (*op. cit.*, Vol. IV, pp. 197 and 203) and Batiffol (*op. cit.*, p. 299), there is, as Baynes points out (*Constantine the Great*, p. 80), no proof that Caecilian and Donatus were still with the Emperor, or that the latter was then at Milan. We follow Baynes's chronology throughout.

Thus, Constantine arrived at the same decisions as that of the bishops Eunomius and Olympus in 315, the Council of Arles in 314, and the Roman Synod of 313. One may well ask if, in order to arrive at this result, it was necessary to lose three years, and to call in question perfectly valid ecclesiastical decisions: for the episcopal commission of enquiry merely confirmed the Roman sentence, and it would therefore have been wiser to have adhered to this, without receiving further appeals or recriminations from those condemned.¹

The Persecution

Now that he had himself decided the matter, Constantine allowed no more contradiction or discussion. A "very severe" law condemned the Donatists to exile and confiscation; the churches they occupied were to be taken away and given back to the Catholics.² This tardy repression was destined to meet with an intractable resistance: though a few who had gone astray in good faith submitted after the Council of Arles,³ the schismatics had on the whole increased in numbers and in fanaticism. The prolongations of judicial

¹ F. Martroye, in his article, *La répression du donatisme* (mentioned below, p. 394), tries to prove that Constantine did not agree to act as a judge of appeal in the matter settled by the Councils: the sentence of 316 would deal merely with the calumnious character of the Donatist statements (*loc. cit.*, pp. 42-43), and the Emperor would thus have confined himself to the "regular exercise of his judicial authority" (*ibid.*, p. 60). This view has not been accepted, either by Batiffol (*op. cit.*, p. 300, n. 2) or by Baynes (*op. cit.*, p. 80).

² This law has not come down to us, but a text of Gratian (*Cod. Theod.*, XVI, vi, 2) refers to it, and we can restore its contents by allusions found in St. Augustine. Cf. Monceaux, *op. cit.*, Vol. IV, pp. 26 and 197-198. Martroye denies the existence of this law. According to him, there was merely a "*decretum*, a decision of the judicial authority of the Emperor, and not an act of his legislative power" (*loc. cit.*, p. 48); the Donatists were punished as calumniators, i.e. by *deportatio* or *relatio* (*ibid.*, pp. 38-41); the confiscation of the basilicas is explained by the fact that, as the civic personality of the dissident communities was not recognised, their places of worship were in consequence the personal property of their leaders, themselves punished by confiscation (*ibid.*, pp. 51-53). This ingenious theory certainly goes much too far in minimising the condemnation of Donatism.

³ Monceaux, *op. cit.*, Vol. IV, p. 23.

processes had emboldened them, and the final sentence exasperated them. In order to end the matter the vicar Leontius and the military count Ursacius did not hesitate to start a veritable persecution. At Carthage, on the 12th of March 317, the three Donatist basilicas were occupied, after atrocious massacres, and the soldiers were guilty of all kinds of violence. Everywhere, in Proconsular Africa and in Numidia, like scenes were repeated: pillages, murders of bishops, and outrages on virgins.¹

Side by side with this armed combat there were polemics of the kind in which the Donatists were particularly expert: defamatory libels and anonymous denunciations poured in to the bureaux of officials, so that the Emperor had to intervene and forbid these to pay any attention to them, ordering them to punish their authors if they could be found.²

The Trial of Silvanus of Constantine (320)

The situation was without issue. The violence of which they were the victims conferred on the schismatics the halo of martyrdom; the sect was none the less weakened materially by the loss of many of its most intrepid defenders, and morally by scandals, such as that which occurred in 320 at Constantine. The Donatist bishop there, Silvanus, was accused by his deacon, Nondinarius, of having wavered in the Diocletian persecution, of receiving consecration at the hands of *traditores*, and of having been guilty of thefts and shameful transactions. The governor of Numidia, Zenophilus, looked into the matter, and having realised the truthfulness

¹ Monceaux, *op. cit.*, Vol. IV, pp. 26-47 and 469-471; Vol. V, pp. 60-69 and 137-138. The disorders in Carthage are known through the *Passio Donati* (Migne, *P.L.*, Vol. VIII, 752-758), which is devoted to the memory of the murder of the Bishop of Advocata ("Sermo Donati de passione episcopi advocatensis," in Monceaux's restitution of the text).

² Laws of the 29th of March 319 and the 4th of December 320, to the Vicar Verinus against the *famosi libelli* (*Cod. Theod.*, IX, xxxiv, 1 and 3). Cf. Monceaux, *op. cit.*, Vol. IV, pp. 28 and 198-199. The law of the *Cod. Theod.*, IX, xxxiv, 2, to the proconsul Aelianus, dated the 25th of February 320, should be put back, not to 313 as Martroye desires (*loc. cit.*, pp. 58-60), but to 315 (Seeck, *Regesten*, p. 60).

of the accusations, condemned this strange prelate to exile.¹

This case did not merely affect Silvanus: Donatism as a whole thereby received a terrible blow. One of its leaders, one of its first followers, had been convicted of laxity, bribery, and theft, and this leader had had accomplices in Numidia and in Carthage. The blow affected the sect even in its principles. The schismatical church had been constituted in order to separate from supposed *traditores*, and yet it now appeared that it had itself been founded by undoubted *traditores*. The election of its first primate, Majorinus, had been obtained by intrigue and bribery, and this first primate had been consecrated by bishops who were "traitors to their faith, thieves and venal."² Subsequently the Donatists said that Silvanus had been condemned only for defying the governor of Numidia and the military count,³ just as they similarly attributed to the influence of their enemy Hosius the sentence of Constantine.⁴

The Edict of Toleration (321)

In actual fact, they evidently had to take into account the disastrous impression resulting from this affair, for at this precise moment we find them turning to the Emperor to ask for toleration.⁵ In spite of the bitter tone of their appeal, Constantine granted their request. He used decidedly contemptuous language in their regard, but ultimately granted them what they desired, liberty of conscience and of worship. His letter of the 5th of May 321 to the Vicar of Africa, Verinus, is a veritable Edict of Toleration.⁶

¹ The *Gesta apud Zenophilum* are conserved in the Appendix to Optatus. Cf. the detailed analysis in Monceaux, *op. cit.*, Vol. IV, pp. 228-239, who establishes the date as the 8th of December 320.

² Monceaux, *op. cit.*, Vol. IV, p. 237.

³ Cf. Monceaux, *op. cit.*, Vol. IV, p. 230.

⁴ Cf. *ibid.*, p. 25.

⁵ Beginning of 321. The text has not come down to us, but its contents are known through St. Augustine and documents of his time. Cf. Monceaux, *op. cit.*, Vol. IV, pp. 29 and 208.

⁶ We know this also only indirectly. Cf. Monceaux, *op. cit.*, Vol. IV, pp. 29 and 198.

Constantine and Donatism

The Donatist affair was not closed by this gesture. But, though unity had not been restored, peace reigned henceforth, at least in appearance. That was what was desired by Constantine, who in this year 321 was at war with his colleague Licinius, and did not wish while this struggle was on to leave behind him any troubles in the West, or to be regarded in the Christian East as a persecutor. And thus we find him, by a striking *volte-face*, recommending Catholic bishops to practise patience and moderation in face of the violence of their adversaries.¹ He was clearly weary of this interminable affair; he resigned himself to finding no solution for it, provided there was no disturbance of public order. It was indeed the desire for peace which animated him throughout this crisis, and this explains the apparent contradictions in his African policy. This has been called "an imprudent, incoherent and sterile policy."² But it was incoherent only in appearance, for throughout all his doubts, hesitations, and changes of plan we find the same aim: the restoration of broken unity, or failing unity, peace between men's minds, or at least, order in public. Arbitration, ecclesiastical decision, episcopal investigation, imperial sentence, police restraints—these various solutions, successively considered and adopted, were all subordinated to one and the same end: the pacification of a quarrel. When, weary of war, the Emperor renounced all intervention, it was still "for the sake of peace." But, though ultimately coherent, this policy certainly showed itself to be highly clumsy and ineffective. By constantly accepting the protests of the rebels, and submitting their case to new tribunals, Constantine helped to prolong this lamentable crisis. In the end, when he decided to adopt severe measures, he acted perhaps too late. In any case, while the brutal repression hindered for a time the life of the sect, it ceased too soon to obtain a decisive success, and it was not calculated to endear

¹ Letter *Quod fides* to the Catholic bishops, written in 322 (Optatus, Append. no. 9). For the other Constantinian texts relating to Donatism after 324, cf. *infra*, p. 258, nn. 2 and 3.

² Piganiol, *L'empereur Constantin*, p. 105.

the Catholic cause to African opinion, which always tended to be critical. In addition, by expending his energies in the pursuit of a chimerical compromise, and entertaining the hope of an improbable submission, the prince destroyed the authority of those councils which had given clear decisions on the matter. By this unconscious contempt for ecclesiastical autonomy, and by the often odious violence of the measures ordered against the Donatists, Constantine did a grave disservice to the Church of which he had just made himself the benefactor.

CHAPTER III

THE VICTORY OF THE CHURCH

WHILE the churches of the West were enjoying the "Peace of Constantine"—sadly disturbed in the African provinces by the Donatist Schism—the churches of the East, scarcely recovering from the terrible blows they had suffered during the ten years of the great persecution, had to see the ruler of these countries, the Emperor Licinius, pass gradually from a favourable toleration to a hypocritical enmity. Indeed, Constantine, arriving in the East in 324 as victor, appeared there as a liberator. It has sometimes been said that 324 repeated 312 or even went beyond it; and it is certainly true that the decisive conflict between Constantine and Licinius was a veritable "war of religion," and this was not at all the case with the Italian campaign in which Maxentius had perished. But it must be remarked that Constantine did not then initiate a new religious policy, or begin a new stage in his conversion. He merely applied the same psychology to his policy as he had done twelve years earlier. It is true, however, that he showed himself freer, now that he was the sole master of the Empire, to carry out his programme, and to instil the Christian spirit into Roman legislation. And it was at this time that the Christian Empire was really founded.

§ I. THE CHRISTIAN EAST UNDER LICINIUS

The Christian Revival in 313

The victory of Licinius in 313 seemed at first definitely to inaugurate a period of peace for the Church in the East. After such suffering and troublesome vexations, Christians were able to breathe again freely. Within the Christian communities, a process of restoration was called for. Besides the restitution of property provided for by the rescript of

¹ For Bibliography, see p. 395.

Nicomedia, further construction was both possible and necessary. "Then," writes Eusebius, "the restored churches arose from the ground, through the grace of God Almighty¹. . . . Temples were seen to rise once more from their ruins."² The period of persecution was followed by one of intense life in all the churches: "in the towns there were festivals of dedications, consecrations of newly-built oratories, assemblies of bishops for the purpose, and the flocking together of distant populations from all quarters . . ."³ One of these splendid ceremonies, that which took place at Tyre, has been described for us by Eusebius himself, who "pronounced there a flowing discourse," and who, "in order not to deprive posterity of it, inserted it into the final edition of his *Ecclesiastical History*."⁴ With eloquent phrases and oratorical developments full of a florid symbolism, we find in this well-known sermon the enthusiastic language of a song of triumph, and this provides us with an interesting testimony to the state of these Christian communities in Syria after the persecution. We find the same pride as that displayed in the epitaph of the Bishop of Laodicea in Phrygia, Eugenius, which declares that he "rebuilt the church from top to bottom," with many embellishments.⁵

Councils of Ancyra and Neocaesarea

The Christian life itself was restored as well as the buildings. This we learn from other documents: the canons of the Councils of Ancyra and Neocaesarea. The "assemblies of bishops" must have been very numerous at that time, as

¹ Eusebius, *Hist. eccles.*, IX, xi, 1.

² *Ibid.*, X, ii, 1.

³ *Ibid.*, X, iii, 1.

⁴ L. Duchesne, *Histoire ancienne de l'Eglise*, Vol. II, p. 67. The text of the discourse is in *Hist. eccles.*, X, ix, 2-72. A. Harnack (*Chronologie der altkirchlichen Literatur*, Vol. II, p. 108) puts this ceremony in 313; but it is better to put it in 316 or 317 with Schwartz (*Eusebius Werke*, Vol. II, pp. 1 *et seq.*), for Eusebius, who was a bishop at the time of the Dedication, was not one at the time of the Council of Ancyra in 314.

⁵ Inscription discovered in 1908, published by M. Calder in *Klio*, Vol. X, 1910, p. 233; cf. P. Batiffol, *L'építaphe d'Eugène, évêque de Laodicée*, in *Bull. d'anc. littér. et d'archéol. chrét.*, Vol. I, 1911, pp. 25-34 (with bibliography).

we gather from Eusebius, especially in Asia Minor, already so profoundly Christian. In the case of two of them, held in the chief towns of Galatia and Polemoniac Pontus, both probably under the presidency of Vitalis of Antioch, we have lists of those present and the text of the canons passed.¹ At the Council of Ancyra, held without doubt in 314,² there were eighteen bishops, from almost all the Asiatic provinces.³ Of the twenty-five canons passed there, the first nine deal with *lapsi* who had repented. Various degrees of penance were imposed upon them, according to the gravity of their fall⁴; those who had been priests were to be deprived of their function in the church.⁵ Other canons, again, laid down a list of penances for various categories of sins: adultery,⁶ prostitution, infanticide, abortion,⁷ bestiality,⁸ murder,⁹ magic.¹⁰ Others dealt with particular cases affecting clerics.¹¹

¹ On the Councils of Ancyra and Neocaesarea, cf. Tillemont, *Mémoires*, Vol. VI, pp. 298-301; Hefelè-Leclercq, *Histoire des conciles*, Vol. I, 1st part, pp. 298-334.

² It must have been immediately after the persecution, for many of the canons deal with *lapsi*.

³ Amongst others, the metropolitans of Galatia, Pisidia, Pamphylia, Phrygia, Bithynia, Diospontus, Polemoniac Pontus, Cappadocia, Cilicia, Caele-Syria, Palestine, and in addition, six of their suffragans and one Armenian bishop (cf. Hefelè-Leclercq, *loc. cit.*).

⁴ Absolution for confessors whose sufferings have atoned for a previous fall (canon 3); two years of penance for those who pretended to take part in sacrificial banquets (canon 7); three or four years for those who took part therein by compulsion (canon 5); six years for those who were present voluntarily (canon 4) or who sacrificed through fear (canon 6), and for those who had relapsed through compulsion (canon 8); ten years for those who were without excuse (canon 9). The years of penance were subdivided into various categories (*audientes, substrati, consistentes* . . .).

⁵ Canon 1 (priests) and 2 (deacons).

⁶ Ten years of penance (canon 20). Same penalty for a man who violated the sister of his fiancée (canon 25). Young girls who had been victims of rape were to be restored to their fiancés (canon 11).

⁷ Ten years of penance also for these three crimes (canon 21).

⁸ Penance of fifteen years, thirty years, or perpetual according to the cases (canons 16 and 17).

⁹ Penance of five years, or perpetual, according to the presence of premeditation (canon 22 and 23).

¹⁰ Penance of five years (canon 24).

¹¹ One can raise to the priesthood men who apostatised during their

Similar matters were dealt with a few years later by the Council of Neocaesarea, where seventeen bishops assembled, ten of whom had already sat at Ancyra.¹ Lengthy penances were laid down for sinners;² various impediments were attached to the exercise of priesthood,³ and various grounds indicated for exclusion from it.⁴ Also some rules were laid down affecting the clerical hierarchy.⁵

These episcopal assemblies, at first held freely, were very soon hindered by a fresh exercise of imperial authority. Licinius, who was at first hailed by preachers and apologists as a liberator, gradually changed into a persecutor. This development admits of a simple explanation.

catechumenate (canon 12); deacons have a right to choose on the occasion of their election, between celibacy and marriage (canon 10); clerics have no right to sell ecclesiastical goods during the vacancy of an episcopal see (canon 15); bishops expelled from their sees by the people can exercise priestly functions elsewhere, but not usurp another see (canon 18); the *chorepiscopi* have no right to ordain without a mandate of their bishop (canon 13). Canon 19 is against the *agapetoi*, and condemns the breaking of a vow of virginity. Canon 14 deals, but not very clearly, with priests who abstain from meat. On the *chorepiscopi* and the general ecclesiastical organisation in Asia Minor at the beginning of the fourth century, cf. *History of the Primitive Church*, Vol. IV, p. 982.

¹ The metropolitans of Polemoniac Pontus, Diospontus, Cappadocia, Cilicia, Caele-Syria and several Galatian, Cilician, Syrian and Palestinian bishops, as well as the Armenian bishop already present at Ancyra. The date is not known: it was apparently later than the other, for there was no longer any question of the *lapsi*. On the other hand, it was prior to the death of Vitalis of Antioch, which seems to have taken place in 319 (Cf. Hefelè-Leclercq, *loc. cit.*).

² Amongst others, for the bigamists, i.e. those who had married a second time (canons 2, 3 and 7); the catechumens who have sinned are to be deferred (canon 5); sins of thought are not allowed (canon 4). Baptism is allowed in the case of pregnant women (canon 6).

³ Those who have put off baptism until a serious illness may not be ordained priests (canon 12), and the husband of an adulterer is also excluded (canon 8). The minimum age for a priest is put at 30 years (canon 11).

⁴ Especially fornication, and even marriage (canons 1 and 9). If the fornication was prior to ordination, it involved, when discovered, suspension from the exercise of office in the church in the case of priests (canon 9) and also of deacons (canon 10).

⁵ The number of deacons was limited to seven for each town (canon 15). Country priests were not to celebrate in the city (canon 13), but the *chorepiscopi* had the right to do so (canon 14).

The Religious Policy of the Emperor Licinius

In contrast to Constantine, Licinius never contemplated a personal conversion to the Christian Faith. He certainly promulgated measures favourable to the Church in 313, but these were due to political reasons,¹ and it is to be noted that his decisions were taken later, and did not go as far as those of Constantine.² It is therefore reasonable to suppose that they were suggested to him by his colleague: the text of the monotheistic prayer sung by the soldiers in the Thracian campaign,³ as well as the spirit of the rescript of Nicomedia, must have been due to the interview at Milan in February 313. Licinius accepted and loyally applied at first the Constantinian programme which gave the Church peace and liberty, but it must be noted that, in spite of the importance of Christianity in his States, he did not go beyond these

¹ These were: the desire to please Constantine, whose support was necessary for him, and the desire to win over Christian opinion, already very important in the East. On this latter point we share the views of H. Grégoire, *art. cit.* at the head of Ch. I. On the personality of Licinius, cf. Seeck, *Geschichte des Untergangs*, Vol. I, 2nd edn., pp. 165 and 174; Stein, *Geschichte des spätrömischen Reiches*, Vol. I, pp. 145-146 and 156-157, and the works mentioned at the beginning of this chapter.

² If we reject the hypothesis of H. Grégoire (*art. cit.*, pp. 245 *et seq.*) on Licinius's share in the edict of 311 (cf. *History of the Primitive Church*, Vol. IV, p. 1084), all that can be cited as positive actions are the diffusing of the monotheistic prayer (cf. following note) and the signature to the rescript of Nicomedia (cf. *supra*, p. 7), both belonging to the spring of 313. Now, Constantine had adopted a favourable attitude towards Christians already in November 312 and January 313 (cf. *supra*, pp. 5-7), and we have seen what further steps he took by way of exemptions, gifts, favours, etc.

³ Lactantius relates (*De mortibus persecutorum*, xlv, 6) that on the eve of the battle of Tzirallum, an angel appeared to Licinius during sleep and promised him victory if he would cause his soldiers to recite a prayer to the supreme God. Eusebius also mentions this (*De vita Constantini*, iv, 20), but says it was a prayer that Constantine had had recited by the catechumens in his army. In point of fact this short litany, in which is invoked the *summus sanctus deus*, is altogether of the same inspiration as the somewhat equivocal monotheistic literature in which Constantine delighted round about 313 (cf. *supra*, pp. 22-23). Moreover, it had clearly been used by emperors previously (cf.: "... imperium nostrum tibi commendamus"). We are thus brought back to the meeting at Milan in 313. Our attitude towards Licinius is the same as that of E. Stein, in *Catholic Historical Review*, Vol. XXI, 1935, pp. 131-132.

initial positions.¹ We do not find him granting exemptions to the clergy, or interesting himself personally in the internal affairs of the Church. At the very moment when Constantine was making generous gifts to the churches of Africa and Rome, the bishops in the East had to rebuild and decorate their extended basilicas at their own expense; the same year which saw the imperial Council of Arles also saw that of Ancyra held without the intervention of the prince.

A few years later, about 320, this indifference was replaced by open hostility. That was the date when the rupture with Constantine became manifest, and the former quarrel of 314 was revived, leading to the decisive war of 324. It is impossible not to regard these two events as linked together.² As long as the agreement continued with his Western colleague, Licinius adhered to the policy agreed on in 313, but as soon as the quarrel recommenced, he showed himself an opponent of the Christian Faith. Is this *volte-face* to be explained by a desire to win over the pagans of the West, in reply to the Christian policy of Constantine, himself anxious to rally to his cause the Churches of the East?³ That does not seem very likely: right to the end, Licinius, remaining on the defensive, had no designs on the West. It is better to see in his attitude merely the anxieties of a politician who was naturally suspicious, and who, feeling that he was no longer bound to copy his rival, did

¹ If he dismissed and put to death persecuting officials such as the minister Peuketios, Culcienus the prefect of Egypt, and Theotekne the governor of Syria, this may have been because of their fidelity to the "tyrant" Maximin, rather than their anti-Christian zeal, contrary to the view taken by Eusebius (*Hist. eccles.*, IX, xi, 3-6). The same applies to the execution of the priests of Zeus at Antioch (*ibid.*, IX, xi, 1).

² Eusebius, who is our chief source on the Licinian persecution, gives no chronological details. But St. Jerome, in his *Chronicle*, puts it in the year 2337 from Abraham (ed. Fotheringham, p. 312), i.e. in 320. Seeck, who wrongly puts it in 321, has refuted those who make it begin in 315 (*Geschichte des Untergangs*, Vol. I, 2nd edn., pp. 504-506). As for the rupture between the two emperors, the first indication of it is the nomination of two Western consuls for 320; hence it must have taken place at the end of 319. The persecuting policy of Licinius has thus all the appearance of an immediate reply.

³ Such is the thesis of H. Grégoire (*art. cit.*, p. 265). On the Christian legislation of Constantine, about 320, cf. *infra*, pp. 62-63.

not hide his mistrust of a spiritual power whose organisation, hierarchy and renewed activity seemed to him to be a threat to the authority of the State.

The Persecution of 320

The result was what has been called, perhaps with some exaggeration, the Licinian Persecution. The Emperor multiplied vexatious measures against the clergy and officials, with a view to preventing the "encroachments" of the Church and saving the independence of the State. The meeting of bishops—so numerous, as we have seen, in the years following 313—were forbidden.¹ On a pretext of morality, it was forbidden to hold mixed Christian assemblies or within closed walls: worship was to take place in the open air, outside the towns, and separately for men and women; a female clergy even was contemplated, for the instruction of women believers.² Under colour of respecting the decisions of imperial justice, the clergy were no longer admitted to the prisons in order to visit or help the accused and the condemned. There were also orders concerning marriages and funerals, doubtless inspired by the same mistrust.³

To these police regulations, Licinius added an attempt at a purge: Christians were eliminated from the Court and the central administration; then there was imposed on all officials the obligation to offer sacrifice.⁴ That sufficed to bring about numerous apostasies, for very soon afterwards we find legislation concerning these *lapsi*.⁵ Many, of course, resisted: officials were able to resign⁶; bishops could only disobey, and many were proceeded against. The zeal of

¹ Eusebius, *De vita Constantini*, i, 51. Cf. *ibid.*, ii, 66.

² *Ibid.*, i, 53.

³ *Ibid.*, i, 54; *Hist. eccles.*, X, viii, 11-12.

⁴ Eusebius, *De vita Constantini*, i, 52, 54; *Hist. eccles.*, X, viii, 10. From these texts, it would seem that the persecution had reached the army; Batiffol (*La paix constantinienne*, p. 264) and Baynes (*op. cit.*, pp. 80-82) think that it was confined to the civil militia.

⁵ Council of Nicaea, canons 10 to 14, and especially canon 11.

⁶ Cf. the example of the notary Auxentius, the future Bishop of Mopsuestia (Philostorgus, *Hist. eccles.*, V, 11).

provincial officials, anxious to win the prince's esteem, aggravated the situation. There were destructions of churches, arrests, confiscations, condemnations to the mines, tortures, and executions (such as that of Basil of Amasia, metropolitan of Diospontus).¹ None of the hagiographical traditions which give precise information on this persecution is sufficiently certain to be utilised here²; but it is in any case clear that the rather cunning ill-will of the Emperor and the steps taken by his representatives caused all kinds of difficulties for the Church, and produced fresh martyrs, especially in eastern Asia Minor.

Fall of Licinius

In these conditions, the war of 324 has all the appearances of a war of religion. Constantine took up definitely the attitude of a defender of Christianity: a law of 323 forbade officials to compel Christians to offer sacrifice³; and this seems a direct reply to the ordinances of Licinius. Hence his ambition to conquer the East seemed to the oppressed Christians a providential instrument for their liberation. It is said that, in the course of the campaign, each of the two opponents displayed his devotion towards the object of his faith: the army of Constantine advanced under the protection of the *labarum*; Licinius apparently multiplied sacrifices and magical rites in order to win the favour of the ancient divinities.⁴ These fell with him. Constantine, having triumphed over his rival on two occasions (July and September 324),⁵ abrogated in his new provinces all the measures

¹ Eusebius, *Hist. eccles.*, X, viii, 13-18; *De vita Constantini*, i, 52; ii, 1-2.

² The chief document is the *Passion* of the Forty Martyrs of Sebaste, in Lesser Armenia (Gebhart, *Acta martyrum selecta*, pp. 166-181). The veracity of the account is doubtful: the testament of the victims (*ibid.*) has more chances of being authentic (cf. N. Bonwetsch, *Das Testament der vierzig Märtyrer*, in *Studien zur Geschichte der Theologie und Kirche*, Vol. I, 1, Leipzig, 1897).

³ *Cod. Theod.*, XVI, ii, 5 (25th of May 323).

⁴ Eusebius, *Hist. eccles.*, X, ix; *De vita Constantini*, ii, 3-17.

⁵ On this date, cf. E. Stein, *Geschichte*, Vol. I, p. 159, and *Konstantin gelangte 324 zur Alleinherrschaft* in *Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft*, Vol. XXX, 1931, pp. 177-185.

enacted by the "tyrant," and brought back to the pacified world the undisputed triumph of the Cross.

§ 2. THE CHRISTIAN LEGISLATION OF CONSTANTINE

The Edicts of 324

From the end of 324, Constantine legislated and acted in favour of the Church.¹ These Acts and laws reflect the same ideas which the two emperors had expressed eleven years previously in their letters and rescripts. The first was a proclamation to all his new subjects. Eusebius gives us the text, posted up at Caesarea for all the "inhabitants of the Palestine provinces."² In phraseology which reminds us of the apologetic developments dear to Lactantius, this document consists essentially of a repetition of the prescriptions of 313: liberty for Christians, and restoration of ecclesiastical goods without indemnity. This has been called an "edict of liquidation," putting an end to all the sufferings endured by the Eastern Christians during more than twenty years.³ In point of fact, there were several precisions introduced into the text, which certainly went beyond the situation created by the recent decrees of Licinius. The Emperor therein gave a general summing up of the policy of persecution, praised the courage of the confessors, and ordered in detail that the faithful condemned to confinement, exile, public works or slavery, should be set free, and that the inheritance of the martyrs should be handed over to their relations, or failing them, to the church of the place, and that the Christian communities were to have restored to them freely their confiscated goods, lands, gardens, buildings, chapels and cemeteries. . . .

Another letter "to the Easterns"⁴ makes it clear, again as in 313, that freedom of conscience and of worship applied equally to the pagans. This liberal declaration was perhaps not unnecessary, in the atmosphere of Christian triumph

¹ The texts here discussed are known through the *De vita Constantini*. On their authenticity, cf. *infra*, pp. 392-393.

² Letter Ἡν μὲν ἄνωθεν (Eusebius, *De vita Constantini*, ii, 24-42).

³ Baynes, *op. cit.*, pp. 17 and 82.

⁴ Letter Πάντα μὲν ὅσα (Eusebius, *De vita Constantini*, ii, 48-60).

which followed Constantine's victory, in order to prevent any excess of anti-pagan zeal. But it is noteworthy that the Emperor surrounded this grant with particularly contemptuous remarks directed at the persecutors and pagan error in general.¹ The erstwhile worshipper of the Sun did not hesitate to ridicule the oracles of Apollo, and to proclaim aloud his faith in the Master of the Universe, and his mission as a Christian prince.² It is none the less noteworthy that, in the official programme of liberty for all and equality between the two religions, there are introduced acts of special favour towards the Church. Thus, on the morrow of victory, we find a promise to provide the bishops with money, lands, and materials necessary for the building of new churches³; and in the next year we get the introduction of a veritable budget for Christian worship, announcing important donations of lands⁴; and later on we find the sanctuaries of the Holy Land and basilicas in Constantinople being built at the expense of the Treasury.

Generosity of Constantine in Palestine

In Palestine, Constantine's mother, Helen, and his mother-in-law, Eutropia, seem to have interested themselves particularly in the new foundations, which now began to be the object of pilgrimages which were to continue for many centuries.⁵ In Jerusalem, the bishop, Macarius, identified

¹ Baynes (*op. cit.*, p. 19) writes that we nowhere find in the other writings of Constantine a passage comparable to this one, which expresses so vigorously his spirit of contemptuous toleration. On the interpretation of this διδασκαλία, cf. Sesan, *Kirche und Staat*, p. 259; Piganiol, *L'empereur Constantin*, pp. 147-148. As Piganiol remarks here, there is no doubt that Christian scribes had some part in drawing up these documents.

² We find the same spirit in the letter to Sapor, King of Persia, about 336 (Eusebius, *De vita Constantini*, iv, 9-13); cf. Baynes, *op. cit.*, p. 27.

³ Letter "Εως τοῖς παρόντος χρόνον to Eusebius of Caesarea (*De vita Constantini*, ii, 46). All the Eastern bishops received similar letters, according to Eusebius himself. He also mentions new basilicas at Nicomedia and Antioch (*ibid.*, iii, 50).

⁴ Sozomen, *Hist. eccles.*, V, v, 2-4 (cf. Piganiol, *op. cit.*, pp. 207-208).

⁵ Pilgrimages of Helen in 327-329 (*De vita Constantini*, iii, 41-43), of an anonymous person from Aquitaine in 333 (*Itinerarium Burdigalense*, in the *Vienna Corpus*, Vol. XXXIX, 1898). On this pilgrimage movement, cf. next volume.

the place of the Crucifixion and the tomb of Christ, and began the construction of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre; the site of the Ascension and in Bethlehem the cave of the Nativity, as well as the tombs of the Patriarchs at Hebron, were equally surrounded with magnificent basilicas.¹

At Constantinople

In the new capital, founded in 324 and inaugurated in 330, the Emperor personally presided over the installation of Christian churches.² In addition to the Cathedral of Irene, dedicated to Peace, which was then restored and enlarged, he built in the Western quarter near to the wall a magnificent

¹ Eusebius, *De vita Constantini*, iii, 25-28 (on the construction of the Holy Sepulchre); 29-32 (letter from the Emperor to Macarius of Jerusalem on this construction); 33-40 (description of the new building); 41-43 (the buildings in Bethlehem and the generosity of Helen); 51-53 (the basilica of Mambre, near Hebron). Cf. L. Duchesne, *Hist. anc. de l'Eglise*, Vol. II, pp. 78-83; A. Vincent, *Jérusalem*, Vol. II; F. Nau, *Les constructions palestiniennes dues à sainte Hélène*, in *Revue de l'Orient chrétien*, Vol. X, 1905, pp. 162-188; A. E. Mader, *La basilica costantiniana di Mambre presso Hebron*, in *Rivista di archeologia cristiana*, Vol. VI, 1929, pp. 249-312, and *La basilique constantinienne à l'intérieur du Haram*, in *Revue biblique*, Vol. XXXIX, 1930, pp. 115-117; A. Vincent, *Basilique de la Nativité à Bethléem*, in *Comptes rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions*, 1925, pp. 350-361.

² Eusebius, *De vita Constantini*, IV, 58-60; Socrates, *Hist. eccles.*, I, xvi. To the places mentioned above we must add the chapel of the Palace and several *martyria* (Eusebius, *Hist. eccles.*, III, xlviii). Cf. L. Duchesne, *Histoire anc. de l'Eglise*, Vol. II, pp. 84-88; V. Schultze, *Altchristliche Städte und Landschaften*, Vol. I, *Konstantinopel*, Leipzig, 1913. St. Sophia was not built till the time of Constantius.

Following the text of Eusebius and statements made by Sozomen, *Hist. eccles.*, II, iii, and St. Augustine, *De civitate Dei*, v, 25, it is often stated that Constantine intended to make New Rome a city openly and officially Christian, in place of the old pagan capital. J. Maurice (*Numismatique constantinienne*, Vol. II, pp. lxxvi-lxxxii and 482-492) allows that the temples of old Byzantium were retained and even enlarged after the dedication of 324, but he thinks that the inauguration in 330, with the installation of the prince, marked the end of all pagan influence in Constantinople. But this point of view must be given up, as L. Bréhier has shown (*Constantin et la fondation de Constantinople*, pp. 24 and 26): "The pagan element occupied in the foundation of Constantinople a fairly important place"; "Constantinople began to take the aspect of a Christian city only at the time when the same change took place throughout the Empire."

basilica in honour of the holy apostles, cruciform in shape, with a cupola in bronze, and surrounded by a courtyard with entrances. Here was placed the imperial Mausoleum, inside which twelve cenotaphs in marble surrounded the sarcophagus in which the prince "equal to the apostles" was to be interred.¹

Thus throughout the East Constantine extended towards the Church the generosity of which he had already given so many examples in Africa and Rome.

Laws in Favour of the Clergy

So far we have considered only the material patrimony of the Church. The latter, enriched by these manifold donations, and by the legacies which it was henceforth authorised to receive,² seemed likely to become simply the dependant of its benefactor. But Constantine did not forget the social office which the Church desired to fulfil: the laws which he promulgated assigned it an official place in society, and we might almost say in the State itself. From 318 he recognised in the bishops a veritable jurisdiction³; in 321 and 323 he extended the rights of the clergy⁴; in 333 a new step was taken.⁵ Henceforth slaves could be freed by a simple declaration in a church in the presence of the priests; clerics could even give liberty to their own without any formality. Further, the bishops were placed on an equal footing with magistrates: in the matter of civil justice, their testimony had an eminent value which no one could dispute; every case could be transferred by one of the parties concerned to an ecclesiastical tribunal, and the episcopal sentence was to be executed without appeal. Here we have the origin of the

¹ On Constantine's claim to be honoured as "equal to the apostles" (ἰσαπόστολος), cf. N. H. Baynes, *op. cit.*, pp. 30 and 95.

² Law of 3rd of July 321 (*Cod. Theod.*, XVI, ii, 4).

³ Law of 23rd of June 318 (*Cod. Theod.*, I, xxvii, 1), which authorises the transfer from the ordinary tribunals to the episcopal jurisdiction (date given by Seeck, *Regesten*, p. 166).

⁴ Law of 18th of April 321 (*Cod. Theod.*, IV, vii, 1; *Cod. Just.*, I, xiii, 2) and of the 8th of June 323 (*Cod. Just.*, I, xiii, 1) on giving freedom in churches (dates given by Seeck, *Regesten*, pp. 171-173).

⁵ Law of 5th of May 333 (*Const. Sirm.*, 1) on the judicial powers of bishops.

"privilege of forum" by which the Church participated in some measure in the sovereignty of the State.¹

Laws in Favour of Christian Principles

Finally, not only the ecclesiastical authorities but also Christian principles were fostered by the Roman law, and their application was facilitated. From 320, Sunday was an obligatory holiday, and in particular for the tribunals.² Further, a series of legislative acts promulgated from 319 to 322, 325 to 326 and later also, introduced into Roman law moral ideas manifestly inspired by the Gospel. The laws of Augustus against celibacy were abrogated³; severe penalties were enacted against those guilty of rape, and their accomplices, and also the victim herself if she had consented,⁴ also against fornication between a tutor and his female pupil,⁵ against adultery between a woman and her slave,⁶ against prostitution by inn servants.⁷ Concubinage, which law and custom had tolerated, was henceforth liable to penalties⁸; divorce was made more difficult⁹; bastardy itself was penalised.¹⁰ For the first time, the legislator rehabilitated virginity, and made virtue obligatory. It is impossible not to see in this new anxiety for sexual morality an indication of Christian influence.

The same may be said of the laws which showed a desire

¹ Cf. next volume.

² The law, promulgated in Sardinia, on 3rd of July 321 (*Cod. Theod.*, II, viii, 1; *Cod. Just.*, III, xii, 2), must have been preceded by a more rigorous one (A. Piganiol, *op. cit.*, p. 128). Cf. *Corpus inscr. lat.*, III, 4121 (Sunday market, doubtless to favour the interruption of work in the fields). The Christian influence here seems certain, in spite of the equivocal term used for Sunday in the law of 321: "venerabilis dies solis." Against: Piganiol, *op. cit.*, p. 129.

³ Law of 31st of Jan. 320 (*Cod. Theod.*, VIII, xvi, 1).

⁴ Law of 1st of April 326 (*ibid.*, IX, xxiv, 1; date given by Seeck, *Regesten*, p. 176).

⁵ Law of 4th of April 326 (*Cod. Theod.*, IX, viii, 1).

⁶ Law of 29th of May 329 (*Cod. Theod.*, IX, ix, 1); date given by Seeck, *Regesten*, p. 179.

⁷ Law of 3rd of Feb. 326 (*ibid.*, IX, vii, 1).

⁸ Law of 14th of June 326 (*Cod. Just.*, V, xxvi, 1).

⁹ Law of end of 331 (*Cod. Theod.*, III, xvi, 1).

¹⁰ Law of 29th of April 336 (*ibid.*, IV, vi, 2).

to defend the weak and innocent against violence and selfishness. Defamation and informing were severely punished¹; prisoners were protected against the brutality of their gaolers,² slaves against that of their masters,³ children against that of their parents⁴; society took up the cause of widows and orphans.⁵ In this way, through the Constantinian legislation, Christian charity and purity penetrated into the old Roman law.

§ 3. CONCLUSION: CONSTANTINE AND THE CHURCH

Constantine and Paganism

The work which Constantine did for Christianity was thus considerable, and it would be wrong to minimise its significance. But to arrive at an exact appreciation of the bearing of his reign, and especially of the Church's debt to him, we must bear in mind other aspects of his policy and outlook. As we have already mentioned, he remained down to the time of his death⁶ a Christian apart, or, we might even say, only "half a Christian."⁷ This fact is significant in a man whose faith and whose Christian dispositions, as we might call them, seem to have been quite sincere. Must we attribute the delay to the hope of effacing all at once all his faults by a late baptism? This may have played some part, although in point of fact we never find in this impulsive man,

¹ Laws of 29th of March 319 (*ibid.*, ix, 34, 1) and 22nd of March 335 (*ibid.*, X, x, 3).

² Laws of 31st of Dec. 320 (date of Seeck, *Regesten*, p. 170) and 3rd of Feb. 326 (*ibid.*, IX, iii, 1 and 2).

³ Laws of 11th of May 319 (*ibid.*, IX, xii, 1) punishing the torture or murder of slaves; 19th of April 325 (*ibid.*, II, xxv, 1) forbidding the separation in sales of members of one and the same family.

⁴ Laws of 6th of July 322 and 13th of May 329 (*ibid.*, XI, xxvii, 2 and 1): date of Seeck, *Regesten*, p. 179.

⁵ Law of 17th of June 334 (*ibid.*, I, xxii, 2).

⁶ He was baptised in May 337, a few days before his death, by Eusebius of Nicomedia. Cf. F. Doelger, *art. cit. infra*, p. 395.

⁷ On the "half-Christians," cf. Ch. Guignebert, *Les demi-chrétiens et leur place dans l'Eglise antique*, in *Revue de l'histoire des religions*, Vol. LXXXVIII, 1923, pp. 65-102.

even when he had his enemies or those near to him put to death,¹ a premeditated intention to live in sin. The main and essential reason for his dilatory attitude must be sought in his political outlook. As he declared one day to some churchmen, he regarded himself as "the bishop of those outside,"² i.e., of the pagans. After all, by virtue of his office of emperor, he was and remained the *pontifex maximus* of the Roman religion,³ and as such he had to keep for the old polytheism and its upholders freedom of worship, together with the material advantages and privileges which they had enjoyed officially hitherto. And that was precisely how he acted.⁴ In 318 and 320 he prohibited magic and private auguries,⁵ and after 330 he condemned neo-Platonism⁶ and

¹ He caused to be killed not only Licinius and his entourage (in 325), but also his own son Crispus and his wife Fausta (in 326). On these murders, cf. O. Seeck, *Die konstantinischen Verwandtenmorde*, in *Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Theologie*, Vol. XXXIII, 1890, pp. 63-77; J. Maurice, *Numismatique constantinienne*, Vol. II, pp. lxxxvii et seq., and *Constantin le Grand*, pp. 175-197. This writer is far too preoccupied with exculpating the Emperor from his crimes.

² "You are bishops of those inside the Church; I have been established by God as bishop of those outside [*ἐπίσκοπος τῶν ἐκτὸς*]" (Eusebius, *De vita Constantini*, iv, 24). This has often but wrongly been translated as "external bishop," i.e. one sharing externally in episcopal functions, or again, in charge of secular matters. The true sense, perceived by the old historians (e.g. Tillemont, *Histoire des empereurs*, Vol. IV, p. 293), and by a few modern ones (cf. Brieger, *art. cit.*, p. 190), has been established once more by E. Ch. Babut, *Evêque du dehors*, in *Revue critique*, Vol. LXVIII, 1909, pp. 362-364.

³ All the emperors retained this office down to 382 (see next volume).

⁴ On the "pagan policy" of Constantine, cf. V. Schultze, *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte Konstantins d. gr.* in *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*, Vol. VII, 1885, pp. 343-371 and Vol. VIII, 1886, pp. 517-542; Sesan, *op. cit.*, pp. 249 et seq.; L. Bréhier, *art. cit.*; F. Martroye, *La répression de la magie et le culte des gentils au IV^e siècle*, in *Revue historique du droit*, Vol. LIV, 1930, pp. 669-701; Piganiol, *op. cit.*, p. 182.

⁵ Laws of 23rd of May 318, 1st of Feb. 320 (*Cod. Theod.*, IX, xvi, 3, 2 and 1) and of 17th of Dec. 320 (*ibid.*, XVI, x, 1); dates given by Seeck, *Regesten*, pp. 166-170.

⁶ Letter Τοῖς ποιεργοῖς (Socrates, *Hist. eccles.*, I, ix; Gelasius of Cyzicus, *Hist. eccles.*, II, xxxvi). On this document, cf. G. Bardy, *La politique religieuse de Constantin après le Concile de Nicée*, in *Revue des sciences religieuses*, Vol. VIII, 1928, p. 536, n. 3; Piganiol, *op. cit.*, p. 180; P. de Labriolle, *La Réaction païenne*, p. 242.

closed the scandalous Syrian temples.¹ But all this was merely a purging of paganism,² analogous to the purging of Christianity represented by the measures taken against schisms and heresies. The works of Porphyry were burnt, as were the writings of Arius: the parallel was pointed out by the Emperor himself.³ Certainly, he sometimes went so far as to denounce pagan error and "the falsehoods of superstition,"⁴ but paganism none the less retained its official character, side by side with Christianity, so recently promoted to the rank of a State religion. Constantine never abandoned this "parity" of the two religious confessions,⁵ and what he proscribed were deviations or counterfeit versions.

Real Nature of his Christian Policy

It is equally true that Constantine never ceased to defend the rights and interests of the State, side by side with and

¹ Eusebius, *De vita Constantini*, iii, 55-58; Socrates, *Hist. eccles.*, I, xviii; Sozomen, *Hist. eccles.*, II, v. Cf. Piganiol, *op. cit.*, pp. 184-185.

² Because of an allusion in a legislative text of 341 (*infra*, p. 225), and on the strength of some ancient writers, it has often been said that Constantine prohibited sacrifices and shut up the temples. But in reality he only acted against certain sacrifices and certain temples. The declaration by Libanios (*Pro templis*, vi) is decisive: "Constantine changed absolutely nothing in the legal cult. True, poverty reigned in the temples, but one could see there all the ceremonies being carried out." Cf. Sesan, *op. cit.*, pp. 261-279; Martroye, in *Bulletin de la Société nationale des Antiquaires de France*, 1915, pp. 280-292.

³ In the letter quoted above, p. 65, n. 6, where he desires that the followers of Arius shall be called "Porphyrians."

⁴ Cf. the diatribes in the letter to the Easterns (cf. *supra*, p. 59, n. 4, p. 60, n. 1), and the rescript on the Temple of Hispellum, where the cult of the *gens Flavia* was authorised, provided it was not corrupted by pagan rites: "ne aedis nostro nomini dedicata cujusquam contagiosae superstitionis fraudibus polluat" (*Corp. inscr. lat.*, XI, 5625). Cf. the painting in the Palace of Constantinople, in which the Emperor had himself pictured as piercing with his lance the dragon of error.

⁵ Cf. *supra*, p. 10. The writers who have best set forth this position of Constantine are Brieger, *art. cit.*, pp. 181 *et seq.*, and Sesan, *op. cit.*, pp. 284-288. We ought rather to speak of equilibrium between three religions, seeing that he expressly granted toleration to Judaism (Laws of 11th of Dec. 321, 29th of Nov. and 1st of Dec. 330, 21st of Oct. 335 [dates of Seeck, *Regesten*, pp. 171, 180, 183]: *Cod. Theod.*, XVI, viii, 3, 2, 4, 5; ix, 1; *Const. Sirm.*, 4).

even above the rights and interests of the two religions. In spite of all the pecuniary or moral favours he granted to the Christian clergy, he did not want ecclesiastical vocations to draw people away from the municipal *curiae*,¹ and above all we find him seeking to preserve the public peace before all else. When he declared himself so hostile towards schisms and heresies,² we may well ask if he was concerned solely with distinguishing between truth and error. Throughout the hesitations and changes which we have noticed in his attitude towards Donatism, and the at least apparent inconsistencies which we shall find in his policy towards Arianism, we discern the definite intention to impose peace and unity. Unity by ambiguity, peace by compulsion: that mattered little! He sincerely thought that his brief formulæ and his procedure, authoritative and diplomatic in turn, would provide a satisfactory solution for all the difficulties. It has been well said that he never had the intention to dominate the Church³; but it is none the less true that he did in fact gravely hinder the autonomous development of ecclesiastical activity. This admits of a simple explanation: failing to realise the real bearing of theological problems and the requirements of the Catholic constitution of the Church, he aggravated the conflicts which had arisen within the Church, though doubtless acting in good faith. "A relentless and incoherent policy" is one way in which his activities have been summed up.⁴ The verdict would be unjust, in our opinion, if it were intended to imply the contradictory actions of a despotic and capricious ruler, swayed by divergent influences. In point of fact, Constantine throughout pursued the same plan, and that was to uphold what he thought to be desirable for the interests of the State, namely agreement of minds and order in public. He was a believer,

¹ Laws of 1st of June and 18th of July 329 (*Cod. Theod.*, XVI, ii, 6 and 3): date of Seeck, *Regesten*, p. 179.

² Letter to the Novatian, Valentinian, Marcionite, Paulianist and Montanist heretics, Ἐπιγινώσκετε νῦν, about 332 (Eusebius, *De vita Constantini*, iii, 64-65); law of 1st of Sept. 326 (*Cod. Theod.*, xvi, 5, 1). Cf. *supra*, Ch. II (on Donatism), and *infra*, Part Two, Ch. I and II, on Arianism.

³ Seeck, *Geschichte des Untergangs*, Vol. I, 2nd edn., pp. 62 *et seq.* Cf. Mueller, *art. cit.*, p. 270.

⁴ Piganiol, *op. cit.*, p. 158 (cf. *supra*, p. 49).

and wished to respect the internal freedom of the Church¹; he displayed great deference towards the bishops; he facilitated their assemblies, and claimed to be only carrying out their decisions. Caesaropapism was not his creation, and the State was in his time only the secular arm of the Church. Nevertheless it must certainly be said that, immediately after Constantinian peace, the free play of ecclesiastical autonomy was thwarted.

Unfortunate Consequences for the Church

The responsibility for this state of affairs lies with the Emperor, and also with churchmen. Eusebius, with a naïf authoritarianism, always viewed ecclesiastical problems from the standpoint of the State: hence the mistakes he made first in Africa, and then in the East. On the other hand, the religious leaders seem to have done nothing to vindicate their liberty: Silvester as well as Hosius, Eusebius and Athanasius, Donatus and Arius—all solicited or tolerated the interventions of the prince. Those who benefited by the imperial interventions were not the only ones to bow to them: the victims proclaimed their innocence or protested against their sentences but did not question the principle of State intervention.²

The reasons for this passive attitude are easy to see. In astute partisans, there was a desire to profit by the official favour once this had been gained; in the timid, there was a legitimate gratitude towards the liberating prince; in all, there was the intoxication of the Christian victory, the lack of experience of so novel a situation, and a failure to foresee consequences. People were still almost blinded by the rapid march of surprising events; the providential swing of the pendulum, the surprising benefits received from the Emperor, the honours and privileges given to the Church, and the fact that Christianity was penetrating into palaces and permeating the laws. And yet, without aiming at domination or at hindrances, the State, in order to

¹ Batiffol, *La paix constantinienne*, pp. 351-353.

² Later on, Donatus and Athanasius will appeal to the Emperor, cf. *infra*, p. 261, and K. F. Hagel, *Kirche und Kaisertum in Lehre und Leben des Athanasius*, Leipzig, 1933, pp. 38, 51 *et passim*.

extinguish disorders, was interfering more and more in the internal affairs of the Church, to the disadvantage of both. It was a fatal mistake, and the two powers were destined to suffer long from its unfortunate consequences.

Thus the Church was scarcely freed from the oppression of its persecutors when it had to encounter a trial more terrible perhaps than that of hostility: the embarrassing and onerous protection of the State.¹ This was already clear in the Donatist crisis. We shall find it clearer still when we study the Arian crisis, which will last for more than half a century, though its first developments go back to the end of the reign of Constantine.

¹ J. Zeiller, in *Le Correspondant*, New Series, Vol. CCXCVII, 1933, p. 92.

PART TWO
THE ARIAN CRISIS

CHAPTER I

THE BEGINNINGS OF ARIANISM AND THE COUNCIL OF NICAEA¹

§ I. THE BEGINNINGS OF ARIANISM

Alexander

THE church of Alexandria had not enjoyed peace again after the bloody death of Peter on the 25th of November 311. Achillas, a former head of the Catechetical School, who had succeeded the glorious martyr, occupied the episcopal chair only a few months. His place was taken by Alexander. Both Achillas and Alexander had to deal with Meletius, whose preaching and intrigues continued, and who gathered around himself a certain number of malcontents.² Alexander also had to repress the boldness of a priest named Kolluthus, who arrogated to himself the right to ordain priests and deacons, and who, against all law, ordained anyone who chose to go to him.

However dangerous they may have been for the unity of the Church, the schisms of Meletius and Kolluthus were as nothing compared to the controversies which about 323³ arose between the bishop Alexander and another of his

¹ For Bibliography, see p. 396

² On the origins of the Meletian schism, see *History of the Primitive Church*, Vol. IV, pp. 908-910.

³ The exact date of the beginnings of Arianism cannot be determined with certainty. The year 318 was long favoured, but with no reason other than that given by Duchesne, *Histoire ancienne de l'Eglise*, Vol. II, p. 126, n. 2: "As it is impossible to put all the events between Constantine's victory over Licinius and the Council of Nicaea, we must go back to a time prior to the Licinian persecution." Nevertheless it seems to follow from the account of Eusebius in the *De vita Constantini* that the events came to a head in a few months, and that the crisis developed very quickly. Cf. E. Schwartz, *Zur Geschichte des Athanasius*, VI, in the *Göttingen Nachrichten*, 1905, p. 297. The year 323 (spring) may be retained as the most likely.

priests, Arius, who was in charge of the church of Baucalis.¹ Becoming ever more envenomed by the bitterness of the two opponents, these controversies led to one of the most terrible crises that the Church has ever experienced.

The First Years of Arius

The early history of Arius is rather obscure. Born, apparently, in Libya, Arius had spent all his ecclesiastical career at Alexandria. Under the episcopate of Peter, he had begun by siding with Meletius; then, separating from the schismatics, he had been ordained deacon. But his spirit of independence had prevailed, and he had finally been excommunicated because of rather too lively a criticism of his bishop for the measures taken against the Meletians.² Achilles had nevertheless accepted him, and had conferred upon him the priesthood. Alexander had placed confidence in him and had put him in charge of the church of Baucalis.

While occupying this position, Arius had quickly gained much influence. His already advanced age, his stern countenance, his ascetical practices and his knowledge had attracted numerous disciples to him. Women, and especially the holy virgins who were at that time one of the glories of the Church of Alexandria, found him irresistible. A large number of clergy gathered round him, and delighted to

¹ Epiphanius, *Haeres.*, lxviii, 4. St. Epiphanius (*Haeres.*, lxix, 2) mentions many Alexandrian churches, those of Dionysius, Theonas, Pierius, Serapion, Persea, Dizya, Mendidion, and Annienus. Possibly these churches did not all exist at the beginning of the fourth century. Cf. H. Leclercq, art. *Alexandrie*, in *Dict. d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie*, Vol. I, 1907, cols. 1107 *et seq.*

² The best informed source, apparently, on the early years of Arius is Sozomen, *Hist. eccles.*, I, xv, and we follow him here. We can link up with Sozomen's account a document on the Meletian Schism which mentions a certain Arius, who had an appearance of piety, but who, being ambitious for the magisterium ("et ipse doctoris desiderium habens": the reference here must be to the priesthood), revealed to Meletius, in concert with a certain Isidore, the place where lay hidden the officials chosen by Peter to visit the churches. Meletius appointed other visitors in place of those chosen by Peter. Cf. E. Schwartz, *Zur Geschichte des Athanasius*, V, in the *Göttingen Nachrichten*, 1905, p. 177.

listen to his teaching, although this was far from being in agreement with that of his bishop.¹

Arius, in fact, held on many points the doctrine of St. Lucian of Antioch. He may possibly have heard him speak, and in any case he knew many of his chief disciples.² The documents which have come down to us do not enable us to reconstitute the authentic teaching of that master in all its details. But at least it is certain that this teaching was strongly tinged with Subordinationism. Lucian emphasised above all the unity of God, eternal and ingenerate. He declared, on the other hand, that the Word had been derived from nothing (ἐξ οὐκ ὄντων), that there had been a time when He did not exist (ἦν ὅτε οὐκ ἦν), that He had been generated, not necessarily, but freely by the Father. After that, he might indeed affirm that the Word was not a creature like the others, and emphasise His function in the creation of the world, and perhaps even declare that He was the exact image of the essence, will, power and glory of the Father: even so, it was difficult to avoid the conclusion that the Father alone deserved expressly the name of God, and that the Word, compared with Him, had only a secondary and subordinate divinity. In the Trinity there were three hypostases, and these were one only by an agreement of wills.

In point of fact, this doctrine was not absolutely new. It was connected, by more or less close links, with the teaching of the apologists of the second century, and still more with that of Origen. But Origen and the apologists had profoundly religious minds, and, moreover, they had remained completely attached to the tradition conserved and transmitted by the Church. While it is possible to find in their works some incorrect expressions or inadequate formulæ, the orthodoxy of their real thought is beyond any doubt. But when they took up and developed the theology of the

¹ Epiphanius, *Haeres.*, lxix, 3; Socrates, *Hist. eccles.*, I, v; II, xxv; Athanasius, *Contra Arianos*, I, viii.

² Arius, in a letter to Eusebius of Nicomedia, regards the latter as a fellow-Lucianist: cf. Theodoret, *Hist. eccles.*, I, v, 4. But it does not follow from this that he had himself attended Lucian's lectures. Cf. G. Bardy, *Saint Lucien d'Antioche et son école: les collucianistes*, in *Recherches de Science religieuse*, Vol. XXII, 1932, pp. 446 et seq.

Word in an exclusive sense, Lucian and his disciples had, by contrast, attached far too much importance to the requirements of dialectics, and had abandoned the strictly religious side of Christianity. Hence their errors, and the emotion caused by their teaching in all those places where the desire to keep the tradition intact prevailed over intellectual curiosity.¹

It seems that Arius was able to preach his doctrine for some time before being disturbed; in any case he succeeded in acquiring a great influence, even among the clergy. According to a rumour mentioned by Epiphanius, he had round him seven priests, twelve deacons, and seven hundred consecrated virgins, not to mention bishops who, like Secundus of Ptolemais, shared his view.²

The First Conflicts

Bishop Alexander, however, could not remain indifferent to the teaching of Arius. Was he warned by Meletius, as St. Epiphanius asserts?³ Or did some of the faithful inform him, and ask for his intervention? We do not know. In any case, "considering that, in controversies, the best thing is to invite the two parties to state their case, so as to put an end to their dispute by persuasion rather than by force," Alexander arranged for a discussion, where each side could speak. Arius set forth his ideas at length; his opponents answered by insisting on the eternity of the Word and His consubstantiality with the Father. The bishop himself, who presided at the meeting, after listening with great patience, and even praising all the speakers, finally sided against Arius. He ordered him to think as he himself did on the matter, and forbade him to propagate his doctrine.⁴

Arius refused to obey. He knew that he was supported by several partisans; he was aware that his ideas were taught

¹ Sozomen, *Hist. eccles.*, I, xv, rebukes Arius for having been an out and out dialectician, and for having been led into error, as is natural "for anyone who dabbles in dialectics and the detailed examination of matters of faith."

² Epiphanius, *Haeres.*, lxix, 3. The list of clergy excommunicated by Alexander contains only six priests and six deacons. Cf. E. Schwartz, *Zur Geschichte des Athanasius*, VI, in *Göttingen Nachrichten*, 1905, p. 295.

³ Epiphanius, *Haeres.*, lxix, 3.

⁴ Sozomen, *Hist. eccles.*, I, xv.

outside Egypt by all the bishops who were, like himself, attached to the school of Lucian; he could number among his defenders not only the Bishop of Nicomedia, but also those of Caesarea, Lydda, Tyre, Berytus, Laodicea and Anazarbus, and, he proudly added, all the Easterns.¹ With this support he felt himself able to resist Alexander.

The latter was not dismayed. He knew that the bishops of Egypt remained faithful to himself, and this was a great support for him. He gathered them together, therefore, at Alexandria, to the number of about a hundred. He told them of the blasphemies of Arius, and all, with two exceptions, were in agreement that these should be condemned. The two dissidents, Secundus of Ptolemais in Cyrenaica, and Theonas of Marmarica, were deposed. Together with them, the synod excommunicated and deprived of their functions six priests and six deacons of Alexandria, Arius, Achilles, Aeithales, Carpones, another Arius, and Sarmatas, priests; and Euzoius, Lucius, Julius, Menas, Helladius and Gaius, deacons.² Shortly afterwards, the list seems to have been added to: the error of Arius had been adopted by some in the Mareotis; two priests, Chares and Pistus, and four deacons, Separion, Parammon, Zosimus and Irenaeus, who belonged to the clergy of that region, were deposed in their turn.³

Arius in Palestine

At all times, Palestine had extended a welcome to those Alexandrians who were obliged to leave their own country. We have seen that Origen found at Caesarea a most hospitable place of refuge. Arius, as we have said, had several

¹ Arius mentions the names of these bishops in a letter addressed to Eusebius of Nicomedia (cf. p. 396). Cf. G. Bardy, *Recherches sur saint Lucien d'Antioche et ses disciples*, pp. 223-228. In this same letter, Arius declares that against him are Philogonus of Antioch, Macarius of Jerusalem, and Hellanicus of Tripoli. This is important. It shows that neither Palestine nor Syria was completely won over to the heresy, and never would be. Cf. G. Bardy, *L'Eglise d'Antioche au temps de la crise arienne*, in *Bulletin d'anc. litt. et d'archéol. chrét.*, Vol. IV, 1914, pp. 243-261.

² Alexander of Alexandria, *Epist. encycl.*, vi, *apud* Socrates, *Hist. eccles.*, I, vi.

³ *Depositio Arii*.

sympathisers among the episcopate of that province, and whether under constraint or not, he left Alexandria, and sought the help of the Bishop of Caesarea, Eusebius.

He could not have made a better choice. Eusebius was a learned man and a great worker; he had written an *Ecclesiastical History* which extended from the origins of the Church down to the most recent period; he had drawn up a *Praeparatio Evangelica* and a *Demonstratio Evangelica*, two great works which set forth for Jews and pagans the proofs of the Christian religion. Above all, he was a disciple and an admirer of Origen, and had recently composed an apology for him, in collaboration with the holy martyr Pamphilus. His ideas on matters of Christology were doubtless not so clear and definite as those of Arius, and he was too clever, and too great a lover of peace, to compromise himself by too precise formulae. But ultimately his tendencies were leading him in the same direction as the priest of Alexandria, and he received the latter with pleasure.

During his stay at Caesarea, Arius did not remain idle. The city at once became the starting-point of a great correspondence initiated by himself. While the bishop, Eusebius, was writing to Alexander of Alexandria reproving him for having misrepresented the ideas of the deposed priest, and to Euphrasion, Bishop of Balaneus, in praise of the new doctrine,¹ Arius himself wrote thus to his fellow Lucianist, Eusebius of Nicomedia:

(Because we say) that the Son is neither generated nor is part of the Ingenerate in any way, nor derived from a pre-existing subject, but, by the will and design (of the Father), He began to be before time and all ages, perfect God, only Son, unchangeable, and that before He was generated or created or decreed or founded He was not, inasmuch as He was not ingenerate—for this we are persecuted.²

¹ The *Acts* of the Second Council of Nicaea have given us some fragments of letters from Eusebius to Alexander and Euphrasion (Mansi, *Concilia*, Vol. XIII, 317). Another letter from Eusebius to Alexander, possibly earlier, is mentioned in the letter from Eusebius of Nicomedia to Paulinus of Tyre (Theodoret, *Hist. eccles.*, I, v).

² Arius, *Epist. ad Euseb.*, apud Epiphanius, *Haeres.*, lxix, 6.

This Bishop of Nicomedia, who enters history through this letter of Arius, and who is to play such a prominent part henceforth, was indeed a strange personage. He had begun by being Bishop of Berytus, then he had had himself translated to the more important see of Nicomedia. His intrigues had very soon put him in close relation with Constantia, sister of Constantine and wife of Licinius. Even when Licinius had been finally defeated, Eusebius remained the confidant of Constantia, and through her he won the favour of Constantine himself. He was never to lose this, save during the time of a temporary eclipse.¹

Arius at Nicomedia

After writing to the Bishop of Nicomedia, Arius hastened to go to him, for the imperial city offered him a wider and more valuable centre of operations than the metropolis of Palestine. At once the campaign developed. Eusebius began to write letters everywhere in order to get support for Arius²; he even held at Nicomedia a council, which declared that the dissidents ought to be admitted to communion, and that Alexander would be requested to receive them.³ He persuaded Arius himself to write to his bishop, in order to set forth his doctrine. We still have this statement, which is certainly a very clever one, for the excommunicated priest therein declares that he had never taught anything other than what he had learnt from Alexander, and that he had always condemned the errors which he had heard Alexander condemn openly in church.⁴

¹ Cf. A. Lichtenstein, *Eusebius von Nikomedien*, Halle, 1903.

² Alexander of Alexandria, *Epist. encyc.*, apud Socrates, *Hist. eccles.*, I, vi. Alexander accuses Eusebius of acting as if the affairs of the whole Church depended upon him. We have one of these letters of Eusebius, addressed to Paulinus of Tyre, in Theodoret, *Hist. eccles.*, I, v. Paulinus seems to have hesitated for a time, and he had to be roused to pronounce definitely for Arius.

³ Sozomen, *Hist. eccles.*, I, xv.

⁴ This profession of faith is in Epiphanius, *Haeres.*, lxi, 7. It has the signatures of the six priests, Arius, Aeithales, Achilles, Carpones, Sarmatas and Arius, and of the six deacons, Euzoius, Lucius, Julius, Menas, Helladius and Gaius, who had been excommunicated by the Egyptian Council, and also the signatures of the bishops Secundus, Theonas and Pistus. In *De synodis*, xvi, St. Athanasius reproduces neither the inscription nor the signatures

The "Thalia"

We may well doubt Arius's sincerity in writing thus, for, about the same time that he drew up this profession of faith, he wrote an important work in which he set forth his ideas very clearly. Written at least partly in verse, the *Thalia*—such was the title of the work—was intended to be learnt and recited by even the simplest believers. It began with a eulogy of the author himself:

Following the belief of the elect of God, who understand Him, and of the holy and orthodox children who possess the Holy Spirit of God, this is what I have learnt from those endowed with Wisdom, prominent men, taught by God, and skilful in all things. It is in their footsteps I myself walk, I walk like them, I who am so much spoken against, and who have suffered so many things for the glory of God, I, who have received from God the wisdom and knowledge which I possess . . .

The theological developments were written in a less pretentious style, but in spite of, or else because of, the rigid character of their dialectics, they could not have been always well understood by those for whom they were written.¹

Activity of Alexander

To this campaign of propaganda, the Bishop of Alexandria replied immediately. He on his side wrote many letters to the episcopate, denouncing the errors of Arius, and making

to the letter. A Latin translation is given by St. Hilary, *De Trinit.*, IV, xii ; VI, v. Cf. G. Bardy, *Recherches sur saint Lucien d'Antioche*, pp. 228-238.

¹ Of the *Thalia*, we possess only a few fragments conserved by St. Athanasius. These have been collected together by G. Bardy, *La Thalie d'Arius*, in *Revue de philologie*, Vol. LIII, 1927, pp. 211-233. The metre of the *Thalia* is, according to St. Athanasius, the sotadic verse. Cf. P. Maas, *Die Metrik der Thaleia des Areios*, in *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, Vol. XVIII, 1909, p. 511 ; A. Puech, *Histoire de la littérature grecque chrétienne*, Vol. III, pp. 59-63. It is a question whether the *Thalia* did not consist of a mixture of prose and verse. That would explain why certain fragments seem to have a metric form, although it is difficult to restore them to more or less normal sotadees, while others defy any attempt at such restoration.

known everywhere the decisions taken at the Council of Alexandria:

There is only one body of the Catholic Church, and in the Holy Scriptures we are commanded to keep the bond of unanimity and of peace. That is why we are accustomed to write to one another, to give mutual information of what takes place in our midst, so that, if one member suffers, or if one member is joyful, all may share with him his pain or his pleasure.¹

Even before he had read the *Thalia*, Alexander had begun to write to his colleagues, and the arrival at Alexandria of Arius's work could only increase his zeal.² More than seventy letters were sent by him spreading throughout the Catholic world the echoes of the controversy, and Eusebius of Caesarea, Macarius of Jerusalem, Asclepas of Gaza, Longinus of Ascalon, Macarius of Jamnia, Zeno of Tyre, Philogonus of Antioch, Eustathius of Berea, Aeglo of Cynopolis, and many others were warned in this way.³ Following a tradition dear to his church, Alexander did not hesitate to address himself to Pope Silvester, to communicate the decisions of the Egyptian Council,⁴ and thereby he gave to the conflict a truly Catholic significance.

Events developed rapidly. Scarcely a year had elapsed since the beginning of the controversy when all the Christian East was in flames. Followers and opponents of Arius

¹ Alexander of Alexandria, *Epist. encycl.*, *apud* Socrates, *Hist. eccles.*, I, vi.

² The letter, ἡ φίλαριος, to Alexander of Constantinople, *apud* Theodoret, *Hist. eccles.*, I, iv, seems to have been written before the Bishop of Alexandria had seen the *Thalia*. The *Encyclical Letter* which quotes the *Thalia* must have been later. Cf. G. Bardy, *Saint Alexandre d'Alexandrie a-t-il connu la 'Thalie' d'Arius?* in *Revue des Sciences religieuses*, Vol. VI, 1926, pp. 527-532.

³ St. Epiphanius (*Haeres.*, lxi, 4) knew one collection comprising about seventy letters; letters to Philogonus and Eustathius are mentioned by Theodoret, *Hist. eccles.*, I, iv, 62; that to Aeglo by St. Maximus the Confessor.

⁴ The letter to Silvester is mentioned in a letter of Liberius, *apud* Hilary, *Fragm. histor.*, v, 4: "Manent litterae Alexandri episcopi olim ad Silvestrum sanctae memoriae destinatae, quibus significavit ante ordinationem Athanasii undecim tam presbyteros quam etiam diaconos, quod Arianismum haeresim sequerentur, se ecclesia eiecisse."

mutually excommunicated each other, and even went so far as to treat each other as disbelievers in God. Each of the two parties gave itself up to keen propaganda, and letters of Alexander of Alexandria and, on the other side, of Eusebius of Nicomedia and sympathisers with Arius, were scarcely written when they were gathered into collections and given the widest possible circulation.¹ One Cappadocian Christian, whose past was perhaps not blameless, for he was accused of having sacrificed in the time of the great persecution, and was denied admittance into the ranks of the clergy, travelled all through the East preaching the new doctrine. He was named Asterius, and his conferences played their part in keeping up the agitation.²

Return of Arius to Alexandria

A new cause of trouble very soon arose, in the return of Arius to Alexandria. The Council of Nicomedia had requested Alexander to receive the excommunicated priest; the bishop had refused energetically to accede to this request. A new Council assembled at Caesarea in Palestine, comprising Eusebius, Paulinus of Tyre, Patrophilus of Scythopolis and some others.³ Although without any mandate, this meeting authorised Arius and his colleagues to resume their functions. Fortified with this decision, the latter returned to their own country. Their arrival led to an extraordinary agitation, for Arius was able to arouse the interest of all in his cause. He even composed songs which the sailors, millers, travellers and merchants repeated over and over again in the streets and on the quay.⁴ In the theatres the spectators quarrelled over theology⁵; in public places blows were exchanged, and the pagans ridiculed all

¹ We know through St. Epiphanius (*Haeres.*, lxix, 5) of the collection of Alexander's letters; St. Athanasius, *De synod.*, xvii, speaks of the *corpus* of letters favourable to Arius.

² Athanasius, *De synod.*, xviii. Cf. G. Bardy, *Astérius le sophiste*, in *Revue d'hist. ecclés.*, Vol. XXII, 1926, p. 226.

³ Sozomen, *Hist. eccles.*, I, xv.

⁴ These songs must not be confused with the *Thalia*. St. Athanasius (*De decret. Nicaenae syn.*, xvi) expressly distinguishes between these. Cf. Philostorgus, *Hist. eccles.*, II, ii.

⁵ Eusebius, *De vita Constantini*, i, 61.

these discussions, which were gravely weakening the Christian cause.

Intervention of Constantine

It was in these circumstances that Constantine, having become master of the whole East by his victory over Licinius, entered Nicomedia.¹ The Emperor had somewhat crude ideas in the matter of religious discipline: he desired above all the establishment and reign of unity, and he could not understand why people should dispute about words which meant nothing to him because he did not grasp their significance. The Donatist affair, which his efforts had nevertheless been powerless to settle, had in no wise lessened his confidence in his own abilities. When he learnt, as he soon did, of the religious situation in the East, he was deeply chagrined thereby. On his orders, Hosius of Cordova set out immediately for Alexandria, carrying a letter addressed both to Alexander and to Arius.²

From our present standpoint, this letter is certainly an extraordinary one. This is what the Emperor writes:

I learn that the origin of this difference is as follows. You, Alexander, asked your priests what each one thought concerning a certain passage of the Law,³ or rather about an insignificant point of detail. You, Arius, imprudently uttered an idea which ought not to have been entertained, or, if entertained, ought not to have been spoken. This has given rise to discord between you, involving a refusal of communion, a division of holy people, to the detriment of harmony

¹ The victory of Chrysopolis was won by Constantine on the 18th of Sept. 324. Cf. *supra*, p. 58, n. 5.

² Eusebius, *De vita Constant.*, ii, 63. This letter of Constantine, $\Delta\iota\tau\lambda\eta\nu\mu\omicron\iota$ is conserved in Eusebius, *De vita Constant.*, ii, 64-72. Its authenticity has been denied by P. Batiffol (*Les documents de la Vita Constantini*, in *Bull. d'anc. litt. et d'archéol. chrét.*, Vol. IV, 1914, pp. 83-86), who regards it as a forgery belonging to the first years of the reign of Constantius II. It is, on the other hand, defended by Harnack, Duchesne and d'Alès, and we think it genuine beyond question. Cf. G. Bardy, *La politique religieuse de Constantin après le Concile de Nicée*, in *Revue des Sciences religieuses*, Vol. VIII, 1928, p. 516, n. 1.

³ The reference is to the well-known passage in *Proverbs*, viii, 22.

in one and the same body. Now, let each of you, showing an equal indulgence, accept the just suggestion of your fellow servant. This is that, to begin with, such questions should not have been asked, and should not have been answered. For such enquiries, laid down by no law but suggested by idleness, the mother of vain quarrels, may indeed serve to exercise the mind, but ought to be kept to oneself and not thoughtlessly ventilated in public meetings, or inconsiderately communicated to the ears of the people. . . . You know well that philosophers who agree on some doctrine are often in disagreement on some particular point in their system, and that these disagreements do not prevent them from keeping the unity of doctrine among themselves.¹

Constantine, as we see, completely misunderstood the importance of the Arian crisis. He saw no difference between the teaching of Arius and that of Alexander: it was simply, in his eyes, a case of empty disputes on idle questions. The proper thing to do was to come to an understanding, and to maintain, by means of some concessions, the inestimable boon of peace. In expressing himself thus, Constantine was speaking as a statesman: the moment when he had just united in his own hands the two halves of the Empire was not one to allow his new Eastern subjects to devour each other because of subtle problems. Possibly, if he had been better instructed in religious matters, he would not have spoken so lightly of the divinity of Christ, for that was what was in question. It seems, indeed, that his ecclesiastical adviser, Hosius of Cordova, who had come from the West, was at first no better informed than Constantine on the gravity of these Eastern controversies.

Mission of Hosius

Hosius, however, when he reached Alexandria, took care to inform himself on the state of affairs. He not only saw Bishop Alexander: he attended a synod of Egyptian bishops which was called to regulate some local matters. Kolluthus,

¹ Constantine, *Epist.* Διπλῆν μοι, *apud* Eusebius, *De vita Constant.*, ii, 69.

who had usurped the episcopate, was put back to the rank of priest; Ischyrras, who claimed to have received priestly ordination from the hands of Kolluthus, was admitted to lay communion.¹ The Council doubtless also discussed the case of Arius, but we do not know in what sense.

Having thus made contact with the Egyptian episcopate, Hosius returned to Nicomedia. He must have been followed there very soon by Alexander and Arius, who decided to see the Emperor themselves about their controversies.² Arius and his friends went by land; Alexander, who travelled by sea, was the first to arrive, and he was thus able to rally to his view those in the entourage of Hosius. This was a gain of great importance, made at a decisive moment.

The Council of Antioch

About the same time, in fact, some grave events were taking place at Antioch. The Bishop, Philogonus, had died on the 24th of December 324, and fifty-six bishops belonging to the provinces of Palestine, Arabia, Phoenicia, Coele-Syria and Cappadocia had gathered together under the presidency of Eusebius of Isauria to choose a successor.³

¹ We have little information on this Council. It is mentioned only in letters addressed by the priests and deacons of the Mareotis to the Council of Tyre and the prefect of Egypt: Athanasius, *Apol. contra Arian.*, lxxiv and lxxv.

² Philostorgus, *Hist. eccles.*, I, vii and viia.

³ The synodal letter of the Council of Antioch has come down to us in a Syriac version, first published with a Greek retranslation, by E. Schwartz, *Zur Geschichte des Athanasius*, VI, in the *Göttingen Nachrichten*, 1905, pp. 27 *et seq.* Schwartz unhesitatingly accepted the authenticity of this document. Harnack (*Die angebliche Synode von Antiochien im Jahre 324-325*, in the *Berlin Sitzungsberichte*, 1908, pp. 477-491) thinks on the contrary that this synodal letter is an apocryphal composition. Schwartz's reply (*Zur Geschichte des Athanasius*, VII, in the *Göttingen Nachrichten*, 1908, pp. 305-374) did not convince Harnack, and the latter maintained his views in a new article (*Die angebliche Synode von Antiochien*, in the *Berlin Sitzungsberichte*, 1909, pp. 401-425). F. Nau has published the Syriac text and a French translation of the synodal letter in *Littérature canonique syriaque inédite*, in *Revue de l'Orient chrétien*, 2nd series, Vol. IV, 1909, pp. 3-31. He likewise rejects the hypothesis of a Council at Antioch in 324-325. A monograph on the subject has been written by E. Seeberg, *Die Synode von Antiochien im Jahre 324-325. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Konzils von Nicäa*, Berlin, 1913. Two important articles on the question have been written by D. Lebedev: *Antiochiiokii sobor 324 goda i ego poslanie k.*

Their choice fell on Eustathius, then Bishop of Berea, and well known for his attachment to the ideas of Alexander. They profited by the occasion presented to condemn by common agreement the heresy of Arius, and to set forth their belief "in one God almighty, unchangeable and eternal, who has care of all things and governs all things, just, good, Creator of heaven and earth and of all that is therein, master of the Law, the prophets, and the New Testament. And in one Lord Jesus Christ, only Son, who was born, not of that which was not, but of the Father, not as a work, but, in the strict sense, as a Son, generated in an ineffable manner . . ., who always was."¹ Three of the bishops refused to adhere to this Creed, in spite of its eminently traditional character: Theodotus of Laodicea, Narcissus of Neronias, and Eusebius of Caesarea. These were excommunicated, at least provisionally, for the Council decided to leave open to them the way of repentance. The synodal letter had a wide diffusion, and in particular it was sent to the Bishop of Rome and the bishops of Italy depending on him. These replied by a formal approbation of everything that had been decided at Antioch on the subject of the faith.²

Aleksandru, episkopu thessaloniskomu, in *Kristianskoe Chtenie*, 1911, pp. 831-858, 1008-1023; and *K voprosu ob Antiokhiiskom soborye 324 goda i o 'velikom i svyashchennom soborye v Ankiry'e*, in *Trudui imperatorskoi Kievskoi Dakhivnoi Akademii*, Vol. LV, 1914, fasc. 4, pp. 585-601; fasc. 7-8, pp. 496-532; fasc. 11, pp. 330-360; Vol. LVI, 1915, fasc. 1, pp. 75-117. All the questions arising out of the Syriac text of the synodal letter do not admit of solution, but historians tend more and more to accept the existence of this Council of Antioch, which would fit in well with what we know from other sources about the events of this obscure and complicated period.

The date of the death of the bishop Philogonus is known. The election of his successor was eminently a synodal act, and it has taken place before the Council of Nicaea. It was natural, moreover, that the bishops assembled at Antioch should not be indifferent towards the problems raised by Arius.

The *Acts* of the Council of Antioch have once more been edited by H. G. Opitz, *Athanasius Werke*, Vol. III, 1, *Urkunden zur Geschichte des arianischen Streites*, Berlin, 1934, pp. 30-41.

¹ The Creed of Antioch is very like that of Alexander of Alexandria. It is characterised by the absence of any allusion to the "consubstantial" and this can be understood only of a period prior to the Nicene definition.

² This information is given us by a historic note which follows the synodal letter.

Towards an Oecumenical Council

It has been suggested—and the hypothesis is a very likely one—that the bishops assembled at Antioch, wishing to finish with Arius and his supporters once for all, proposed that a great Council should be held at Ancyra, including not only the heads of the churches of the dioceses of the East and Asia, but the bishops of Egypt, and also those of the West.¹ The idea of such a council must have been in the air. Philostorgus attributes it to Alexander²; Eusebius gives the credit to the Emperor Constantine.³ All were agreed in holding that, in the difficult situation of affairs in the East, energetic measures were called for, and that only a consultation by the universal episcopate could settle the difficulties which had arisen.

Councils had functioned for a long time in the Church. They seem to have been organised regularly at Carthage and Rome. In the East they were more intermittent, but whenever circumstances made councils desirable, we find the bishops of the Syrian provinces and of Eastern Asia Minor assembling at Antioch, and at Alexandria those of Egypt, Libya and the Pentapolis. But hitherto no one had as yet thought of a meeting which would comprise those accustomed to assemble at Antioch and those of Alexandria as well, much less of one which would also appeal to the views of those in the West and the authority of Rome. But this idea seemed to manifest itself as necessary in the crisis of that time. The unity of the Empire had just been providentially restored in favour of a Christian Emperor. The unity of the Church was now involved, and it would have to be manifested by solemn assemblies in which the whole

¹ This hypothesis has been formulated by A. I. Brilliantov, *K istorii arianskago spora do pervago vselenetskago sobora*, in *Kristianskoe Chtenie*, Oct. 1913, pp. 1176-1200, and also by N. H. Baynes in an article in *Journal of Roman Studies*, Vol. XVIII, 1928, p. 219. In support, one can appeal to a passage in the synodal letter which says that the Fathers have left to the three excommunicated bishops a means of repentance: the great sacerdotal Council of Ancyra. According to this text, we must at least suppose that the Council at Ancyra had been called at the time of the meeting at Antioch.

² Philostorgus, *Hist. eccles.*, I, vii and viia.

³ Eusebius, *De vita Constantini*, iii, 6.

Catholic episcopate would sit and define the traditional faith.

§ 2. THE COUNCIL OF NICAEA

Its Convocation

Whoever may first have conceived the idea of the Council, the Emperor Constantine undertook to bring it about. He began by deciding that the place of meeting, originally fixed at Ancyra, should be altered, and he chose the town of Nicaea, more easily accessible for the Italians and the other European bishops, with a more pleasant climate, and above all nearer to Nicomedia—a fact which would enable him to take part himself in the assembly.¹ Next he invited the bishops to come to Nicaea, and put at their disposition the *cursus publicus* to facilitate their travel. We learn from Eusebius that the imperial letter was couched in deferential terms.²

The Members of the Council

Unfortunately, our information as to the number of bishops who were able to answer Constantine's call is incomplete. Eusebius, who was present at the Council, says that there were more than two hundred and fifty there³:

¹ We have in Syriac a fragment of a letter of Constantine's explaining the reasons for this change. Cf. Pitra, *Analecta sacra*, Vol. IV, p. 224; E. Schwartz (*Zur Geschichte des Athanasius*, VI, in the *Göttingen Nachrichten*, 1905, p. 289) has translated this fragment back into Greek. Cf. H. G. Opitz, *Athanasius Werke*, Vol. III, i, pp. 41-42. We know nothing of the reasons which led the Emperor or the bishops to choose Ancyra in the first place. A Council had been held there in 314, but it had a purely local character (cf. *supra*, p. 52). The zeal of the bishop Marcellus in the cause of orthodoxy hardly constitutes a sufficient reason. The subsequent choice of Nicaea admits of a much better explanation.

² Eusebius, *De vita Constantini*, iii, 6. It is beyond doubt that the Council of Nicaea was called by Constantine. Cf. V. Grumel, *Le siège de Rome et le concile de Nicée: convocation et présidence*, in *Echos d'Orient*, Vol. XXVIII, 1925, pp. 411-423; J. Devillard (*La papauté et le concile de Nicée*, in *Revue apologetique*, Vol. XL, 1925, p. 408) thinks that the adhesion of the papacy constituted a *formal* convocation, in contrast to the *material* convocation issued by Constantine. But that certainly seems a needless subtlety.

³ Eusebius, *De vita Constantini*, iii, 8.

From all the churches throughout all Europe, Libya and Asia, there assembled the élite of the ministers of God. One single house of prayer, enlarged, as it were, by divine power, included the Syrians and Cilicians, the Phoenicians and the Arabians, the Palestinians and those of Egypt, the Thebaid, Libya and Mesopotamia. The Bishop of Persia was present at the Council; Scythia also had its bishop there; Pontus, Galatia, Pamphylia, Cappadocia, Asia and Phrygia had sent their best men; the Thracians and Macedonians, Achæans and Epirots, including the most distant of these, had come; and even from Spain, one bishop illustrious among all sat with the rest; the bishop of the imperial city was detained by his great age, but he was represented by priests of his Church.¹

St. Eustathius of Antioch, who likewise took part in the Council, speaks of about two hundred and seventy bishops²; St. Athanasius gives the number three hundred; from 360 it was accepted that the Fathers of Nicaea numbered three hundred and eighteen, and this symbolic number was adhered to henceforth.³

Naturally the various provinces differed in the extent of their representation. Nearly all the bishops who went to Nicaea were Easterns. Egypt, Palestine, Coele-Syria, and Asia Minor sent numerous bishops; the Greek countries of Europe, Thrace, Thessaly, Macedonia, Dardania and Achaia sent a few delegates; from Moesia and Dacia we have only two names. Africa sent the Bishop of Carthage, Caecilian; from Italy there went a bishop of Calabria, and two Roman priests, the personal envoys of Pope Silvester; and from Gaul, the Bishop of Die, Nicasius.⁴ Hosius of

¹ Eusebius, *De vita Constantini*, iii, 7.

² Eustathius, *apud* Theodoret, *Hist. eccles.*, I, viii, 1.

³ St. Hilary was the first to give the number 318 (*Contra Constant.*, 27). This was the number of the servants of Abraham, *Gen.* xiv, 14, and it is probable that the text of *Genesis* had its influence upon the determination of the number of the Fathers of Nicaea. Cf. J. Rivière, "Trois cent dix-huit," *un cas de symbolisme arithmétique chez saint Ambrose*, in *Recherches de théologie ancienne et médiévale*, Vol. VI, 1934, pp. 361-367.

⁴ G. Morin, *D'où était évêque Nicasius, l'unique représentant des Gaules au concile de Nicée ?* in *Revue Bénédictine*, Vol. XVI, 1899, pp. 72-75.

Cordova may be regarded as the representative of the Spanish episcopate. The churches of the outer boundaries in the direction of the Black Sea and Persia had also sent bishops, and thus we find at Nicaea the Bishop of Pityontes in the Caucasus, one from the kingdom of the Bosphorus, two from Greater Armenia, and one from the kingdom of Persia.¹ In spite of the predominance of the Easterns, we may say that the whole Church was represented at Nicaea, and never hitherto had there been an assembly which so clearly manifested the idea of catholicity.

The Fathers of the Council differed in their training and culture. Several had long been accustomed to discussing theological arguments: the controversies caused by Arius presented scarcely any novelties, for instance, for Eustathius of Antioch, Eusebius of Nicomedia, Alexander of Alexandria, or Marcellus of Ancyra. Some of the bishops were real scholars: one of the most learned was Eusebius of Caesarea, who knew all there was to know of the primitive history of the Church. Others were saints, well known for the graces they had received from God. Such were Spiridion, Bishop of Cyprus, who was a shepherd when he was called to the episcopate, and who continued to look after his sheep while feeding the Lord's flock. Others, again, had confessed the faith in the time of the great persecution, and their wounds were a subject of admiration: such were Paul of Neocaesarea, who had both hands paralysed in consequence of burning with a red-hot iron, and Paphnutius the Egyptian, who had had his right eye torn out and the tendon of his left knee cut, Amphion of Epiphania, Potamon, and several others.

The Opening Meeting

According to Socrates, the Council assembled on the 20th

¹ We still have a list of the bishops who signed the Nicene Creed. This list is authentic, but it is incomplete, and it has been modified in order to arrange the bishops according to their provinces. The textual tradition presents certain variations, so that the total number of bishops is not constant: the last editors stopped at the figure 220. Cf. Gelzer-Hilgenfeld-Cuntz, *Patrum Nicaenorum nomina*, Leipzig, 1898.

of May 325.¹ The first meeting, a wholly formal one, took place in the great hall of the imperial palace, and Eusebius describes it with obvious pleasure. The bishops took their seats in the places allotted for them, to the right and left hand of the hall, and waited in silence for the arrival of the Emperor. At a given signal they all rose, and Constantine entered, clothed in a purple robe and shining with gold, "like a heavenly angel from God." He was accompanied only by a few attendants, chosen from among the Christians of his household. The modesty of his attitude and the simplicity of his attendants greatly impressed those present. When he reached his place, a golden chair was taken to him, but he took his seat only after inviting the bishops to do likewise.²

Then the bishop nearest to him on the right addressed to him a little speech of thanks for the solicitude which he displayed in matters connected with the Church.³ Next, Constantine himself spoke in Latin, as follows:

¹ Socrates, *Hist. eccles.*, I, xiii. Socrates claims that he found this date in the notes—*παράσημειώσεων*—on conciliar documents. It is all the more likely in that the presence of Constantine at Nicaea on the 23rd of May is shown by two laws in the Theodosian Code, I, ii, 5; II, xviii, 3.

² Eusebius, *De vita Constantini*, iii, 10.

³ The identity and importance of this bishop is a subject of discussion, for he would seem to have been the president of the Council. The author of the list of chapters of the *De vita Constantini* (iii, 11) thought that the anonymous orator was none other than Eusebius of Caesarea himself. Theodoret (*Hist. eccles.*, I, vii) identifies him with Eustathius of Antioch. St. Athanasius (*Apol. de fuga*, v) seems to say that Hosius of Cordova presided at the Council of Nicaea. With Duchesne (*Histoire ancienne de l'Eglise*, Vol. II, p. 146, n. 1), we think that Eustathius was the most likely person to open and preside over the discussions. The Bishop of Antioch had presided at the Councils of Ancyra and Neocaesarea; it was natural that he should be in the first place at that of Nicaea. We must point out, however, that in the list of signatures, the first name is that of Hosius; he is immediately followed by the names of the Roman priests who represented the Pope, Vito and Vincent. Cf. V. Grumel, *Le siège de Rome et le concile de Nicée. Convocation et présidence*, in *Echos d'Orient*, Vol. XXVIII, 1925, pp. 411-423. Eusebius (*De vita Constantini*, iii, 13) says that after his own discourse, Constantine called upon the presidents of the Council, τοῖς προέδροις τῆς συνόδου, to speak. P. Wolf (*Die προέδροι auf der Synode zur Nicaea*, in *Zeitschrift für kirchliche Wissenschaft und kirchliches Leben*, Vol. X, 1889, pp. 137-151) infers from this that there were two προέδροι, Eustathius and Alexander of Alexandria. But that does not seem very likely.

"My friends; my greatest desire was to see you assembled together, and this has now taken place. I give thanks publicly to the Ruler of the Universe who, after all His other blessings, has given me this still greater boon of seeing you all assembled in one common thought of concord. Let no mischievous enemy disturb our present peace; and inasmuch as, through the power of God our Saviour, the tyrants who had lifted themselves up against God have disappeared, let no evil spirit expose the divine law to blasphemies. For my part, I regard any disagreement within the Church of God as just as much to be dreaded as a war or a battle, and more difficult to bring to an end, and I have enough vexation from other things outside."¹

The Discussions

Constantine's address was immediately translated into Greek, and then the bishops began their work. Eusebius maintains that the Emperor intervened several times in their discussions, and that he did all in his power to restore peace.² Rufinus adds that some laymen, including even some who were strangers to the Christian faith, appeared at the Council, to argue there with the bishops, and that their arguments were confuted by the simplicity of the faith which animated their opponents.³ This would seem to be a legend. In reality, only the bishops deliberated on the matters placed before them, and they had to find a solution to them.⁴

¹ Eusebius, *De vita Constantini*, iii, 12.

² Eusebius, *De vita Constantini*, iii, 13. On the unlikely character of this attitude in Constantine, cf. Tillemont, *Mémoires*, Vol. VI, p. 652.

³ Rufinus, *Hist. eccles.*, X, iii. There is no need to mention the fable transmitted by Gelasius of Cyzicus concerning a discussion between pagan philosophers and the Fathers of Nicaea. This fable has its origin in the account of Rufinus, which was known and copied by Socrates, *Hist. eccles.*, I, viii, and Sozomen, *Hist. eccles.*, I, xviii. Cf. M. Jugie, *La dispute des philosophes païens avec les Pères de Nicée*, in *Echos d'Orient*, Vol. XXVIII, 1925, pp. 403-410.

⁴ What part did St. Athanasius, then only a deacon accompanying his bishop, Alexander, take in the Council? We cannot say. The letter of the Egyptian bishops in 339 will claim that "in the Council which met at Nicaea, the uncompromising attitude of Athanasius against the impiety of the Arians" already caused them to hate him (*apud* Athanasius, *Apologia contra Arianos*, vi). But that does not prove that Athanasius took part in the discussions.

Condemnation of Arius

Of these questions, the gravest and most important was certainly that of Arius. It is not very likely that Arius himself was allowed to discuss matters with the bishops.¹ In any case, he had warm supporters in the Council: Eusebius of Nicomedia, Theognis of Nicaea, Maris of Chalcedon, Theodotus of Laodicea, Paulinus of Tyre, Eusebius of Caesarea, Athanasius of Anazarbus, Gregory of Berytus, Aetius of Lydda, Menophantes of Ephesus, Patrophilus of Scythopolis, Narcissus of Neronias, and a few others, including the two Egyptians already condemned by the episcopate of their country, Theonas of Marmarica and Secundus of Ptolemais.² In addition, his own writings could speak for him: the Council were shown several portions of the *Thalia*, and their reading sufficed to arouse indignation and horror, so that the bishops shut their ears when they heard them.³

The condemnation of Arius and his errors followed without any difficulty. All the bishops were agreed in believing that the Son of God was truly God. But whereas some thought that there should be no innovation in the Faith received from the beginning, and that belief in God did not allow curiosity, the others maintained that one ought not to follow the ancient opinions without examination.⁴ The two parties discussed the matter, and found it rather difficult to come to an understanding when it came to defining the traditional faith in precise terms.

The Creed

At first, an attempt was made to use only Scriptural terms, as these would have the advantage of being known to all. Could one not say, for instance, that the Word was God, that He was Son of God, and that He was the power and

¹ Rufinus, *Hist. eccles.*, X, v, was the first to say that Arius was summoned to the Council several times. He is no great authority. Sozomen (*Hist. eccles.*, I, xvii) took this item from Rufinus.

² The list of followers of Arius at the Council of Nicaea is given by Philostorgus, *Hist. eccles.*, I, viiia. It comprises twenty-two names.

³ St. Athanasius, *Epist. ad episc. Aegypti*, xiii.

⁴ Sozomen, *Hist. eccles.*, I, xvii.

image of the Father ? But in practice it was found that these terms were ambiguous: the followers of Arius declared themselves ready to accept them, pointing out, at the same time, that men also can be called "sons of God," and that they also are in the image and likeness of God.¹ It was accordingly necessary to consider and seek for more precise language.

Eusebius of Caesarea then intervened. He was undoubtedly wholly devoted to the interests of Arius, but he was still more a peacemaker and desirous of smoothing over difficulties.² He presented to the Council the baptismal creed in use in his own church, as capable of giving satisfaction to both parties. Moreover, he said, "the text read by us in presence of our most religious emperor, seemed very suitable." The Bishop of Caesarea was under a wrong impression in speaking thus. In point of fact, the Fathers accepted the formula of Eusebius only after introducing into it very great changes. The formula was doubtless to some extent clear, but it also contained many equivocal terms. It was indeed acceptable to all, but it left a door open

¹ St. Athanasius, *Epist. ad Afros*, v ; *De decret. nic. syn.*, xix-xx.

² This intervention by Eusebius is known to us by a letter which he wrote to his diocesans after the Council, in order to explain his attitude and to justify his subscription to the Creed. Naturally, this letter, which is an apology, must be read with caution. It is quite possible that the Bishop of Caesarea did suggest to the Fathers the adoption of his own Creed, but it was really not his Creed that was accepted. The letter of Eusebius is given in Socrates, *Hist. eccles.*, I, vii, Theodoret, *Hist. eccles.*, I, xii, and Gelasius of Cyzicus, *Hist. eccles.*, II, xxxv. Philostorgus (*Hist. eccles.*, I, ix) attributes the drawing up of the Creed to Alexander and Hosius ; Athanasius (*Hist. Arian.*, xlii) seems to regard it as the personal work of Hosius. Later on, St. Basil (*Epist.*, lxxxi) will declare that the drawing up of the Creed had been entrusted to a certain Hermogenes who became Bishop of Caesarea in Cappadocia. If this last statement is correct, it can apply only to a work of revision. The step taken against Eusebius by the Council of Antioch had been only a provisional one, and it is therefore not surprising that the Bishop of Caesarea was able to play such a prominent part at the Council of Nicaea.

H. Lietzmann (*Symbolstudien*, XIII), in *Zeitschrift für neutestam. Wissenschaft*, Vol. XXIV, 1925, pp. 193 *et seq.* has shown that the Nicene formula does not depend directly on the baptismal creed of Caesarea, but that it is more closely related to the Jerusalem type. It may be that the final determination of the text was entrusted to a commission formed of bishops belonging to different provinces.

to all kinds of compromises. Accordingly it was made more definite, in such a way as to declare expressly that the Son of God is generated by the Father, that is, of the *ousia* of the Father, that He is true God from true God, generated and not made, and consubstantial with the Father.

This term, "consubstantial," is of vital importance. There has been much discussion on its origin, and on the cogent reasons which led the Fathers of Nicaea to adopt it, and these points are not yet quite clear. It certainly seems that the majority of the Eastern bishops were not favourably disposed towards a term which, they urged, could be wrongly interpreted. For if we declare that the Son is consubstantial with the Father, do we not thereby run the risk of implying that the Son has no distinct existence, or even distinct personality? These bishops recalled the controversies which, in the preceding century, had broken out concerning the Sabellian doctrines, and they also remembered that Paul of Samosata had used this very term "consubstantial," and that the Council of Antioch had in consequence repudiated it.¹ These were, it must be admitted, suspicious antecedents. At Rome, on the other hand, the same word had long been recognised, and had indeed become traditional. The explanation is that the error feared in the West was some form of Tritheism rather than Modalism. Against the polytheists, and all those who in one way or another attacked the true and perfect divinity of Christ, the term "consubstantial" was a safeguard. This had been clearly seen in the matter of the two Dionysii, when Dionysius of Rome had blamed his namesake of Alexandria for not saying that the Son is consubstantial with the Father.²

It is thus highly probable that it was the Westerns at Nicaea, and above all Hosius of Cordova, who proposed the insertion of the term in question into the Creed.³ They

¹ Cf. G. Bardy, *Paul de Samosate*, 2nd edn., Louvain, 1929, pp. 324-351.

² Cf. P. Batiffol, *La paix constantinienne et le catholicisme*, pp. 94-100. Harnack (*Dogmengeschichte*, Vol. I, 4th edn., p. 763) suggests that the Roman Council summoned against Origen had already proclaimed the consubstantiality. That is possible, but we know nothing for certain on this matter. Cf. *History of the Primitive Church*, Vol. IV, pp. 884-890.

³ Philostorgus, *Hist. eccles.*, I, ix; Athanasius, *Hist. Arian.*, xlii.

found supporters in Marcellus of Ancyra, Eustathius of Antioch, and some others. Finally, Constantine declared that he favoured the term, and this declaration overcame the remaining resistance. Completed by an anathema, the Creed was formulated as follows:

We believe in one God, Father almighty, Creator of all things visible and invisible; and in one Lord Jesus Christ, Son of God, the only begotten of the Father, that is, of the substance (*ousia*) of the Father, God from God, light from light, true God from true God, begotten not made, consubstantial with the Father, through whom all things have been made which are in heaven and on earth. Who for us men and for our salvation descended, was incarnate, became man, suffered, rose again the third day, ascended into heaven, and will come to judge the living and the dead. And in the Holy Spirit.

As for those who say: "There was a time when He was not," and "Before He was begotten He was not," and "He was made from that which was not, or from another hypostasis or substance (*ousia*)," or "The Son of God is created, changeable, mutable," these the Catholic Church anathematises.¹

¹ Hahn, *Bibliothek der Symbole*, 3rd edn., Breslau, 1897, pp. 160-162, 142-143. The Greek text of the Nicene Creed is given by Eusebius in his letter to his dioceses, *apud* Athanasius, *De decret. Nicaenae synodi*, xxxiii; Theodoret, *Hist. eccles.*, I, xii; Socrates, *Hist. eccles.*, I, viii; Gelasius, *Hist. eccles.*, II, xxxv. We find it also in Athanasius, *Epist. ad Jovian.*, iii; Theodoret, *Hist. eccles.*, IV, iii; St. Basil, *Epist.*, lxxv, etc. A Latin translation is given by St. Hilary, *De synod.*, lxxxiv. There are several other Latin versions of the text.

In 451, the Council of Chalcedon caused the Nicene Creed to be read, and in order to make sure of having the authentic text, the Fathers sent to the Metropolitan of Bithynia himself for it. The text read and adopted at Chalcedon differs in a few details from the one we have quoted. In particular, it does not contain the words: "God from God, light from light." It may be asked whether, in spite of the precautions taken, the text recognised by the Council of Chalcedon is better than that found in contemporary witnesses of the Council of Nicaea, or the text known to St. Cyril of Alexandria, *Contra Nestorianos*, I, 8. Our own view is that there is no real room for doubt, and that the words in question certainly formed part of the original. Cf. E. Schwartz, *Das Nicaenum und das Constantinopolitanum auf dem Synode von*

The bishops were called upon in turn to vote on this text.¹ Philostorgus assures us that "as the partisans of Arius would not accept the belief of the Council, the Emperor declared that all who refused to accept the common sentence of the bishops, whether priests, deacons or other members of the clergy, were to be exiled. Philumenos was charged with the execution of this order: he had the office which the Romans call *magister*. He accordingly presented the formula to Arius and those who were with him, and gave them the alternative of signing . . . or of being exiled. . . . They chose exile."² In point of fact, only two bishops refused to sign the Creed, Secundus of Ptolemais and Theonas of Mar-marica. Philostorgus adds that others, including Eusebius of Nicomedia, Theognis of Nicaea, and Maris of Chalcedon,

Chalcedon, in *Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft*, Vol. XXV, 1926, pp. 38-48; A. d'Alès, *Nicée, Constantinople: Les premiers symboles de foi*, in *Recherches de Science religieuse*, Vol. XXVI, 1936, pp. 85-92.

[It seems desirable here to give once for all a short definition of the various doctrines advanced in the third century concerning Our Lord's Divinity.

The Nicene Creed, as we have seen, defined that Jesus Christ is "Consubstantial" (*homouousios*) with the Father. Those who hold the Nicene faith are accordingly often called "Homouousians" or "Consubstantialists" in this period.

The Nicene Definition was aimed against Arius, whose doctrine has been sufficiently explained above.

After Nicaea, there were various attempts to steer a middle course. Thus, we have the "Homoiousians," who said that the Son of God is not "consubstantial," i.e. of one and the same substance as His Father, but "of a like or similar substance" (*homoi-ousios*).

Others, again, condemned the introduction here of the term "ousios" or substance at all, and suggested instead that the Son was "in all things like to the Father," though not necessarily in substance. This theory is called "homoianism," and those who hold it are called "Homoians."

A more extreme theory maintained that the Son is "unlike" the Father. This is called the "Anomoean" doctrine.

All these were different forms of "Semi-Arianism." Some were definitely heretical in intent; others were attempts to save the orthodox doctrine more or less, but at the same time to avoid a term—"consubstantial"—which was so much disliked, and had caused so much trouble. But eventually, as we shall see, it came to be realised that there is only one orthodox doctrine, and that is the one expressed by the Nicene term "consubstantial."—Tr.]

¹ Philostorgus, *Hist. eccles.*, I, ix. Cf. P. Batiffol, *Origine du règlement des conciles*, in *Etudes de liturgie et d'archéologie chrétienne*, Paris, 1919, pp. 84-153.

² Philostorgus, *Hist. eccles.*, I, ixa.

succeeded in deceiving their colleagues, and signed a text in which the word "consubstantial" (ὁμοούσιος) was replaced by the term "of like substance" (ὁμοιούσιος).¹ This story has little probability. Secundus and Theonas were immediately exiled to Illyricum, and with them went Arius and the priests who had remained faithful to him.

The Meletian Schism

Having thus settled the matter of Arius, the Council of Nicaea was able to turn to other questions which had been submitted to it. First, there was the matter of Meletius of Lycopolis and his followers. Since the episcopate of Peter, the schism caused by Meletius had led to painful discord in Egypt. The Meletians were few in number, but they made a great deal of noise; they even went so far as to denounce Alexander of Alexandria to the Emperor,² and the latter had passed on the matter to the Council for settlement. The Fathers adopted a benevolent attitude towards the dissidents: Meletius retained his title of bishop, and was authorised to continue to reside at Lycopolis; he was merely forbidden to carry out any new ordinations for the future. The bishops, priests and deacons ordained by him were to receive a fresh imposition of hands, one "more mystical,"³ to confirm them in the functions of their orders. With this proviso, they were authorised to exercise their ministry, provided they were obedient to the bishop of the Catholic Church, and they were to rank after the ordinary clergy. Lastly, it was decided that, when a Catholic bishop died, he could be replaced by one of the bishops consecrated by Meletius, provided he was properly elected and was confirmed by the Bishop of Alexandria.⁴ It was hoped that this

¹ Philostorgus, *Hist. eccles.*, I, ix. ² St. Athanasius, *Apol. contra Arian.*, xi.

³ Cf. L. Saltet, *Les réordinations*, p. 39.

⁴ The solutions found for the problems arising out of the Meletian schism are known to us through the letter ἐπειδὴ τῆς τοῦ Θεοῦ χάριτος addressed by the members of the Council of Nicaea to the bishops of Egypt, Libya and Pentapolis, *apud* Socrates, *Hist. eccles.*, I, ix; Theodore, *Hist. eccles.*, I, viii; Gelasius, *Hist. eccles.*, II, xxxiv. The Bishop of Alexandria called upon Meletius to give a list of the bishops he had consecrated. This list is in Athanasius, *Apol. contra Arian.*, lxxi. It gives the name of each bishop and that of his city: besides Meletius there were then twenty-eight bishops in his party.

moderation might pacify the dispute and bring the schism to an end. But the immediate future was to show how ill founded was this hope.

The Date of Easter

The question of the date of Easter was also settled by the Council of Nicaea. As we have seen, this was an irritating question which had periodically arisen in the Church, and was constantly coming up again in new forms. In the time of Pope Victor, the main question was whether the feast of Easter should be celebrated on the 14th of Nisan or on the Sunday following, and it had then been agreed that the Roman usage should be adopted.¹ But a new problem had arisen: "At Antioch it was left to the Jews to fix the date of the 14th of Nisan, that is, of the full moon on which the feast was celebrated. As the month of Nisan was the first lunar month, it could vary, according to whether the preceding year had been one of twelve or of thirteen months. This particular question was decided by the Jewish authorities according to methods of their own. At Alexandria, the Christians did not trouble the Jews, but themselves worked out the date of Easter, and the variation in the first lunar month was overcome by the special rule that the feast celebrated after the full moon should also be after the Spring equinox, fixed for the 21st of March. As the Jews, at least at that time, did not take the equinox into consideration, it followed that their own 14th of Nisan might be a month earlier than that of the Alexandrians, and the Church of Antioch, which had adopted it, might thus be a month in advance of the great Egyptian metropolis. The two methods of calculation had their adherents, and, however strange it may now seem to us, passionate adherents."²

The Council decided that henceforth the feast of Easter

¹ Cf. *History of the Primitive Church*, Vol. III, pp. 586-593.

² L. Duchesne, *Histoire ancienne de l'Eglise*, Vol. II, p. 141. Cf. L. Duchesne, *La question de la Pâque au concile de Nicée*, in *Revue des questions historiques*, Vol. XXVIII, 1880, 1 et seq.; Schmidt, *Die Osterfestfrage auf dem ersten allgemeinen Concil von Nicæa*, Vienna, 1905; F. Daunoy, *La question pascale au concile de Nicée*, in *Echos d'Orient*, Vol. XXVIII, 1925, pp. 424-444.

should be celebrated at one and the same date throughout the Church. The Easterns, who up till then had adopted the Jewish method of calculation, agreed to follow the usage of Alexandria and Rome.¹ There were, it seems, some difficulties and, supported by Eusebius of Nicomedia, the Syrians appealed to their own traditions.² But in the end they came into line with the other Christians.

The Canons

Lastly, the Council completed its work by promulgating twenty canons of a disciplinary character. As was the case with the recent Councils of Ancyra and Neocaesarea,³ the Council of Nicaea did not aim, in this part of its task, at drawing up a comprehensive collection of rules valid for all time and in all places. Its members had in mind some particular problems clearly envisaged, and it was for evils then present that they provided remedies.

There were still in the East, and especially in Asia Minor, some compact groups of Novatians, and at Antioch or in its neighbourhood it was still possible to find some followers of Paul of Samosata.⁴ The Fathers of Nicaea legislated for both these classes. They showed themselves very accommodating towards the Novatians (Canon 8), and decided that these should be admitted to Communion, provided they gave a written acceptance of the dogmas of the Catholic Church; they countenanced those who were "bigamous," i.e. had married a second time, and also those who had failed in the last persecutions. The Council also declared that their ordinations would be regarded as valid, and that their bishops could be authorised by their Catholic colleagues to receive the honours of their rank, and be included among the *chorepiscopi*.

A like benevolence was manifested towards the Paulinians. It had previously been decided that those among them who

¹ *Epist. ἐπεὶ δὲ τῆς τοῦ Θεοῦ χάριτος*, *apud* Theodoret, I, ix, 12; Socrates, *Hist. eccles.*, I, ix.

² St. Athanasius, *De synod.*, v.

³ Cf. *supra*, pp. 52-54.

⁴ Cf. *History of the Primitive Church*, Vol. III, pp. 697 *et seq.*, and Vol. IV, pp. 911 *et seq.*

wished to return to orthodoxy should be rebaptised. The Council of Nicaea did not change this rule, but it allowed that Paulinian clergy, once they were properly baptised, could be ordained without delay, and exercise their functions in the Catholic Church. The same measure was adopted with regard to their deaconesses (Canon 19). This was an altogether exceptional concession, and, moreover, it applied to only a very small number of persons.¹

The Licinian persecution was still too recent not to have left its traces, and various problems were presented by different categories of the lapsed. Some had apostatised without being compelled to do so, and even without being exposed to any peril. Others, after courageously giving up their employment, had consented to return to it, or had even claimed it again, at the price of apostasy. Others, again, had merely lapsed. The Council discussed all these cases, and three Canons (12-14) were devoted to them. Generally speaking, an attitude of indulgence prevailed: the Nicene decisions constitute a modification of the earlier discipline regarding the lapsed.

Several canons concerned the clergy. The Council forbade the conferring of orders upon voluntary eunuchs (Canon 1); it forbade the admission of neophytes to the clerical state (Canon 2); it also deprived of the priesthood those who had been guilty of a crime before their ordination, or who had apostatised in the time of persecution (Canons 9-10). Again, it enacted that no cleric should have a female living in his house, other than his mother, sister, aunt or some other person above all suspicion (Canon 3). Clerics guilty of usury were deposed (Canon 17). The Council also forbade deacons to sit among the priests, or to distribute the Eucharist (Canon 18).

Other canons were aimed at preventing or settling conflicts of jurisdiction. The Council enacted that bishops should be consecrated by their colleagues in the province: if all could not be present, at least three bishops should take part in the ceremony, others should give their consent in writing, and the metropolitan should confirm the election

¹ Cf. G. Bardy, *Paul de Samosate*, 2nd edn., pp. 390-404.

(Canon 4). Some bishops had been refusing to recognise sentences of deposition or excommunication pronounced by their colleagues: the Fathers of Nicaea ordained that anyone cast out by one bishop should not be received by others. Even so, they add, as the bishop who issued the excommunication may have done so for bad reasons, there were to be each year, in spring and autumn, two councils of all the bishops of the province, and these councils could review the sentences in question (Canon 5). From time immemorial, the churches of Rome, Alexandria and Antioch had enjoyed special prerogatives: these old customs were to be retained, and the Council confirmed the authority of the Bishop of Alexandria over Egypt, Libya and the Pentapolis (Canon 6). The situation of the Bishop of Aelia (Jerusalem) was somewhat peculiar, for he enjoyed traditional honours without being a metropolitan: the Council declared that these honours were still to be given him, provided the dignity of the metropolitan of Caesarea was safeguarded (Canon 7). Again, it sometimes happened that bishops, priests or deacons, leaving the church in which they had been ordained, agreed to serve another, contrary to ancient usage: Canons 15 and 16 forbade such moves, and declared null any ordination of a cleric made other than by his own bishop.

These last canons certainly aimed at maintaining and strengthening the rights of the hierarchy, but at the same time they had a decidedly traditional character: while they applied to the situations arising out of the recent events in the East, they were not framed because of these, and in several cases they merely repeated or clarified decisions taken previously at Arles.¹ Clearly the Nicene Fathers, while doing their utmost to remedy evils then present, did not aim at creating a new system of legislation.

Though somewhat fragmentary, these decisions were nevertheless destined to have many repercussions. Until

¹ On the canons of Arles, cf. *supra*, pp. 32-33. P. Batiffol (*La paix constantinienne et le catholicisme*, p. 363) rightly emphasises the resemblances existing between the canons of Nicaea and those of Arles: in many cases the Nicene decisions seem to complete and continue those which had previously been taken at Arles. This is in itself a manifest proof of the influence exercised by the Westerns at the Council of Nicaea.

that time, the Church as a whole did not possess any collection resembling a disciplinary code. She kept to tradition, and remained faithful to ancient usages. When new problems arose, local councils had done their best to deal with them, but their decisions had no value outside the territories to which they immediately referred. The African councils had legislated for Africa; the Council of Elvira had in view the needs of the Spanish communities; the Councils of Ancyra and Neocaesarea had remained unknown to the West. The Canons of Nicaea, on the other hand, were accepted everywhere from the first, and they provided a nucleus for general ecclesiastical legislation.

End of the Council

According to an early tradition, the bishops separated on the 19th of June after one month's session.¹ Constantine, who had presided at the opening of the Council, wished to mark its closing by a great celebration. As the event coincided more or less with the twentieth anniversary of his accession to the Empire, he invited the Fathers to a great banquet, which exceeded all expectation. Eusebius has given us a glowing description of this feast.² Before they took their places, the bishops had to pass in front of the guards, who presented arms, and some ecclesiastics, in presence of so novel a spectacle, asked themselves whether they were not already in the Kingdom of God.³

When the time of departure arrived, the bishops assembled for the last time. The Emperor addressed to all an eloquent discourse, exhorting them all to love peace, to banish envy and jealousy, and to repress any kind of display and domination, and lastly to labour with all their might for the conversion of unbelievers.⁴ He heaped presents once more upon them, according to their several merits, and gave them

¹ Mansi, *Concilia*, II, 668. This date is far from certain. Tillemont (*Mémoires*, Vol. VI, p. 684) points out that the twentieth year of the reign of Constantine began on the 25th of July 325, and adds: "Hence we see no reason for doubting that the Council continued, at least until that day."

² Eusebius, *De vita Constantini*, iii, 15; Sozomen, *Hist. eccles.*, I, xxv, 1; Theodoret, *Hist. eccles.*, I, xi. The exact date of this banquet is uncertain, but it must have taken place towards the end of the Council's sittings.

³ Eusebius, *De vita Constantini*, iii, 21. ⁴ Theodoret, *Hist. eccles.*, I, xi, 2.

letters whereby in each church there would be given every year a certain quantity of wheat to the clergy and the poor.

Constantine's Letters

The Fathers of Nicaea had addressed a letter to the bishops of Egypt, Libya and the Pentapolis, to inform them of the decisions concerning the Meletians, and the fixing of the date of Easter.¹ Constantine did not wish to seem idle himself. So he hastened to write, on the one hand, to the churches, to let them know of the agreement concerning the date of Easter,² and on the other hand, to the Alexandrians, in order to announce that "the three hundred and more bishops who had been summoned to Nicaea had affirmed that there is only one identical faith, which alone is in conformity with the authentic truth of the Divine Law, and that Arius alone seemed to be a victim of the Devil's power."³

¹ This letter, ἐπειδὴ τῆς τοῦ Θεοῦ χάριτος, conserved by Theodoret (*Hist. eccles.*, I, ix), Socrates (*Hist. eccles.*, I, ix, 1-14), Gelasius of Cyzicus (*Hist. eccles.*, II, xxxiii) and several MSS. of St. Athanasius is, together with the Creed and the twenty Canons, the only authentic document emanating from the Council of Nicaea that has come down to us. It is quite possible that the Council sent other letters, but we have no trace of any.

It has naturally been discussed whether there ever were official *Acts* of the Council, i.e. stenographic reports of the meetings. Cf. A. Wikenhauser, *Zur Frage nach der Existenz von nicänischen Synodalprotokollen*, in F. X. Doelger, *Konstantin der Grosse und seine Zeit*, pp. 122-142. In view of the precedents, it is highly likely that this report did exist. But it is equally certain that it has never come to light.

² This letter, περὶ τῶν λαβῶν, appears in Eusebius, *De vita Constantini*, iii, 17-20; Socrates, *Hist. eccles.*, I, ix.

³ The letter, Χαίρετε ἀγαπητοὶ ἀδελφοί, is quoted by Socrates, *Hist. eccles.*, I, ix; Gelasius of Cyzicus, *Hist. eccles.*, II, xxxvii, and the Athanasian collection of documents.

The authenticity of these two letters has been called in question; cf. P. Batiffol, *Les documents de la vita Constantini*, in *Bullet. d'anc. littér. et d'archéol. chrét.*, Vol. IV, 1914, pp. 86-87; *La paix constantinienne*, pp. 344-346. The arguments put forward against the authenticity are not convincing. On the other side, it would certainly seem surprising that Constantine should not have thought it his duty to promulgate in his own way the acts of his Council. The assembly of Nicaea had been summoned at his bidding; he had insisted that the recalcitrants should sign the Creed; he must have been glad to see the work brought to a satisfactory conclusion by his agents. Cf. G. Bardy, *La politique religieuse de Constantin après le concile de Nicée*, in *Revue des Sciences religieuses*, Vol. VIII, 1928, pp. 517-519.

In writing thus, and affirming that "disagreements, schisms, quarrels, and the mortal poison of discords, had all, by God's will, been vanquished through the shining forth of the truth,"¹ Constantine displayed a great optimism which would soon be dispelled by the facts themselves. Summoned above all in order to combat Arianism, the Council of Nicaea had seemingly attained its end. After heated discussions, it had succeeded in formulating a Creed which all its members except two had ultimately accepted and signed. Arius and his supporters had been sent into exile, the two refractory bishops had been deposed and sent to places far away from their dioceses. At first sight, the Arian crisis might well seem to be at an end.

The Work of the Council

But a careful observer would at once have seen that this was not really the case. From this point of view, there is especial significance in the letter which Eusebius of Caesarea sent to his diocesans after signing the Creed.² We have already mentioned that, at the beginning of the controversy, Eusebius had welcomed Arius to his episcopal city, and had multiplied his efforts on his behalf. He was indeed far from sharing personally in all his views: together with the Catholic Church he believed in the true divinity of Christ, although, in order to safeguard the dignity of the Father and maintain the real distinction between the Divine Persons, he declared that the Son was subordinate to the Father. The expressions which he used in setting forth his personal opinions might admit of criticism, but they were not heretical.³ A profound scholar, and learned in secular matters as well as in ecclesiastical tradition, Eusebius was without doubt the most learned and most distinguished

¹ Constantine, *Epist.* Χαίρετε ἀγαπητοὶ ἀδελφοί, in Socrates, *Hist. eccles.*, I, ix.

² This letter is reproduced by Athanasius, *De decretis Nicaenae synodi*; Theodoret, *Hist. eccles.*, I, xii; Socrates, *Hist. eccles.*, I, viii, 35-54; Gelasius of Cyzicus, *Hist. eccles.*, II, xxxiv-xxxv. It was sent from Nicaea, and may have been written before the Council had concluded its sessions.

³ Cf. M. Weis, *Die Stellung des Eusebios von Cesarea im arianischen Streit. Kirchen und dogmengeschichtliche Studie*, Trèves, 1919.

bishop in the Council, and though he may have arrived at Nicaea with a reputation somewhat dimmed through his relations with Arius and his own condemnation at Antioch, he had at once occupied a prominent place there.

Now, it is quite clear that the Creed of Nicaea had been adopted against him, and in spite of his efforts to the contrary. In his letter to the Caesareans, Eusebius certainly says that the baptismal creed of their church was used in the discussions of the Council, and that the Fathers contented themselves with changing a few words or adding others for the sake of clarity. The long explanations he gives in order to justify the insertion of "consubstantial" in the Creed, and to explain the meaning of the final anathema, show quite well that it was not altogether willingly that he finally accepted the words imposed by the Emperor.¹ These words certainly expressed the orthodox faith, but they were ambiguous, and, more serious still, they did not conform to certain kinds of expression usual among the Easterns.

Read once more, for instance, the final anathema: it condemns those who say that the Son is of a *hypostasis* or *ousia* other than the Father; it thus regards these two terms as perfectly synonymous. Now, this is a Western formula: for the Latins alone, *essentia* and *substantia* could be substituted the one for the other, but for the Greeks, the term *hypostasis* was not regarded as the exact translation of *substantia*; already for a long time in theological terminology *hypostasis* designated the proper characteristics of each of the divine Persons, and in fact precisely that which the Latins call *persona*. Hence, at least for many of the Greeks, to say that the Son is not of a *hypostasis* other than the Father was tantamount to Modalism. No heresy seemed more fearful to Easterns, constantly haunted as they were by old memories of Sabellius and his disciples. Thus it is easy to understand

¹ In his letter, Eusebius uses twice the word *ἀναγκάως*, which clearly indicates the constraint to which he ultimately bowed. He lays great stress on the part played by the Emperor who, after insisting on the employment of the word "consubstantial," is said to have explained its real meaning, in order to get it accepted by the bishops. What is quite certain is that Constantine insisted on the signing of the formula.

that several bishops hesitated in presence of the formula they were invited to sign.¹

At Nicaea, all in the end accepted it. The hour was grave, and at all costs it was necessary to unmask Arius and his followers, and to oppose to the heretics formulas so definite that they would be obliged either to submit or to leave the Church. Moreover, as they were experienced dialecticians, the necessity of avoiding all ambiguity and of reassuring consciences had prevented the Fathers from following their first plan and contenting themselves with Scriptural expressions. The term "consubstantial" was thus necessary, in a certain sense. Moreover—and this argument had its value in the eyes of many—the Emperor himself held to this term, and had become the upholder of it under the influence of Hosius. In order to please him, and still more in order to obey him, it was necessary to accept the Creed of which he had made himself the champion. He himself was not a man to immerse himself in theological discussions: he was interested only in the peace and religious unity of the Empire. But since his ecclesiastical adviser told him that the term "consubstantial" was necessary, he imposed it upon all, and he succeeded in getting it accepted.²

After Nicaea

Under these circumstances it is easy to understand that, once the Nicene Fathers had returned home and were no longer under the direct influence of the Emperor, they may

¹ Cf. A. d'Alès, *Le dogme de Nicée*, pp. 119-122; H. M. Gwatkin (*Studies of Arianism*, 2nd edn., pp. 44-48) sets forth clearly the changes made by the Council in the Creed of Caesarea, and the difficulties the Creed finally adopted by the Fathers presented for the Easterns of the Eusebian party. We must add that some other bishops, such as Eustathius of Antioch and Marcellus of Ancyra, did not feel the same repugnance towards the term "consubstantial." It is also interesting to note that St. Athanasius, who was to be the most intrepid champion of orthodoxy for almost fifty years, uses the term "consubstantial" very rarely in his dogmatic writings, not that he deliberately avoided it, but because he did not regard it as necessary in the enunciation of the Catholic doctrine.

² H. M. Gwatkin, *Studies of Arianism*, 2nd edn., p. 52. We must, moreover, bear in mind the very important fact that the Roman Church must also have upheld the term "consubstantial": Hosius might well have been its mouthpiece in this respect.

have had some hesitations, and perhaps even regrets, and that there were fresh outbreaks of controversies which had seemed extinguished for ever. The Council had hardly dispersed when already three of its members, Eusebius of Nicomedia, Maris of Chalcedon, and Theognis of Nicaea, declared publicly that they withdrew their signatures. According to Philostorgus, they wrote to the Emperor saying to him: "We have, O Prince, committed an impiety in subscribing to impiety through fear of your person."¹ Constantine was not disposed at that moment to come to terms or to discuss matters. He at once had the three opposers called to Gaul²; and in order to make it quite plain that this was no temporary measure, he obtained the deposition and replacement of Eusebius and Theognis: Amphion was chosen for Nicomedia, and Chrestus for Nicaea.³

Theodotus of Laodicea in Syria was an Arian of long standing.⁴ Indeed he continued, in spite of his adhesion to

¹ Philostorgus, *Hist. eccles.*, II, 1 and 1b.

² Philostorgus (*Hist. eccles.*, I, x) puts the exile of Eusebius of Nicomedia three months after the Council.

³ Constantine himself wrote to the two churches of Nicomedia and Nicaea requesting them to choose new heads. We still have the letter to the Nicomedians, conserved in part by Theodoret, *Hist. eccles.*, I, xx, and in whole by Gelasius of Cyzicus, *Hist. eccles.*, III, Append., and also in the Athanasian collection of documents. This letter is extremely severe towards Eusebius, and rebukes him for having been associated with the tyrannical cruelty of Licinius, and of having unjustly taken possession of the church of Nicomedia. The elections of Ampion and Chrestus must have been perfectly regular, for Athanasius (*Apol. contra Arian.*, vii) speaks of them as legitimate elections. Cf. Tillemont, *Mémoires*, Vol. VI, p. 267: "We cannot doubt that councils were called both for the deposition of Eusebius and Theognis and for the election of their successors, but history furnishes us with no certain proof of this."

The authenticity of Constantine's letter to the Nicomedians has been denied by O. Seeck, *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte des nicänischen Konzils*, in *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*, Vol. XVII, 1896, pp. 4 *et seq.* But the arguments brought forward by Seeck are not convincing. Cf. A. Lichtenstein, *Eusebius von Nikomedien*, Halle, 1903, pp. 9 *et seq.*; E. Schwartz, *Zur Geschichte des Athanasius*, VIII, in the *Göttingen Nachrichten*, 1911, p. 378 *et seq.* Socrates (*Hist. eccles.*, I, ix, 65) and Sozomen (*Hist. eccles.*, I, xxi, 5; II, xxi, 8) both mention this document.

⁴ Arius includes him among his sympathisers in his letter to Eusebius of Nicomedia, *apud* Theodoret, *Hist. eccles.*, I, v, 2.

the Creed, to make some unwise statements and to receive the heretics. Constantine thought it his duty to write to him and set forth the serious consequences of such an attitude. His letter put before Theodotus the example of Eusebius and Theognis, and urged him to be more prudent; it exhorted him to keep a pure and spotless faith in God the Saviour, if he wished to be found worthy of the reward of eternal life.¹ Theodotus must have heeded the warning, for we do not find that he was the subject of any more representations.

The deposition of the Bishops of Nicaea and Nicomedia and the letter from Constantine to Theodotus cannot have been later than the autumn of 325. They constituted grave warnings for all those who may have been tempted to oppose the decisions of the Council of Nicaea. Until then, the Church had relied only upon herself in order to defend her doctrines. Henceforward the Emperor put his power at the disposition of orthodoxy; he denounced the heretics as enemies of the State, and sent them into exile. The whole question was whether such a reversal of the situation would indeed be of profit to the Church.

¹ Constantine, *Epist.* ἡσυχίας θείας ὁργάνος, in Gelasius, *Hist. eccles.*, III, App. 2. This letter was quoted by Benignus of Heracleon in Macedonia at the Council of Constantinople in 553 (Mansi, *Concilia*, Vol. IX, col. 263). It also figures in the documentary collection of MSS. of St. Athanasius.

CHAPTER II

THE EUSEBIAN REACTION AND THE SCHISM OF SARDICA¹

§ I. FROM THE COUNCIL OF NICAEA TO THE COUNCIL OF TYRE

The Eastern Church after the Council of Nicaea

THE years which followed the Council of Nicaea were extremely difficult ones for the Church in the East. True, the defenders of Arianism had been exiled, and the Emperor Constantine guarded with jealous care the Creed which he had persuaded the Fathers to adopt. But the bishops, once back in their dioceses, recovered a certain liberty of speech, and profited by this. Several of them had subscribed to the term "consubstantial" only through constraint and compulsion, and these did not fail to say so. Socrates informs us that he possessed episcopal letters, belonging precisely to these difficult years, in which the writers made it plain that they were upset and worried. Some of the bishops declared in favour of the term "consubstantial," others on the other hand were inclined to reject it and, in the words of the historian himself, all these controversies resembled fights in the dark. Eustathius of Antioch rebukes Eusebius of Caesarea for misrepresenting the Nicæan doctrine, while Eusebius accuses Eustathius in turn of Sabellianism.² This is the only definite example known to us, but it is enough to show how tense the situation was.

In Egypt, where the Arians seem to have been rendered powerless at that time, the Meletians continued to carry on a dangerous agitation. It was in vain that the Council of Nicaea had tried to win them over by concessions: much time would elapse before they were disposed to lay down

¹ For Bibliography, see p. 399.

² Socrates, *Hist. eccles.*, I, xxiii.

their arms. They had hardly agreed to make peace when Bishop Alexander died, on the 18th of April 328.¹ The election of his successor probably did not take place without difficulty, in spite of what the Egyptian bishops wrote eleven years later.² But Athanasius was appointed and consecrated on the 7th of June.

St. Athanasius

Though still young—he must have been born about 296—the new Bishop of Alexandria was already well known. For several years he had acted as Alexander's deacon, and he had accompanied him to the Council of Nicaea. There he had displayed at his bishop's side a fearless character, a firm attachment to orthodoxy, and an austere purity of morals.³ Though not a scholar, he had been well trained, and he had

¹ The date of Alexander's death is given in the list of Easter letters, and seems quite certain. True, Athanasius (*Apol. contra Arianos*, xxxix) seems to put Alexander's death five months after the Council of Nicaea, and Tillemont (*Mémoires*, Vol. VIII, p. 7) puts it in the year 326. But the text of Athanasius admits of another interpretation, and may mean that the five months in question elapsed from the time of the reconciliation of the Meletians. A certain amount of time must have elapsed between the Council of Nicaea and the acceptance by the schismatics of the conditions it had laid down. Eusebius (*De vita Constantini*, iii, 23) remarks that in the midst of a universal peace, the Egyptians alone continued to fight among themselves: this is explained in the hypothesis of an agitation kept up by the Meletians.

² The letter of the Egyptian synod of 339 (*apud* Athanasius, *Apol. contra Arianos*, vi) says that Athanasius was elected in the midst of general enthusiasm: the whole populace with one voice acclaimed him, praising his virtues, his zeal, and his piety, calling him a true Christian, an ascetic, and a real bishop. Philostorgus (*Hist. eccles.*, II, xi) says, on the contrary, that Athanasius had been consecrated secretly in the Church of Dionysius by two Egyptian bishops, and that he was in consequence anathematised by the synod of bishops present at Alexandria. St. Epiphanius (*Haeres.*, lxviii, 7) states that, immediately after Alexander's death, the Meletians elected a certain Theonas in his place, but that he died three months after his election, whereupon Athanasius received the succession. The account of Philostorgus is legendary; as to that of Epiphanius, we can at least accept the implication that the Meletians endeavoured unsuccessfully to get possession of the see of Alexandria.

³ The letter of the Egyptian Council of 339 (*apud* Athanasius, *Apol. contra Arianos*, vi) asserts that at the Council assembled at Nicaea, the uncompromising attitude of Athanasius against the impiety of the Arians had already aroused their hatred.

already shown this by writing two apologetical works, one against the pagans, and the other in order to set forth the benefits of the Incarnation of the Word, who became man in order that men might become God.¹ But when we read these books, we see at once that he was not interested in philosophical problems as such: attached as he was to tradition, he sought his best arguments in Holy Scripture and the teaching of the Fathers. Throughout his long life, he remained faithful to the promise of his early years: the defence of the faith was his only aim, and when, in the words of St. Jerome, the whole world found with astonishment that it was Arian, it was enough that Athanasius should unfold the flag of orthodoxy to ensure victory. He himself was worth a whole army.

The Recall of the Exiles

He was put to the test at the very beginning of his episcopate, for he had scarcely ascended the throne of Alexandria when Arianism found its strength restored in the return of its leaders. Eusebius of Nicomedia and Theognis of Nicaea were in fact recalled by Constantine, and returned to the government of their churches, despite the rights acquired by their lawful successors. We know little of what led to their recall. Following O. Seeck,² E. Schwartz has suggested that it was the work of a second Council of Nicaea or rather of a second session of this Council, supposed to have taken place in November 327 on Constantine's orders.³

¹ The two books *Contra Gentes* and the *De Incarnatione Verbi* are usually regarded as having been written in the youth of Athanasius, for they contain no allusion to the Arian controversies. This argument is not decisive, and it is not impossible that these works may be later in date. Cf. A. Puech, *Histoire de la littérature grecque chrétienne*, Vol. III, p. 74.

² O. Seeck, *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte des nicänischen Konzils*, in *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*, Vol. XVII, 1896, pp. 1-71, 319-362.

³ E. Schwartz, *Zur Geschichte des Athanasius*, VIII, in the *Göttingen Nachrichten*, 1911, pp. 377 *et seq.* This hypothesis is accepted by Norman H. Baynes, *Constantine the Great and the Christian Church*, p. 22, and by other contemporary historians.

As Arius had already given signs of repentance,¹ and as the two bishops had sent to their colleagues a letter of submission,² the Emperor, it is suggested, summoned the synod again with the sole object of restoring peace by reconciling Arius and giving back their dioceses to the two exiles. But this hypothesis, ill supported by the early testimonies concerning the Council of Nicaea, seems to us very difficult to accept.³ It is quite likely that the recall of Eusebius and

¹ Gelasius of Cyzicus (*Hist. eccles.*, III, xv) quotes a letter from Constantine to Alexander, in which the Emperor announces the coming return of Arius and Euzoius, whom he has just pardoned, and whom the bishop is ordered to receive. In the title, Alexander is described as Bishop of Alexandria, and Gelasius, in his added commentary, shows that, in his opinion, it was indeed the Bishop of Alexandria who was addressed. Cf. E. Schwartz, *Zur Geschichte des Athanasius*, VIII, in the *Göttingen Nachrichten*, 1911, pp. 380 *et seq.* It is, however, very probable that the document was addressed to Alexander of Constantinople, and that it was not written before 335. Cf. L. Duchesne, *Histoire ancienne de l'Eglise*, Vol. II, p. 183, n. 2.

² Socrates (*Hist. eccles.*, I, xiv) quotes a βιβλίον μετανοίας which Eusebius and Theognis apparently addressed to the leaders of the episcopate, asking them to request the Emperor to recall them. They seem to have explained at length the reason why, after signing the Creed—doubtless that of Nicaea—they refused to subscribe to the anathema which condemned Arius by name, and they add that, since Arius himself had been recalled and received in communion, they also had a right to be reinstalled in their episcopal sees. E. Schwartz (*loc. cit.*, pp. 380 *et seq.*) attaches great store to this strange document. But very strong objections can be urged against it, and indeed were already set forth by Tillemont, *Mémoires*, Vol. VI, pp. 811-812. Cf. F. Loofs, art. *Arianismus*, in Herzog-Hauck, *Realencycl.*, 3rd edn., Vol. II, p. 16; A. Lichtenstein, *Eusebius von Nikomedien*, pp. 32 *et seq.*; L. Duchesne, *Histoire ancienne de l'Eglise*, Vol. II, p. 166, n. 1.

³ Schwartz's hypothesis is based especially on a passage in Eusebius, *De vita Constantini*, iii, 23. After an account of the Council of Nicaea, and the letter in which Constantine informed his peoples of the unification of the date of Easter, the Bishop of Caesarea added that, in the midst of general peace, the Egyptians alone cherished implacable bitterness towards each other, and this worried the Emperor. He therefore called them together a second time, and once more took upon himself the office of a mediator; once more he heaped presents on them, and then he set forth his views in a letter, confirming and sealing the decisions of the Council, and calling upon the Egyptians to remain in peace and not to trouble and divide the Church but to bear in mind the judgement of God. After this we have the passage of St. Athanasius, *Apol. contra Arianos*, lix, on the five months which had elapsed after the end of the Council, i.e. in reality between the reconciliation of the Meletians and the death of Alexander. We have pointed out how this may be understood. The

Theognis was the result of considerations of a personal order rather than of a doctrinal character. "The Bishop of Nicomedia . . . was linked by birth to the imperial family, and was thought to be well in the confidence of Licinius's widow Constantia, Constantine's sister, who lived at Nicomedia . . . Constantine's mother, Helen, had been born in Drepanum in Bithynia. . . . She had a very great devotion for the martyr venerated there, who was none other than Lucian, the master of Eusebius of Nicomedia and of other Lucianists. Thus, the devotion of the Emperor's mother was centred particularly in an illustrious martyr who had as disciples the Bishop of Nicomedia, the Bishop of Nicaea, and the Bishop of Chalcedon. Did not the martyr guarantee the faith of these bishops who, by reason of their culture, were the élite of the Greek episcopate?"¹

Constantine did not require much persuasion. Doctrinal controversies did not interest him for their own sake; Eusebius and Theognis presumably gave him explanations which he regarded as satisfactory; he hoped that their recall would promote the cause of peace, and he restored them to their sees, without further ado.² But that was in itself a serious error. The Bishop of Nicomedia was hardly back at his post when he once more took up the direction of operations which tended to hamper those who defended the term "consubstantial." Moreover, he acted very cleverly in the whole matter. There could be no question of directly attacking the Nicene Creed, for that would be to oppose the Emperor, who held by his Council, and still less was there question of adopting once more the much too extreme and frank formulae of Arius, who was thus abandoned to his fate. But one could proceed by insinuations, evoke the

passage in Eusebius is more difficult, but the *De vita Constantini* which, in accordance with the custom in panegyrics, makes a point of omitting proper names and exact dates, cannot stand against the mass of early witnesses who know of only one Council at Nicaea in 325. Cf. G. Bardy, *Sur la réitération du concile de Nicée*, in *Recherches de Science religieuse*, Vol. XXIII, 1933, pp. 430-450.

¹ P. Batiffol, *La paix constantinienne*, pp. 366-367.

² Philostorgus (*Hist. eccles.*, II, vii) puts the return of Eusebius and Theognis three years after the Council of Nicaea, i.e. in 328. This date can be accepted.

spectre of the Sabellian heresy, and denounce the Nicene defenders as the real champions of that error. Eusebius made use of these tactics, and they were successful.

Eustathius of Antioch

The first and foremost of the opponents with whom he had to deal was Eustathius of Antioch. He was sometime Bishop of Berea, and had been called to the see of Antioch after the death of Philogonus, only a few months before the Council of Nicaea. Eustathius was a learned man, and an open critic of Origen, as may be seen from a *Homily on the Witch of Endor* which has come down to us. He was also an ardent defender of the Nicene term "consubstantial."¹ After playing an important part in the Council itself, and possibly that of its president, he had become the most prominent champion of orthodoxy in the East, and had exchanged sharp letters with Eusebius of Caesarea concerning the faith. When the Bishop of Nicomedia took possession once more of his see, Eustathius complained loudly of his actions: although, he writes, he and others had anathematised at Nicaea their own special doctrines, these angry supporters of Arius were beginning once more to speak of them. It was not without difficulty that they had been restored to their churches, and surely humility was the only attitude they should have adopted. Instead of that, they defended the condemned views, sometimes in secret, and sometimes openly; they took all possible steps to escape the vigilance of those who realised what was afoot, and they treated the heralds of piety as enemies.²

Deposition of Eustathius

Eustathius's complaints were spread abroad and had an immense echo throughout the East. Very soon his opponents

¹ F. Loofs (*Paulus von Samosata*, pp. 295-302) tries to connect the teaching of Eustathius with that of Paul of Samosata, which is indeed a paradoxical enterprise. Cf. V. Sellers, *Eustathius of Antiochia*, where the same view is put forward. It is more interesting to recall that, among his contemporaries, Eustathius's opponents accused him of Sabellianism. This was, in particular, the opinion of Cyrus of Berea, according to George of Laodicea. Cf. Socrates, *Hist. eccles.*, I, xxiv; II, ix.

² Eustathius, *apud* Theodoret, *Hist. eccles.*, I, viii, 1-5.

felt themselves in a position to take steps against him. Already in 330, apparently,¹ a Council had met at Antioch, comprising Eusebius of Nicomedia, Theognis of Nicaea, Eusebius of Caesarea, Patrophilus of Scythopolis, Aëtius of Lydda, and Theodotus of Laodicea, and it deposed the bishop of the metropolis.² The sentence was confirmed by Constantine, who forthwith sent Eustathius into exile.

The old historians tell us that all kinds of means were adopted to bring about Eustathius's downfall, including the accusation of heresy, complaints of a moral character, and the crime of *lèse-majesté*.³ Anxious to respect the traditional forms, the bishops did their utmost to establish at the Council the heterodoxy of their colleague. The Emperor, on the other hand, aimed above all at punishing one who was a disturber of public order: Eustathius was stirring up Christians against each other, and arousing bitterness and hatred: for this he deserved an exemplary punishment. He was accordingly deported to Trajanopolis in Thrace, and he must have died there a few years later, for we hear nothing more of him.⁴

We know very little about the events which followed Eustathius's deposition at Antioch. The *De vita Constantini* is here our chief source and, in accordance with his usual custom, Eusebius fails to give us dates and proper names. From his account it would seem that the steps taken by the Council against a bishop so much loved and respected led immediately to disturbances at Antioch, and that he himself was chosen to take the place of the exiled bishop.⁵ We know, however, from other statements by Eusebius, that Paulinus of Tyre must have occupied the episcopal see of Antioch for a little while, and we may well believe Philostorgus when he tells us that, in point of fact, Paulinus replaced Eustathius,

¹ On this date, cf. F. Cavallera, *Le schisme d'Antioche*, p. 57.

² Theodoret, *Hist. eccles.*, I, xxi.

³ We have mentioned the accusation of Sabellianism made by Cyrus of Berea; Theodoret says that a woman calumniously accused the bishop of having seduced her; Athanasius thinks that Eustathius was accused before Constantine of having insulted his mother.

⁴ Cf. F. Cavallera, *Le schisme d'Antioche*, pp. 38-41.

⁵ Eusebius, *De vita Constantini*, iii, 59-62.

and died only six months after his election.¹ It is, moreover, highly probable that Eulalius succeeded Paulinus,² and that it was only on the death of Eulalius that a new synod elected Eusebius of Caesarea.

What is quite certain is that the years which followed 330 were marked by risings of the people of Antioch—a population difficult to please at any time—and Constantine was thus made to realise more than he had hitherto done the seriousness of the problems arising throughout the East by reason of the preaching of Arius and his disciples. The choice of Eusebius of Caesarea as bishop was in these circumstances a clever move on the whole. Eusebius, it was well known, was held in especial esteem by the Emperor: Constantine admired him as a scholar who had given to the Church many proofs of his almost boundless erudition, and delighted in his eloquence, which lent itself so easily to panegyrics. On the other hand, although a friend of Collucianists, Eusebius was not so compromised in their direction as to be regarded as a heretic: his wisdom and prudence, and the absence of any personal ambition, made him eminently a man of conciliation and moderation.

But Eusebius refused the honour: he pleaded the ecclesiastical canons which prohibited episcopal translations, and declared his attachment to that rule. Constantine did not insist. He contented himself with writing to Eusebius to praise him for his modesty, and to the Antiochenes in order to urge calm and unity, and finally to the bishops to give them his advice on the choice they had to make. He specially recommended George, priest of Arethusa, whom Alexander of Alexandria had raised to the priesthood, and Euphronius, priest of Caesarea in Cappadocia. Euphronius was elected: he was a follower of the ideas set forth by Eusebius of Nicomedia.³

¹ Philostorgus, *Hist. eccles.*, III, xv. The account of Paulinus of Tyre is somewhat complicated, and rather obscure on several points. Cf. G. Bardy, *Sur Paulin de Tyr*, in *Revue des Sciences religieuses*, Vol. II, 1922, pp. 35-45.

² Theodoret, *Hist. eccles.*, I, xxi; Philostorgus, *Hist. eccles.*, III, xv.

³ George had been deposed from the priesthood because of his Arianism, and Eustathius had refused to receive him at Antioch, but Constantine took care not to recall these facts. George was subsequently elected Bishop of Laodicea.

Very probably it was one and the same Council which elected Euphronius and which promulgated the twenty-five canons often attributed to the Synod of the Dedication.¹ These canons display a very definite effort to safeguard the independence of the bishops against the influence of the imperial court. One of them forbids bishops to go to the Emperor, under pain of deposition, unless he should be expressly authorised to do so by letters from the other bishops of the province and the metropolitan. Another decided that when a deposed bishop or cleric appealed to the Emperor, his case should be heard before a larger council, and not be decided definitely by the Emperor himself. We feel when we read these canons that new customs were creeping in, constituting the Emperor the judge of ecclesiastical controversies, and that the bishops felt bound to protest against them.

Further Depositions

The deposition of Eustathius of Antioch was not an isolated event, although it is the best known incident following the return of the Bishop of Nicomedia. Under the pretext of ensuring peace, several other bishops were dealt with about 330, chosen more or less by chance, from the defenders of the "consubstantial." They included Asclepas of Gaza, who was possibly deposed in 326 by a synod presided over by Eusebius of Caesarea.² Later on, Eutropus of Andrianople, Euphratius of Balaneus, Cymatius of Paltus, Cyrus of Berea, Diodorus of Tenedos, Domnion of Sirmium, and Hellanicus of Tripoli were similarly expelled from their sees, in circumstances which are not very clear.³

Marcellus of Ancyra

It is not impossible that the victims of these years included also Marcellus of Ancyra. Marcellus had been one of the most ardent defenders of the term "consubstantial," both at

¹ On the Canons of Antioch, cf. E. Schwartz, *Zur Geschichte des Athanasius*, VIII, in the *Göttingen Nachrichten*, 1911, pp. 389-397; G. Bardy, art. *Antioche, Concile et Canons*, in *Dictionnaire de droit canonique*, Vol. I, col. 589-598.

² Athanasius, *Hist. Arian.*, v; *Apol. contra Arianos*, xlvi; Hilary, *Fragm. histor.*, iii, 11.

³ Athanasius, *Hist. Arian.*, v.

the Council of Nicaea and after it. Following the recall of Eusebius of Nicomedia, he had drawn up and dedicated to Constantine a work intended particularly to refute Asterius the Sophist, who was then the spokesman of Arianism, and in this book, of which we possess only some fragments, he did not hesitate to criticise Paulinus of Tyre, Narcissus of Neronias, and the two Eusebii.¹ It was dangerous at that time to attack men protected openly by Constantine's favour. The Emperor took a serious view of the matter; he summoned a great synod of bishops from Pontus, Asia, Thrace and Moesia, to meet at Constantinople. The bishops examined the work of Marcellus, and declared it to be heretical. The Bishop of Ancyra was thereupon deposed and exiled; he was replaced by a certain Basil, destined to play a prominent part in the future.²

¹ The work of Marcellus of Ancyra is lost, and we have only some fragments quoted by Eusebius of Caesarea in the two books which he wrote to refute the teaching of Marcellus, *Contra Marcellum* and *De ecclesiastica theologia*. Naturally these fragments were carefully chosen, in order to bring out the dangerous aspects of Marcellus's teaching. It is, however, difficult to excuse the Bishop of Ancyra altogether, and his expressions have only too often a Sabellian sound. Cf. J. Tixeront, *Histoire des dogmes*, Vol. II, pp. 38-43. The orthodox did not wish to forget the support which Marcellus had given them by defending the term "consubstantial." For a long time they regarded it as more or less a point of honour to uphold him, and they did not sufficiently realise that it was not possible to accept all the formulae he had used, and that was certainly a mistake on their part. F. Loofs (*Paulus von Samosata*, pp. 216-218, 236-240) endeavours to show that the teaching of Marcellus, like that of Eustathius of Antioch, and that of Paul of Samosata himself, reproduced a very early tradition, going further back even than the apologists: that is a paradox which has often been refuted. Cf. G. Bardy, *Paul de Samosata*, 2nd edn., pp. 431-453; M. Pourchet, *Marcel d'Ancyre et ses sources théologiques*, Rome, 1935.

² The date of Marcellus's deposition is very difficult to determine with certainty. The chronology followed here is that of E. Schwartz, *Zur Geschichte des Athanasius*, VIII, in the *Göttingen Nachrichten*, 1911, pp. 400-407. The early historians put the Council of Constantinople which deposed Marcellus after the Council of Tyre in 335. Cf. Socrates, *Hist. eccles.*, I, xxxvi; Sozomen, *Hist. eccles.*, II, xxxiii. They even assert that Marcellus was present at the Council of Tyre but refused to sign the condemnation of Athanasius, and that he refused to take part in the Council of Jerusalem. Cf. Tillemont, *Mémoires*, Vol. VII, pp. 505-506. The disadvantage in their account is that it completely separates the case of Marcellus from that of Eustathius, which it resembles in so many ways.

Troubles at Alexandria

While these events were upsetting Syria and Asia Minor, Egypt had some troubles of another kind. The new Bishop of Alexandria, Athanasius, was especially worried about the Meletians. Meletius himself was dead, but he had been replaced by an ambitious and intriguing man named John Arkaph, who knew well how to make life difficult for Athanasius. In the course of the winter of 331-332, he sent to the court four of his assistants, Ision, Eudaemon, Callinicus, and "the ridiculous Hieracammon who, ashamed of his own name, had himself called Eulogus."¹ These were instructed to complain against the Bishop of Alexandria who, they said, had imposed on the Egyptians a tribute of linen shirts. Two priests belonging to Athanasius were at that moment at Nicomedia; they defended their bishop, but this did not prevent Constantine from calling the latter to him to hear what he had to say in reply to two fresh accusations, namely, that of having caused one of his priests to break the chalice with which a certain Ischyrras celebrated the sacred mysteries, and—a much graver offence—of having given a large amount of gold to one named Philomenos, who was suspected of treason against the Emperor.² Athanasius had at court a faithful friend and powerful protector in the person of Ablavius, praetorian prefect. He

¹ St. Athanasius, *Epist. fest.*, iv; *Apol. contra Arianos*, lx. The Meletians seem indeed to have been aroused against Athanasius by Eusebius of Nicomedia, and to have begun their intrigues as early as 329-330. St. Athanasius even asserts (*Apol. contra Arianos*, lix) that Eusebius of Nicomedia had asked him, shortly after his return from exile, to receive the Arians into communion. On his refusal, the Bishop of Alexandria apparently received a letter from the Emperor, a fragment of which he gives us: "You know my will, namely, that the door should be open for all those who wish to enter the Church. If I learn that you have forbidden entry to the Church to any who desire to rejoin it, I will at once send someone who will depose you on my orders, and send you away." This fragment has been reproduced by Gelasius of Cyzicus, Socrates and Sozomen. It is not impossible that it refers, not to Arians as Athanasius says, but to the Meletians. Cf. G. Bardy, *La politique religieuse de Constantin après le concile de Nicée*, in *Revue des Sciences religieuses*, Vol. VIII, 1928, p. 538, n. 2.

² The letter which Constantine thereupon wrote to St. Athanasius was inserted by him in his *Apologia contra Arianos*, lx. The copyists omitted to transcribe it, and it is now lost.

managed to justify himself, and before Easter 332 he returned to his diocese, taking with him a letter from Constantine to the faithful of the Catholic Church at Alexandria. This letter was very severe towards the disturbers of public order, and roundly treated them as enemies, criminals, senseless and wretched. Finally Constantine declared: "As for me, I have received your bishop, Athanasius, with great kindness, and I have treated him as a man of God. You must understand that it is not for me to pass judgement in this matter."¹ This ending is not what we should have expected: it shows at least that at that moment Constantine was less disposed than ever to intervene in matters strictly religious. The Meletians realised that, for the time being, things had gone against them, and several of them hastened to return to the obedience of Athanasius.²

The Emperor very soon gave other indications of the same kind. At the end of 332 or in the early months of 333,³ there arrived at Alexandria two agents of the *magister officiorum*, Syncretius and Gaudentius, bearing two letters which Constantine addressed respectively to Arius and his followers and to the bishops. The latter ordered that henceforth Arius and his followers should be given the name of Porphyrians, after the man who had been the most formidable opponent of the Christian Church in the ranks of the pagans; it also ordered that the works of Arius should be burnt, and that those who hid them should be punished by death.⁴ As for the letter to Arius,⁵ this was a reply to one which the heresiarch had addressed to Constantine, in which he boasted of having the masses on his side, and in particular of being

¹ St. Athanasius, *Apol. contra Arianos*, lxi.

² St. Athanasius, *Apol. contra Arianos*, lxxiii-lxiv.

³ On this date, cf. E. Schwartz, *Zur Geschichte des Athanasius*, in the *Göttingen Nachrichten*, 1904, p. 346 and n. 3.

⁴ *Epist. τοὺς πονηροὺς καὶ ἀσεβεῖς*, quoted by Socrates, *Hist. eccles.*, I, ix; by Gelasius of Cyzicus, *Hist. eccles.*, II, xxvii, and by the MSS. of St. Athanasius. Cf. G. Bardy, *art. cit.*, p. 536, n. 3.

⁵ *Epist. κακὸς ἐρμηνεύς*, cited by Gelasius of Cyzicus, *Hist. eccles.*, III, xix, and by the MSS. of St. Athanasius. It is certainly authentic, like the preceding one. Cf. L. Duchesne, *Histoire ancienne de l'Eglise*, Vol. II, p. 172.

followed by all Libya.¹ These proud pretensions Constantine absolutely refused to accept; he once more condemned the Arians, and withdrew from the heretical clergy all immunities. But at the end he somewhat modified his tone, and invited Arius to come to the court to arrive at an understanding with "the man of God," as he calls himself. Arius was mistrustful, and did not present himself at Nicomedia.²

In any case, at that moment it was not the Arians who were causing the Emperor most anxiety, but the Meletians of Egypt, who were renewing their activity in spite of their first check. At the end of 333 or the beginning of 334, they recommenced their agitation against Athanasius. This time they accused him of a serious crime, namely, the assassination of the Meletian Bishop of Hypsele, Arsenius. This moved Constantine to immediate action, and he ordered his half-brother, Delmatius the censor, to hold an enquiry into the matter. Once more the result was the confusion of the Meletians: Arsenius was discovered alive in a monastery where he had hidden. An attempt was also made to revive the story of the broken chalice of Ischyra, but the latter certified in writing that he knew nothing of all these stories.³

¹ The fragments of Arius's letter are studied by G. Bardy, *Fragments attribuées à Arius*, in *Revue d'Histoire ecclésiastique*, Vol. XXVI, 1930, pp. 253-260.

² To the same period, doubtless, belongs the letter from Constantine to the heretics, ἐπιγνῶτε, inserted by Eusebius in his *De vita Constantini*, ii, 64-65. This letter orders severe measures against the old dissidents, Novatians, Valentinians, Marcionites, Paulianists, and Montanists; it forbids their meetings, and confiscates their places of worship (cf. *supra*, p. 66). The authenticity of this document has been questioned by P. Batiffol, *Les documents de la Vita Constantini*, in *Bulletin d'ancienne littérature et d'archéologie chrétiennes*, Vol. IV, 1914, pp. 87-89, but, it would seem, wrongly. Cf. G. Bardy, *La politique religieuse de Constantin*, p. 535, n. 1.

³ St. Athanasius has given us the main documents relating to this matter in his *Apologia contra Arianos*, namely, Ischyra's retraction (lxiv), the letter of Pinnes, priest of the monastery of Ptemencyris in the nome of Anteopolis, to John Arkaph (lxvii); letter from Arsenius to Athanasius (lxix); letter from Constantine to Athanasius (lxxviii). In addition, papyrus no. 1913 in the British Museum, dated the 19th of March 334, is a letter from a certain Aurelius Pageus, administrator of the monastery of Hathor in the nome of Cynopolis, when he was preparing to set out for Caesarea, whither he had been summoned. It is probable that he was a Meletian.

Meanwhile, a Council had been convoked at Caesarea in Palestine for the spring of 334, and several bishops had started out on their journey thither, but it was cancelled. Constantine ordered the bishops to return home, and he wrote to Athanasius a fresh letter, full of praise for his person and of hard words for the calumniators. A temporary reconciliation followed between Athanasius and John Arkaph.¹ But it was only a pretence, and already in 335 things were as before.

That particular year was the thirtieth of the reign of Constantine; it was also the tenth anniversary of the Council of Nicaea. Was it not a suitable occasion for a special celebration, and the renewal of efforts already made so many times to restore religious peace once for all in the East? The Emperor came more and more to think that ideas were not the cause of the trouble, and that it was all a matter of individual disagreements. Above all, it seemed to him that two men constituted the obstacle to the pacification of minds and hearts so much desired, namely, Arius and Athanasius, and it was accordingly decided that, before the celebrations which were to culminate in the solemn dedication of the basilica of the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem, a great council should meet at Tyre to examine with care the dispute between these two individuals.

Recall of Arius

Constantine had not given up the desire to receive Arius at Nicomedia. Even before the Council of Tyre had been summoned, he once more requested Arius to come and see him: "For a long time," he wrote, "your reverence has received an invitation to come to my camp and enjoy my presence. I am greatly surprised that you did not at once do so. Take, therefore, the public coach, and hasten to come to my camp so that, favoured by my benevolence and

¹ Constantine wrote at once to John Arkaph to congratulate him, and to summon him to his court. Cf. St. Athanasius, *Apol. contra Arianos*, lxx.

solicitude, you may be able to return to your own land. God guard you."¹

Arius understood that this time there was no way of escape. With Euzoius he presented himself at court, and handed to the Emperor a profession of faith which was fairly reassuring, and which, with a certain amount of good will, might be regarded by its readers as more or less orthodox.² It goes without saying that the Nicene term "consubstantial" does not appear, but Arius admits that the Son was born of God before all ages. The profession of faith was naturally followed by a request to be received back into the Church: "We ask of thy religiousness, O most God-loving Emperor, that as we are ecclesiastics, and have for belief and thought that of the Church and the Holy Scriptures, thou wouldst reunite us by thy peaceful and religious piety to our mother the Church, and that an end may be put to interminable questions. Then, we and the Church being at peace, we shall all be able to pray as we ought for the peace of thy kingdom and of thy family."³ Constantine accepted the Profession of Faith thus presented to him, recalled Arius and Euzoius from exile, and requested the Council of Tyre to examine their ecclesiastical position.

§ 2. THE COUNCIL OF TYRE

The Members of the Council

This Council promised to be of the greatest importance,

¹ Socrates, *Hist. eccles.*, I, xxv. The date of the letter is much discussed. It was written on the 27th of November, but we do not know what year. According to E. Schwartz, *Zur Geschichte des Athanasius*, in the *Göttingen Nachrichten*, 1911, p. 382, the year would be 327: Constantine would thus have written to Arius immediately after the second session of the Council of Nicaea. We have already expressed our opinion of this hypothesis (cf. *supra*, pp. 112-113). The most likely date seems to us to be the year 334.

² Socrates, *Hist. eccles.*, I, xxvi; Sozomen, *Hist. eccles.*, II, xxvii. As Batiffol has remarked (*La paix constantinienne*, p. 390, n. 3), the date of Arius's profession of faith is determined by that of the Council of Jerusalem (335), with which it was contemporary, and where it was accepted. Sozomen is here a particularly reliable witness, for he derived his information from the collection of Sabinos.

³ Cf. H. M. Gwatkin, *Studies of Arianism*, 2nd edn., pp. 90 *et seq.*

even though not oecumenical. The bishops who were to take part in it were very carefully selected: they were followers of Eusebius of Nicomedia and opponents of Athanasius. The beginning of the summer of 335 saw the departure from their episcopal cities in the direction of Tyre of Eusebius of Nicomedia, Eusebius of Caesarea, Theognis of Nicaea, Maris of Chalcedon, and Flaccillus of Antioch, all veterans of the Arian controversies. Together with these we find two newcomers, both Pannonian bishops destined to play a prominent part: Valens of Mursa and Ursacius of Singidunum. Arius himself had taught them during his exile, and had found them the most docile of disciples: they did not belie the confidence of their master. A few prelates indifferent, or even sympathetic to Athanasius, such as Alexander of Thessalonica, were invited by way of exception, but when the Bishop of Alexandria himself arrived in his turn, escorted by forty-nine bishops from Egypt, they were refused admission to the Council, where their presence was manifestly undesirable.¹

The Programme

A letter from Constantine explained to the members of the Synod what was to be done.² The Emperor exhorted the bishops to meet as soon as possible, and to restore concord in the provinces, from which it had disappeared through the arrogance of a few individuals. He himself would spare no pains, and already he had granted all that had been asked of him. "If anyone refuses to come to the Council, and despises the imperial command received (this threat doubtless was aimed at the Bishop of Alexandria), the Emperor would send him a decree of exile, to teach him to obey the injunctions of the prince concerning truth. For the rest, he had confidence that the bishops would judge impartially, in

¹ Athanasius, *Apol. contra Arianos*, lxxix. According to Socrates (*Hist. eccles.*, I, xxviii), the Council comprised about sixty members, not of course counting the Egyptians. Athanasius left Alexandria for Tyre on the 10th or 11th of July. The Council must have opened shortly afterwards.

² *Epist.* ἧν μὲν ἱσως, in Eusebius, *De vita Constantini*, iv, 42. The text of this letter is also given by Gelasius of Cyzicus, *Hist. eccles.*, III, xvii, and by Theodoret, *Hist. eccles.*, I, xxix.

conformity with the ecclesiastical and apostolic rule, and free him from all solicitude, and the Church from all blasphemy."¹

These instructions were strictly carried out. The chief matter was that of Athanasius. Nothing was spared in the attempt to prove his guilt. Against him, the Meletians had accumulated a number of accusations. He had, they said, broken the chalice of Ischyrras; he had caused the same Ischyrras to be put in prison several times, having been accused by him before the prefect of Egypt of throwing stones at images of the Emperor; he had beaten with rods five Meletian bishops, Euplius, Pachomius, Achillas, Isaac and Hermacon; he had deposed and replaced Callinicus, the Meletian Bishop of Pelusa, who had refused his communion because of the affair of the chalice of Ischyrras; finally he had set fire to the house of Arsenius of Hypsele, and had bound, beaten and imprisoned this unfortunate bishop, so that when he managed to escape he had to hide himself, which explains that for a long time people had sincerely believed that he was dead.²

¹ P. Batiffol, *La paix Constantinienne*, pp. 378-379.

² Sozomen (*Hist. eccles.*, II, xxv) bases his account of the Council of Tyre on the report which the bishops sent to Constantine, and which he himself may have found in the collection of Sabinos. St. Athanasius (*Apol. contra Arianos*, iii-xix) reproduces a long letter from an Egyptian Council in 340 which gives its own version of the synod of Tyre. In the same work Athanasius also gives (lxxi-lxxxvii) an account of this synod, and quotes several authentic documents relating to it. We must not omit the letter of the Eastern bishops at Sardica, *apud* Hilary, *Fragm. histor.*, iii, 6-7, which gives the Eusebian version of the facts.

Rufinus (*Hist. eccles.*, X, xviii) says that Athanasius was also accused of having violated a woman. We need not retain this detail, which is legendary.

The British Museum papyrus 1914, published in 1924 by Idris Bell, throws a new light on the accusations made against Athanasius by the Meletians. It is a letter written from a suburb of Alexandria shortly after the 23rd of May 335, by a certain Callistus, to two Meletian priests, Paieus and Patabeitus. We learn from this that Athanasius sometimes had recourse to violent measures: "Athanasius," says Callistus, "has brought a bishop from the lowlands and has shut him up in the market; a priest from the same region has similarly been hidden away, and a deacon is in the great prison. Down to the 28th of Pachon, Heraiscus remains shut up in the camp; his wounds have healed, thanks be to God. On the 27th, Athanasius dismissed seven bishops. Emis is among their number, together with Peter, son of Tubestes." Such

The Council

The Council met in July 335. An imperial officer, Count Flavius Dionysius, was instructed to represent Constantine there, and soldiers were to ensure good order at the meetings.¹ Athanasius was to appear before his fellow bishops only in order to reply to the accusations made against him. On several points he succeeded in exculpating himself; on other matters he asked for a delay. The bishops decided above all to get at the truth of the matter of Ischyra and the broken chalice, as this seemed to them to be most important. As the matter could not be settled at Tyre, they decided to send to the Mareotis a commission of enquiry; Athanasius agreed to this, on condition that the commission was not recruited from his most notorious enemies. On this point they refused to listen to him: those sent had either been Arians, like Theognis and Maris, or would be in the future, like Ursacius and Valens. In these conditions it is easy to understand that the enquiry was carried out with a disgraceful bias. In vain did the priests and deacons of Alexandria protest to the bishops of the commission against receiving the depositions of witnesses behind closed doors²; in vain did the priests and deacons of the Mareotis complain to the Council of Tyre that it was impossible to get their own witnesses heard.³ Their voices were disregarded, and the enquiry carried out in such a way, thanks to the protection of Philagrius, prefect of Egypt, who presided over the examination, that the Commission was able to return to Tyre with a crushing verdict against Athanasius.

The Synod became more and more a robber synod. "The Count spoke, and those present kept silence, or rather they accepted the Count's orders."⁴ The accusers cried out, the crowd surrounding the tribunal yelled and spat upon Athanasius, calling him a sorcerer, a brute, and an unworthy

measures may have been legitimate against rebels, but it seems difficult to believe that all the complaints made by the Meletians were without foundation. Cf. L. Duchesne, *Histoire ancienne de l'Eglise*, Vol. II, p. 182.

¹ St Athanasius, *Apol. contra Arianos*, viii.

² St. Athanasius, *Apol. contra Arianos*, lxxvii.

³ St. Athanasius, *Apol. contra Arianos*, lxxiv.

⁴ St. Athanasius, *Apol. contra Arianos*, viii.

bishop. The Bishop of Alexandria, indeed, ran the risk of being cut to pieces by the multitude, and he had to be removed secretly.¹ The Egyptian bishops, who had not been allowed to sit in the Council, decided to write to Count Dionysius, begging him not to allow the Council to continue its work of injustice, and asking that the matter should be transferred to the tribunal of the Emperor.² Alexander of Thessalonica supported their request. Dionysius, thus appealed to, contented himself with urging the Eusebians to moderation and prudence: his duplicity could not deceive anyone.³

Athanasius at Constantinople

In the end Athanasius, realising that he had nothing to hope from the bishops, left Tyre in secret and embarked for Constantinople.⁴ The Council, nothing moved by his absence, pronounced against him a sentence of deposition, and forbade him to return to Alexandria. At the same time it restored to their positions the Meletians who had been deposed by Athanasius. Lastly, it sent the Emperor a report of all that had been done, and to all Christian bishops a synodal letter in which it requested them to break off all relations of communion with Athanasius, seeing that he was guilty of having refused the year before to appear before the Council of Caesarea, and had likewise refused even at Tyre to reply to the accusations made against him, or else had replied only by insults, and had finally fled.

At Constantinople, the Bishop of Alexandria had great difficulty in getting a hearing from the Emperor, who at first refused to see him. Nevertheless Athanasius had an opportunity of meeting Constantine while the latter was out horse riding: he stopped him, and asked him for justice. The

¹ Sozomen, *Hist. eccles.*, II, xxv.

² St. Athanasius, *Apol. contra Arianos*, lxxix. This request was a very serious step, for it meant removing an ecclesiastical matter from the work of the council and seeking its decision from the Emperor. Clearly the bishops of Egypt were confused in their judgement by the course of events.

³ St. Athanasius, *Apol. contra Arianos*, lxxx-lxxxii. The letter from Count Dionysius to the Council shows that he connived with the opponents of Athanasius.

⁴ Sozomen, *Hist. eccles.*, I, xxv.

prince first tried to avoid the importunate bishop, but as that was impossible, he played for time, and rather unwillingly consented to call before him the members of the Council of Tyre. Accordingly he wrote, ordering them to come to Constantinople. "I do not know," he said to them, "the judgements which your meeting has passed in the midst of tumult and agitation; but it seems that the truth has been oppressed by noise and discord; and that, in the midst of your disputes, you have not considered what was pleasing to God. . . . Hasten therefore to come here, and rest assured that I shall do all in my power to see that in God's law everything is maintained firm and stable, and that the enemies who, under colour of defending His holy name, multiply blasphemies, shall be scattered, destroyed, and completely annihilated."¹

Exile of Athanasius

It goes without saying that the members of the Council were not at all anxious to go to Constantinople, and only six bishops presented themselves before the Emperor, Eusebius of Nicomedia, Eusebius of Caesarea, Ursacius, Valens and two others. According to the synodal letter of 340, they carefully abstained from speaking to Constantine about Ischyrras and the broken chalice; they maintained that Athanasius had boasted of being able to prevent the transportation of wheat between Alexandria and Constantinople. In vain did the bishop point out that he was merely an ordinary individual, and was far from possessing all the power attributed to him. Constantine, in view of this new accusation, is said to have declared that he had merited exile. What is quite certain is that Athanasius was immediately sent to the interior of Gaul, and interned at Trèves.²

¹ St. Athanasius, *Apol. contra Arianos*, lxxxvi. The text of Constantine's letter is reproduced by Socrates, *Hist. eccles.*, I, xxxiv, and by Sozomen, *Hist. eccles.*, II, xxviii. Gelasius (*Hist. eccles.*, III, xviii) cites the letter but with interpolations. Cf. L. Parmentier, *Theodoret Kirchengeschichte*, pp. lxxi et seq.

² St. Athanasius, *Apol. contra Arianos*, ix. Later on, in ch. lxxxvii of the same work, Athanasius deals once more with these events in his own personal account of them, and he cites the names of the five Egyptian bishops who were with him at Constantinople, and who witnessed the scene. We may well believe, however, that Constantine, in exiling Athanasius, aimed above all at carrying out the sentence of the Council of Tyre and of giving it civil sanction.

The Sequel to the Council of Tyre

During this time, the bishops who had just held their council at Tyre went on to Jerusalem to celebrate there the festival of the Dedication of the Anastasis.¹ It was during these celebrations that Arius received the absolution which readmitted him into the Church. A letter of Constantine's which is lost, but the substance of which is known to us, transmitted his orders to the bishops. It apparently asserted the correctness of the belief of Arius and his companions, who had recently been expelled from the Church through unseemly ill-feeling. The bishops obeyed, and then communicated their decision to Alexandria: "We are assured," they wrote, "that, in welcoming the members of your own body, your own joy and consolation will be great: it is those whom you will thus know and find once more are your bosom companions, your brethren, your fathers. Know, then, that we have renewed communion with them, and that they have been received because the faith professed by them respects that which all profess, namely the tradition and teaching of the apostles."²

The imperial sentences exiling Athanasius and recalling Arius could not in themselves suffice to restore calm in men's minds. It was above all necessary to ensure that they were carried out, and that was not easy. There were, apparently, some disturbances at Alexandria when it was learnt that the bishop was being sent to Gaul, and the great solitary, St. Antony, wrote several letters to Constantine to ask for the

¹ On the celebrations at Jerusalem, see the account of Eusebius, *De vita Constantini*, iv, 43-45. Eusebius stresses the splendour of the liturgical functions, the eloquence of the discourses, etc. From what he says, one would not gather that anything else was in view besides the dedication of the new basilica. On the other hand, St. Athanasius transmits to us (*De synod.*, xxi) the "letter of the holy synod gathered together by the grace of God in Jerusalem, to the Church of God which is at Alexandria, and to the bishops, which are in Egypt, the Thebaid, Libya, Pentapolis, and to the bishops, priests and deacons of the Catholic world." This letter shows us the real significance of the assembly. The commencement is given also in the *Apol. contra Arianos*, lxxxiv.

² St. Athanasius, *De synod.*, xxi.

recall of his disciple.¹ The Emperor, however, remained inflexible. To the people of Alexandria, and in particular to the clergy and religious women, he wrote telling them to rest assured that he would not go back on his decision or recall a source of disturbances condemned in a regular manner by an ecclesiastical tribunal. To St. Antony he explained that doubtless some of the judges may have been motivated by hatred or complaisance, but that he could not believe so large an assembly of wise and enlightened bishops could err to the extent of condemning an innocent man. Athanasius was an insolent and proud person, and a man of discord.²

Death of Arius

As for Arius, some late authorities say that he at first returned to Alexandria, in order to be received there with all the honour due to his priesthood, but that, as a riot broke out, Constantine made him return immediately to Constantinople and there give an explanation of his conduct.³ It is, however, more likely that the Emperor did not risk allowing the heresiarch to return to Egypt, and that he confined his activities to trying to get him received by the Bishop of Constantinople, Alexander.⁴ Even this was not unaccompanied by difficulties, and we do not know exactly

¹ Sozomen, *Hist. eccles.*, II, xxxi. It is strange that Athanasius nowhere mentions this correspondence between St. Antony and Constantine. Doubtless he considered the Emperor's reply too severe in his regard, and too favourable to the Council of Tyre. It is evident that he wanted the opinion to prevail that Constantine never ceased to defend him.

² L. Duchesne, *Histoire ancienne de l'Eglise*, Vol. II, pp. 184-185.

³ Rufinus, *Hist. eccles.*, X, xi-xii; Socrates, *Hist. eccles.*, I, xxxvii; Sozomen, *Hist. eccles.*, II, xxix; P. Batiffol, *La paix constantinienne*, p. 392, n. 2. The last mentioned writer allows the weight of these testimonies, and thinks that Socrates derived his information from the *Synodikon* of St. Athanasius. On the other hand, L. Duchesne, *Hist. anc. de l'Eglise*, Vol. II, p. 183, n. 1, points out that Athanasius, even in his *Epistle to Serapion* on the death of Arius, says nothing of this journey to Alexandria, the reality of which it is very difficult to accept. Cf. R. Aigrain, art. *Arius*, in *Dict. d'histoire et de géographie ecclésiastiques*, Vol. IV, col. 214-215.

⁴ It seems that we must put here the letter καὶ νῦν ἄρα ὁ παμμίαιρος to Alexander, quoted by Gelasius of Cyzicus, *Hist. eccles.*, III, xv, mentioned above, p. 113, n. 1.

what took place, or whether Arius died suddenly on the eve of the day when he was to be admitted to communion.¹

§ 3. FROM THE DEATH OF ARIUS TO THE COUNCIL OF SARDICA

The Situation in 335

The death of Arius and the exile of St. Athanasius mark the end of a period in the troubled history we are here narrating. Only ten years had elapsed between the Council of Nicaea and that of Jerusalem. In the *De vita Constantini*, Eusebius of Caesarea takes pleasure in comparing the Council of Nicaea, which had condemned Arius, with that of Jerusalem, which rehabilitated him. He endeavours to show that they were both of a like importance, and that the *tricennalia* of Constantine was a worthy sequel to his *vicennalia*.² But there is no parallel, except in appearance.

At Nicaea, it was the faith itself that was in question, and the faith was defined by the Creed signed by "the three hundred and eighteen Fathers"; and from that time that Creed was the definitive expression of orthodoxy. Indeed, no one dared to modify it. True, the Easterns remained not very favourable to the term "consubstantial," and they deposed two of its most faithful defenders for Sabellianism, Eustathius of Antioch and Marcellus of Ancyra. But even so, they were not drawn towards Arianism as it had been taught in the first place by Arius, and as it had been condemned by the great Council. They occupied rather a middle position, defending with an equal vigour the Trinity of divine persons, and the divinity of the Word. At most we may say that they tended to stress the Trinity, and that this sometimes led them to lean towards the Subordination of the Son with regard to the Father. Not one of them would

¹ See St. Athanasius, *Epist. de morte Aarii*; *Epist. ad episcopos Aegypti et Libyae*, xix. There are no serious grounds for rejecting this testimony. Doubtless the death of Arius seemed to St. Athanasius to be a providential punishment, and the later apologists will say the same. But in any case Athanasius could hardly have invented a complete legend so soon after the events.

² Eusebius, *De vita Constantini*, iv, 47.

dare to say outright that the Son is a creature. When Arius made his submission, the profession of faith he presented to Constantine, and which was accepted by the synod of Jerusalem, was not the Creed of Nicaea but, as far as it went, it would be more or less acceptable to the orthodox, and its defects consisted mainly in its deliberate ambiguity.

At Tyre and at Jerusalem, personal questions took the place of discussions concerning the faith. There was no further need to define orthodoxy, or to condemn heresy; the discussion was merely concerned with the steps it was necessary to take in order to remove Athanasius from the see of Alexandria, on the pretext that the bishop was a fighter, a quarrelsome person, and perhaps a rebel. Neither the Arians nor the Eusebians were in the front of the stage, but the Meletians, who accused Athanasius of having broken a chalice and overturned an altar. How petty and mean all this seems! The air was much purer and more peaceful at the Council of Nicaea!

Death of Constantine

It was, however, a grave threat to orthodoxy that the victors of Tyre had at their head Eusebius of Nicomedia, for his name signified a dangerous policy. Eusebius has remained for us the finished type of a political bishop, ever ready to appeal to the secular arm and to bow before the requirements of the civil power. As long as Constantine was alive Nicene orthodoxy may not have run great risks, for the Emperor had made up his mind to safeguard the Creed, at the drawing up of which he had himself presided, and the Eusebians did not seek to define their faith in a different way. But already one might well ask what would happen when Constantine should disappear from the scene. This event soon took place: on the 22nd of May 337, the first Christian emperor gave back his soul to God in his villa at Ancyrona, near Nicomedia, only a few days after receiving baptism at the hands of Eusebius of Nicomedia.¹ He was

¹ Eusebius, *De vita Constantini* iv, 63-64. Cf. F. J. Doelger, *Die Taufe Konstantins und ihre Probleme*, in *Konstantin der Grosse und seine Zeit*, pp. 381 *et seq.*

buried in his white baptismal robes, and interred at Constantinople in the Basilica of the Holy Apostles, with great pomp.¹

Constantine left three sons after him.² The eldest, Constantine II, was twenty-one years of age; the second, Constantius II, was twenty, and the third, Constans, fourteen. He also left two nephews, Delmatius and Hannibal, sons of his brother Delmatius.³ Before his death he had stipulated that the Empire should be divided between his sons and nephews. Constantine was to receive Gaul, Britain and Spain; Constantius was to govern Asia Minor, Syria and Egypt; Constans was to have Italy, Africa, and the provinces of the upper Danube; the Caesar Delmatius was to receive the other Danubian provinces down to the Bosphorus; lastly, Hannibal was to reign with the title of King of Pontus over the neighbouring province of Armenia.

The Division of the Empire

But the desires of Constantine were not carried out. We do not know exactly what happened, or what part was played by Constantius, who was the only one of the three brothers present at Constantinople, but there was much bloodshed. The two brothers of the deceased emperor, Delmatius and Julius Constantius, were massacred, and the same fate befell his nephews, Delmatius and Hannibal, the eldest son of Julius Constantius, the patrician Optatus, husband of Anastasia, Constantine's sister, and the Praetorian prefect Ablavius. The only members of the imperial family who

¹ Eusebius, *De vita Constantini*, iv, 66-71.

² Constantine's eldest son, Crispus, had disappeared a few years previously in a bloody tragedy at the palace which remains rather mysterious. Cf. *supra*, p. 65, n. 1.

³ Constantine had three brothers, sons of Constantius Chlorus and of Theodora, namely, Delmatius, Julius Constantius, and Hannibal. The last mentioned must have died fairly young. Julius Constantius had four children, two sons and a daughter from a first marriage, and a son of his second marriage with Basilias. This last son became the Emperor Julian; one of the other two, Gallus, was Caesar under Constantius. Delmatius had two sons, Delmatius the Younger and Hannibal. Cf. A. Piganiol, *Note sur l'inscription d'Ain Tebernok*, in *Revue des Etudes anciennes*, Vol. XXXI, 1929, pp. 142-150.

were spared were the two younger sons of Julius Constantius, Gallus, who was twelve years old, and Julian, who was only seven. The excuse for all these murders was that only Constantine's sons ought to share in the succession.¹

In any case, the sons met on the 9th of September 337 at Viminacium on the Danube, and there divided the Empire. Constantius and Constantine took the provinces assigned to them by their father's will, and agreed to leave to Constans the Illyrian provinces which had become vacant by the death of Delmatius. It was also agreed that Constantine should act more or less as guardian of his young brother.² But less than three years later the matter of this guardianship was settled otherwise: war broke out between Constans and Constantine; the latter was slain on the 9th of April 340, and Constans took possession of Spain, Gaul and Britain.

Return of Athanasius

Constantine's sons had been educated in the Christian faith, and they could not fail to be interested in religious questions. Their first action was or was intended to be one of appeasement. Already on the 17th of June 337, Constantine II, being still at Trèves, authorised Athanasius to return to Alexandria, and wrote "to the people of the Catholic Church" of that city to announce to them the coming return of their bishop.³ The other exiled prelates very soon received similar consideration. This measure had some inconveniences. Athanasius himself was able to return to Egypt and take up again the government of his church, for no successor had been appointed there, but the position was otherwise at Gaza, Ancyra, Adrianople and Constantinople: when the exiled bishops returned to these places to

¹ Eusebius, *De vita Constantini*, iv, 68. This historian sees a divine inspiration in the army's desire to restore the Empire to Constantine's sons. St. Athanasius (*Hist. Arian.*, xix) accuses Constantius of having instigated these murders.

² J. R. Palanque (*Essai sur la préfecture du prétoire au IV^e siècle*, Paris, 1933, p. 19) asserts that Constantine II effectively ruled all the West from 337 to 340, as Constantius had only the title of Augustus.

³ St. Athanasius, *Apol. contra Arianos*, lxxvii.

claim their positions, they encountered some resistance, and in some of the cities disturbances broke out.¹

It is not impossible that Athanasius himself may have taken some part in these troubles during his own journey: at any rate he was later on accused of having helped to reinstall some of the exiled bishops, and even of having consecrated new ones in opposition to those already occupying the sees.² It is quite certain that he took a long time over the journey from Trèves to Alexandria, and that he did not take the shortest route. In September he may have been at Viminacium, where he met Constantius; he met him again at Caesarea in Cappadocia, and then at Antioch, and he assures us that he never spoke about the Eusebians. Finally, on the 23rd of November 337, he reappeared at Alexandria, to the great joy of his clergy and flock.³

Letter from the Easterns to the Pope

This joy was not shared by the Arians, who already formed at Alexandria a little dissident community round Pistus. The latter was an Arian from the first, and he had been deposed from the priesthood by Alexander at the same time as Arius himself. Nevertheless, Secundus of Ptolemais had consecrated him bishop, and he ruled over the heretics in Alexandria for some time.⁴ The recall of Athanasius was the signal for the rallying of the Eusebians around this personage. The bishops who had deposed their colleague of Alexandria at the Council of Tyre could not regard him as a legitimate bishop, and still less allow that he could regain

¹ *Epist. Orient.*, apud St. Hilary, *Fragm. histor.*, iii, 9.

² *Epist. Orient.*, apud St. Hilary, *Fragm. histor.*, iii, 8: "Per omnem viam reditus sui Ecclesiam subvertebat; damnatos episcopos aliquos restaurabat, aliquibus spem ad episcopatus reditum promittebat, aliquos ex infidelibus constituerebat episcopos, salvos et integros permanentibus sacerdotibus, per pugnas et caedes gentilium, nihil respiciens leges, desperationi tribuens totum."

³ The *Chronicle of Festal Letters* seems to indicate the year 338, but so long a delay would seem rather strange. Moreover, it gives the same year for the death of Constantine and the return of Athanasius.

⁴ There is no earlier reference to Pistus and his Arian followers. But it is difficult to think that he was not chosen as bishop until the return of Athanasius, as Tillemont holds, *Mémoires*, Vol. VI, pp. 303-304.

possession of his see in virtue of an imperial decree. They decided therefore to regard Pistus as the sole Bishop of Alexandria, and did their best to persuade the other bishops of the Catholic world to enter into communion with him. They even sent to Pope Julius a priest named Macarius and two deacons, Hesychius and Martyrius, instructing them to present to him the *Acts* of the Council of Tyre and to prove to him the illegality of Athanasius's return.¹

Egyptian Council of 338

This action constituted a recognition of the Roman primacy by the Eusebians, who had hitherto seemed to pay little attention to it. It was in any case a wrong move, for Julius was not the man to allow himself to be won over and give his communion to a bishop like Pistus. Moreover, Athanasius and his followers did not remain idle: already in 338 a Council of all the Catholic bishops of Egypt met at Alexandria and solemnly affirmed the confidence of all in their leader. We still have the letter addressed by this Council to all the bishops of the Catholic world.² It is an eloquent protest against the procedure adopted at Tyre. The Egyptians recall the fact that Athanasius had been freely elected and regularly consecrated, and that only unjust and violent means had been employed against him. They affirm that his deposition was contrary to the canons, and that in any case, as no successor had been appointed, his return was perfectly legitimate. This letter was taken to Italy by some priests from Alexandria; it was also communicated to the three emperors, to whom Athanasius had been denounced.

Election of Gregory at Alexandria

The arrival in Rome of the messengers from Athanasius and his synod seems to have upset the Eusebians, who doubtless did not expect to be unmasked so soon. They wrote to the Pope asking him to call a synod, and suggested

¹ St. Athanasius, *Apol. contra Arianos*, xix.

² This letter is reproduced by St. Athanasius, *Apol. contra Arianos*, iii-xix.

that he himself should be the arbiter of the whole affair.¹ About the same time, realising a little late that Pistus was too compromised to have the slightest chance of being recognised, they decided to send to Alexandria a more acceptable bishop, and chose first a certain Eusebius, originally of Edessa, who had spent some time in Alexandria, and was at that time living at Antioch with Flaccillus. Eusebius declined, and in his place they chose a Cappadocian named Gregory, who was at once consecrated and sent to Egypt.²

Nothing could have been more irregular. Even if we grant that the procedure at Tyre had been correct, it belonged to the clergy and people of Alexandria and the bishops of Egypt to choose a successor for Athanasius. Gregory, chosen and consecrated outside all canonical rules, could be regarded only as an intruder, and his new flock very soon made him realise this. It was necessary to lay siege to the churches and capture them one by one, in order to put them at Gregory's disposition. When the latter made his

¹ St. Athanasius, *Apol. contra Arianos*, xx: "Thinking to frighten us," writes Athanasius, "they asked him to call a Council, and proposed that he himself should act as judge if he wished." It is difficult to know what precisely the Eusebians hoped to gain by this step, and equally difficult to think that they could so suddenly have been prepared to disregard the procedure at Tyre. Hence this matter must remain obscure. Athanasius naturally tries to show that the Easterns contradicted themselves. It is, at any rate, certain that they did in fact appeal to the Pope.

[The late Abbot Chapman gives a different explanation. He says that the Eusebian party tried to get Pope Julius and the Western Church to side with them against Athanasius. But the Pope at once sent to Athanasius the alleged proofs of his guilt. It was in consequence of this that Athanasius called the great Council at Alexandria, which sent to Julius and all the bishops a lengthy defence. The Eusebian envoys found themselves unable to reply to the statements of the Egyptians, and presumably in order to avoid an immediate condemnation of themselves, they asked for a Council. Hence, "the letter of Eusebius had not asked for a synod, or for the Pope as judge. This was only an insincere pretext of the envoys used to avoid an immediate condemnation."—*Studies on the Early Papacy*, p. 54. Trevor Jalland says: "It must be observed that on Julius' own showing, the initial proposal to hold a fresh council came, not from himself, but from the Eusebian legates." He adds that this was "one of those decisive incidents in history, the real character of which was but little appreciated at the time of its occurrence" (*Church and Papacy*, p. 213).—Tr.]

² Socrates, *Hist. eccles.*, II, ix.

entry into the city on the 22nd of March 339, he had to have the protection of an escort; only Arians, Jews and pagans cheered him. For several days the city was in an uproar, and there were many killed and wounded. Finally Athanasius, seeing that no good could result from his presence, departed from Alexandria and left his opponent victor in the field.¹

Encyclical of Athanasius

But he did not go without addressing to all his brethren in the episcopate an indignant protest. This letter was a masterly composition. It began with the story of the levite of Ephraim who long ago cut in pieces the corpse of his outraged wife, and made use of these grisly relics to arouse the indignation of the tribes of Israel. Similarly, his Church of Alexandria had been violated, and he could display her, all quivering in agony, to his colleagues. And to make them still more concerned in his fate, he declared to them that a similar lot was in store for themselves:

Such is the tragedy which the Eusebians have acted. It is what they had long planned, and undertook to carry out, with the aid of the calumnies which they multiplied in the ears of the prince. And even that does not satisfy them, for they desire my death, and terrorise my friends in order to make them flee. . . . There is no reason for you to tremble before their iniquity, but rather the contrary. . . . If while you yourselves are occupying your churches, and presiding without reproach over your people, you were suddenly to find a successor, sent to you by order, would you tolerate him? Would you not be indignant? Would you not demand to be vindicated? Well: now is the time for you to rise up, lest by your silence this evil extend before long to all the churches, and our chairs of doctrine become a subject of barter and purchase.²

Reply of the Easterns

Pope Julius, informed of the matter by the Eusebians, had invited Athanasius to go to Rome. He had also sent to

¹ St. Athanasius, *Hist. Arian.*, ix-x. ² St. Athanasius, *Epist. Encycl.*, vi.

the East the priests Elpidius and Philoxenes, with letters of convocation to the future council. The Bishop of Alexandria made the greater haste to go to Rome now that he had been expelled from his see. The Easterns, on the other hand, delayed their reply, and placed this in the hands of the two legates only in January 340. Contrary to all expectation, the reply was in the negative. It was drawn up in the names of the Bishops of Caesarea in Cappadocia, Antioch, Constantinople, and a few others.¹ It certainly contained declarations of profound respect for the Church of the Romans, the seat of the Apostles, which had been from the beginning the metropolis of religion; but it protested loudly against the Pope's claim to revise a purely oriental matter, which had been regularly decided by an Eastern council; finally it threatened the Pope with a complete break of communion with him, if he recognised Athanasius.²

The Council of Rome

This was certainly a strange attitude, seeing that it was the Easterns themselves who had begun by having recourse to Rome. The Pope was naturally annoyed, and he decided to hold the Council already planned. Bishops to the number of about fifty assembled in the church of the priest Vitus, who had been one of Silvester's legates at the Council of Nicaea, in the autumn of 340.³ The affair of Athanasius was not the only one discussed; for with him there had come to Rome all the victims of the Eusebians, or at least all those who had not been prevented from journeying thither. Thus, there were bishops from Thrace, Coele-Syria, Phoenicia and

¹ For some time the Bishop of Constantinople had been Eusebius of Nicomedia. He had succeeded in obtaining the deposition of Paul, the lawful bishop, and had been replaced at Nicomedia by Amphion. At Caesarea in Cappadocia, Dianius was in the episcopal chair; at Antioch, Flaccillus. Eusebius of Caesarea in Palestine had died shortly after Constantine himself, but we do not know the exact year of his death. His successor was Acacius.

² We no longer have the text of the letter of the Easterns, but we know of its contents through the reply of Pope Julius, *apud* Athanasius, *Apol. contra Arianos*, xxi-xxv, and especially through the analysis given by Sozomen, *Hist. eccles.*, III, viii, from the Sabinos collection.

³ St. Athanasius, *Hist. Arian.*, xv; *Apol. contra Arianos*, xx.

Palestine, together with priests from Alexandria and elsewhere, and all these demanded justice. The most prominent among these refugees was Marcellus of Ancyra, and his case was all the more complicated in that he had been deposed for heresy. His heresy was indeed a subtle one: it approached Sabellianism but was not identical with it, and the expressions he had employed might be understood in an acceptable sense, with a little good will.¹ When Marcellus presented himself before the bishops assembled in Rome, the priests Vitus and Vincent, who had seen him at work in the Council of Nicaea, recalled the zeal he had then displayed against Arius. The Pope asked him for a written profession of faith, and this was regarded as satisfactory.² The bishops refused to sanction his deposition or to reject him from their communion.

The case of Athanasius was discussed at length. It was certainly the most important of all. All the documents in the case were examined with very great care; and he himself presented his defence in person. It was not difficult to conclude that his deposition had been the result of an odious plot, and that the election of his successor had been carried out against all canonical rules. Accordingly, the Roman Council recognised Athanasius as the only lawful Bishop of Alexandria.

Letter of Pope Julius

Pope Julius was requested to communicate to the Easterns the decisions which had been taken. His letter to Dianius of Caesarea, Flaccillus of Antioch, Narcissus of Neronias,

¹ On the theology of Marcellus of Ancyra, cf. J. Tixeront, *Histoire des Dogmes*, Vol. II, pp. 36-43; F. Loofs, *Leitfaden zur Dogmengeschichte*, 4th edn., Halle, 1906, pp. 244-248. It has been suggested that Marcellus of Ancyra was above all behind the times, and that, out of fear of Tritheism or else merely of Subordinationism, he made use of expressions which can be harmonised with the personality of the Son of God only with difficulty.

² The text of this profession of faith is given by Epiphanius, *Haeres.*, lxxii, 2-3. The teaching of Marcellus of Ancyra long provided matter for discussion, and we may be allowed to regret that the orthodox did not sooner separate their own cause from his. St. Epiphanius puts Marcellus among the heretics, with some reserve, and it cannot be said that he is wrong.

Eusebius of Constantinople, Maris of Chalcedon, Macedonius of Mopsuestia, Theodore of Heraclea and those who had written with them from Antioch is, in the opinion of Tillemont, "one of the finest productions of Antiquity. It reveals a great and elevated mind, and one which has at the same time great depth, skill, and charm. Here the truth is defended with a vigour worthy of the chief bishop."¹ The Pope begins by recalling the pained surprise which he had felt when he received the negative reply of the Easterns, seeing that their own envoys had requested an examination of the case of Athanasius before a new Council. He adds that there is nothing unusual in the revision of a conciliar decision, as is shown by the case of Arius, who had been received into communion notwithstanding the decisions taken at Nicaea. The case of Athanasius is much more simple. It has just been re-examined in Rome, and while regretting the deliberate absence of his accusers, the Council found it easy to establish the fragile character of the complaints formulated against him. It is only too evident, moreover, that the election of Gregory was carried out in an unlawful manner, and that it was null and void. In conclusion, the Pope reminds his correspondents of what they should have done, in order to act in conformity with the established rule: "You should have written to all of us, so that justice might be given by all. For it was with bishops that you were dealing, and no ordinary churches, for the Apostles in person had governed them. . . . Do you not know that the custom is first to write to us, and thus justice may be done from hence?"² These last words are especially noteworthy, for they bring out clearly the consciousness the Papacy had of its rights. Rome, and Rome alone, in conformity with the traditions of the blessed Apostle Peter, can finally lay down the law, and to her and her alone must we go in order to ascertain it.³

¹ Tillemont, *Mémoires*, Vol. VII, p. 278.

² St. Athanasius, *Apol. contra Arianos*, xxxv.

³ On the theological significance of the letter of Julius, cf. P. Batiffol, *La paix constantinienne*, pp. 422-431; E. Caspar, *Geschichte des Papsttums*, Vol. I, pp. 151-154, tries, on the contrary, to lessen the importance of this letter.

The Easterns did not reply to the Pope's letter, and things rested apparently as they had been. Athanasius remained in Rome, and from thence administered his diocese and Egypt as far as he could,¹ while the intruded Gregory continued to batten upon the unfortunate church of Alexandria. Nevertheless, anxiety reigned in the Eusebian camp. In April 340, Constantine II and Constans had begun to fight against each other. Constantine II had been defeated and killed close to Aquilea, and Constans had thus got possession of the lands previously belonging to Constantine.² Having become in this way master of the whole West, he had acquired an authority which could not fail to cause anxiety to Constantius and his subjects. Moreover, the Eusebians were upset at Rome's attitude: their hopes of seeing the deposition of Athanasius confirmed by the Pope had not been realised, and they were even more annoyed at being regarded as Arians, for they realised the disfavour with which they would be regarded by the peoples and episcopate of the West if such were indeed their own reputation.

Council of the Dedication at Antioch

These anxieties made themselves manifest during the autumn of 341. There was due at that time the solemn celebration of the dedication of the golden church which Constantius had had built at Antioch. This ceremony was the occasion for a great Council, in which sat about a hundred bishops.³ Matters of faith here occupied the first place, in contrast with what had usually been the case since the Council of Nicaea, and the first act of the Fathers was to draw up an encyclical letter which began thus:

We are not followers of Arius: how, being bishops, could we bring ourselves to follow a priest? We have no other faith than that which has been transmitted

¹ We have a letter of St. Athanasius written from Rome in 341, and addressed to his colleague Serapion of Thmuis, in which the exiled bishop sends notice of nominations he had just made to thirteen vacant episcopal sees.

² Cf. *supra*, p. 135.

³ St. Athanasius gives the number as 90; St. Hilary and Sozomen speak of 97 bishops present.

from the beginning. But, as it has fallen to our lot to enquire into his belief and to judge it, we have not indeed accepted, but rather considered it. This you will see from what we are about to say.¹

This beginning is significant: the bishops here almost excuse themselves for having admitted Arius to communion. Above all, they refuse, with the utmost energy, to have their names joined to his own, and they proclaim that their own belief is not other than the traditional faith. To prove this last statement, they set forth what they believe. Their creed is patient of an orthodox sense, and while it aims at Marcellus of Ancyra by affirming that the Only-begotten remains King and God for ever, it carefully avoids all specifically Arian expressions, but at the same time it equally avoids the formulae defined at Nicaea, and especially the term "consubstantial."

It seems, moreover, that in the mind of the members of the Council this Creed had only a provisional character, and formed a mere conclusion to the synodal letter. Much more characteristic is a second Creed which they must have officially promulgated, and which for many years will be regarded as the only true Creed of Antioch. This one, attributed with good grounds to the martyr Lucian, affirms that the Son of God, generated by the Father before all ages, God from God, whole from whole, one from one, perfect from perfect, king from king, Lord from Lord . . . is the inseparable image of the Divinity, essence, will, power and glory of the Father, that the Father is truly Father, the Son truly Son, the Holy Spirit truly Holy Spirit, and that in God we have three hypostases, but these are one in concord.² As is evident, Lucian's Creed stresses mainly the Trinity of Persons, which was not the case with the Council of Nicaea. But it also asserts firmly the divinity of the Son, and expressly condemns those who say that the Son is a creature like other creatures. Its greatest defect is its silence in regard

¹ St. Athanasius, *De synod.*, xxii.

² St. Athanasius, *De synod.*, xxiii. St. Hilary (*De synod.*, xxix) gives the Latin text of this Creed, and explains it favourably. Cf. Sozomen, *Hist. eccles.*, III, v.

to the term "consubstantial," but it is far from being an Arian creed in the strict sense of the term.¹

For reasons unknown to us, one of the members of the Council, Theophronius of Tyana, presented in turn to his colleagues another profession of faith. Possibly he was suspect of heresy; in any case his formula was declared orthodox, and the Fathers must have read in it without displeasure an anathema against Marcellus of Ancyra, Sabellius, Paul of Samosata, and all those in communion with them.²

Embassy from the Easterns to Trèves

Having thus regulated the questions which concerned the faith, the Council of Antioch found its work at an end.³ But the Emperor Constantine, who continued to interest himself in religious matters, asked his brother for information concerning the attitude of the Eastern episcopate. It was doubtless in order to meet this request that four bishops, Narcissus of Neronias, Maris of Chalcedon, Theodore of Heraclea, and Mark of Arethusa left Antioch, apparently at the beginning of 342, and went to the court at Trèves. They took with them a new formula, usually called the fourth Creed of Antioch, but which has no connection with the Council of the Dedication. This formula affirms the eternity

¹ On the Creed of Lucian, cf. G. Bardy, *Le symbole de Lucien d'Antioche et les formules du synode in encaeniis*, in *Recherches de Science religieuse*, Vol. III, 1912, pp. 139-155; *Recherches sur saint Lucien d'Antioche*, pp. 85-132; F. Loofs, *Das Glaubensbekenntnis Lucians des Märtyrers*, in *Sitzungsberichte der Kgl. preuss. Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin*, 1915, pp. 576-603.

² St. Athanasius, *De synod.*, xxix.

³ The Council of 341 was the last at which Eusebius of Constantinople was present. He must have died towards the end of the same year. Paul was then able to regain possession of the see from which he had been unjustly expelled. But he did not have it for long. One of his priests, Macedonius, who had already brought about his exile on the previous occasion, headed a party against him. The populace was divided, and very soon there were riotous scenes in the streets, in the course of which the *magister militum*, Hermogenes, was killed (342). In the end Paul was arrested, put in chains, and sent into exile, first to Singar, and then to Emesa and Cucusa. He died by strangulation. In his place Macedonius was installed. The story of Paul's life is a somewhat tangled one. Cf. G. Bardy, art. *Macédonius et Macédoniens*, in *Dictionnaire de Théologie catholique*, Vol. IX, col. 1468-1472.

of the Son of God, and insists on the limitless duration of His reign: it concludes with an anathema condemning those who say that the Son is from nothing, or that He is of another hypostasis, or that He is not God, or who think that there was a time when He was not.¹

This luxuriant growth of Creeds cannot fail to surprise us. It is true that the Council of Nicaea had not prescribed the use of its own Creed, which had indeed been left incomplete, so that each church had conserved its own traditional text. It is nevertheless true that the Creed of Nicaea was intended to be the expression of orthodox belief in face of Arianism. Arius, however, was dead, and the Arians of the first generation had disappeared. The questions at issue were now formulated in a new way, and the Easterns, who had not been enthusiastic in approving the work of the three hundred and eighteen Fathers, considered themselves authorised to present other Creeds, better adapted, in their opinion, to the actual circumstances. They were certainly mistaken, and the future would soon show clearly the danger of all these different Creeds.

Meanwhile, the embassy of Maris and his colleagues had resulted in a renewal of relations between the two episcopates of the East and the West. Pope Julius and some of the Western bishops considered the occasion a suitable one for a fresh examination of the questions left in suspense by the refusal of the Easterns to go to Rome. They asked Constans to persuade his brother that a new Council would be of the greatest service to the cause of religion and would permit of a solution once for all of the difficult matter of Athanasius.² Constans agreed to do as he was asked, and it was decided that the Council should gather together the episcopates of both empires, and should meet at Sardica. This town was then the last one in the Western Empire in the direction of Thrace, where began the domain of Constantius, and its choice was an evident manifestation of the desire for a definite *rapprochement* between the two episcopates.

¹ St. Athanasius, *De synod.*, xxv.

² Sozomen, *Hist. eccles.*, III, x; St. Hilary, *Fragm. histor.*, iii, 14; cf. St. Athanasius, *Apol. ad Constant.*, iii-iv.

§ 4. THE COUNCIL OF SARDICA

The Opening of the Council

In all probability, the Council opened in the autumn of 343.¹ The Western bishops, to the number of about ninety, were grouped around the aged Hosius of Cordova. About half of them came from Greek or Latin Illyricum, and the others from the West properly so called. Pope Julius was represented by two priests, Archidamus and Philoxenes, and the deacon Leo. Among the signatures we find those of the bishops of Trèves, Thessalonica, Lyons, Milan, Aquileia, Ravenna, Verona, Capua, and Carthage.² The Easterns may have numbered eighty. They had travelled together under the conduct of two imperial officials, Count Musonianus and the *castrensis* Hesychius.³ Their leaders were Stephen of Antioch, who had just succeeded Flaccillus, Menophantes of Ephesus, Acacius of Caesarea in Palestine, Dianius of Caesarea in Cappadocia, Theodore of Heraclea, and Maris of Chalcedon. They were of course joined by the two Illyrians of whom we have already spoken, Valens of Mursa and Ursacius of Singidunum.⁴

As soon as they arrived, the Easterns began by laying down one condition for any assembly: the bishops deposed

¹ The date of the Council of Sardica is still disputed. It was long accepted, on the strength of an erroneous statement in Socrates, *Hist. eccles.*, II, xx, and Sozomen, *Hist. eccles.*, III, xii, that the Council was held in 347. We know now that this date is erroneous, and that we must choose between 342 and 343. E. Schwartz (*Zur Geschichte des Athanasius*, in the *Göttingen Nachrichten*, 1904, p. 341) opts for 342. J. Zeiller (*Les origines chrétiennes dans les provinces danubiennes de l'empire romain*, pp. 228-231) gives good arguments in favour of 343, and we prefer this date. Cf. F. Loofs, *Zur Synode von Sardika*, in *Theologische Studien und Kritik*, 1909, pp. 292-293.

² On the number of bishops present at Sardica, cf. A. L. Feder, *Studien zu Hilarius von Poitiers*, II, in the *Sitzungsberichte* of the Vienna Academy, 1911, pp. 12-70 for the Westerns; pp. 70-100 for the Easterns. In particular, the signatures which follow the Decree of the Westerns can be seen in St. Hilary, *Fragm. histor.*, ii, 9-15, and at the end of the letter of the Easterns, *apud* St. Hilary, *Fragm.*, iii, 16.

³ St. Athanasius, *Apol. contra Arianos*, xlviii; *Hist. Arian.*, xv.

⁴ Some special measures were taken to prevent defections. But when the Easterns arrived at Sardica, two of their number, Asterius of Petra, and Arius, another Palestinian bishop, left them and joined the Western group.

by them, namely Athanasius, Marcellus of Ancyra and Asclepias of Gaza, were not to sit in the Council: since their causes were to be reviewed, they could not be treated as lawful bishops.¹ This condition might seem a reasonable one, but had not the Westerns as many reasons for regarding as null the deposition of the three accused as the Easterns had for regarding it as valid? Hosius intervened. He tried to find a compromise, and went so far as to promise that, even if the Council should proclaim the innocence of Athanasius, and the Easterns did not wish him to return to Egypt, he would take him with him into Spain. All these efforts were fruitless. The Easterns assembled apart from the rest, and then they left Sardica by night, under pretext that they had just learnt of a great victory won by Constantius over the Persians.²

Encyclical Letter of the Easterns

Before leaving, they found sufficient time to draw up an encyclical letter which they addressed to all the episcopate, and to the clergy and faithful of the Catholic Church, and especially to Gregory of Alexandria, Donatus of Carthage, Maximus of Salona, and some others.³ This letter repeats the Eastern version of the story of Marcellus, Athanasius and Asclepias. It insists on the heresy of Marcellus, the enquiries ordered by the Council of Tyre, the resulting proofs of the guilt of Athanasius, and the disorders provoked after Constantine's death by the return of the deposed bishops. Then it expresses the pained astonishment of the writers when they found on their arrival at Sardica that

¹ St. Athanasius, *Hist. Arian.*, xv and xlv. According to Sozomen, *Hist. eccles.*, III, xii, the Easterns had already sent an earlier protest from Philippopolis.

² St. Athanasius, *Hist. Arian.*, xvi and xlv; *Apol. contra Arianos*, xlviii; Sozomen, *Hist. eccles.*, III, xi.

³ The letter of the Easterns has come down to us in a Latin translation in St. Hilary, *Fragm. histor.*, iii, 1-29. It was certainly written at Sardica, and Socrates (*Hist. eccles.*, II, xx) is mistaken in thinking that it was drawn up at Philippopolis. For the rest, Socrates' account of the Council of Sardica is full of mistakes. Cf. J. Zeiller, *Donatisme et arianisme. La falsification donatiste des documents du concile arien de Sardique*, in *Comptes rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions*, 1933, pp. 65 et seq.

persons lawfully condemned by them were invited to sit as true bishops in the midst of their Western colleagues. After this, the letter condemns Julius of Rome, Hosius of Cordova, Protogenus of Sardica, Gaudentius of Naissus, and Maximin of Trèves, "for it was through them that Marcellus, Athanasius and the other criminals had been admitted to communion." And then the letter expresses its desire for Church unity:

We constantly ask in our prayers, O well beloved brethren, that the holy Catholic Church which belongs to the Lord may be sheltered from all discussions and all schisms, and keep the unity of the Spirit as well as the bond of charity in the orthodox faith. . . . We also ask that the rule of the Church, the holy tradition of our fathers, and their decisions, may remain firm and unshakable, and that new sects or perverse traditions may not enter in to cause trouble amongst us, above all in the matter of the deposition and institution of bishops.¹

To the Encyclical was joined a profession of faith, which was none other than the fourth formula of Antioch, with a few additional anathemas.

Later Stages of the Council of Sardica

The secession of the Eastern bishops did not discourage the Westerns: they had assembled to examine afresh the recent proceedings taken against Athanasius, Marcellus, and Asclepias, and they carried out their work. The case of Athanasius was the simplest, for it had already been examined thoroughly by the Roman Council. The documents of the enquiry held in the Mariotis district of Alexandria displayed such bad faith and partiality that it was enough to read them to see the baselessness of the complaints made against Athanasius. Asclepias had brought to Sardica the *Acts* of the assembly which had condemned him; he communicated them to the Council, and the latter decided that his innocence was clear. There remained Marcellus. His book was read; the Western bishops were not capable of

¹ *Epist. Orient.*, apud St. Hilary, *Fragm. histor.*, iii, 1.

appreciating all the subtleties open to a dialectician using Greek; they allowed themselves to be convinced by his undoubted ability, and they declared that his faith was orthodox.

After this, the Council turned to the question of the Eastern bishops. Their case was serious: they had not been content with deposing the innocent, but also in several places they had used violent means against bishops or priests, and many of their victims had come to Sardica to ask for justice. The Fathers heard all these complaints, examined the witnesses, and finally pronounced several sentences of deposition and excommunication. They thus condemned Gregory of Alexandria, Basil of Ancyra and Quintianus of Gaza, the three intruded bishops who had occupied the places of Athanasius, Marcellus and Asclepias, and also Stephen of Antioch, Acacius of Caesarea in Palestine, Menophantes of Ephesus, Narcissus of Neronias, Theodore of Heraclea, Ursacius of Singidunum and Valens of Mursa.¹ The last mentioned had just made himself prominent by stirring up a riot in order to get himself chosen as Bishop of Aquileia, and there was such a disturbance on that occasion, that one of the bishops present at the Council, Victor, had died of his wounds at the end of three days. To this list the Council added the name of George of Laodicea in Syria, who apparently had not come to Sardica with the others, but had previously been deposed from the priesthood by Alexander of Alexandria, and was in consequence judged unworthy of the episcopate.

The Formula of Faith

A few bishops, not content with thus settling personal questions, thought that the Council should consider the adoption of a new formula of faith. Inasmuch as the Easterns were not satisfied with the Creed of Nicaea, would it not be fitting for the Westerns on their side to try to give a more precise expression of their beliefs? Hosius of Cordova and Protogenes of Sardica were the protagonists of this idea. We still have in Greek and Latin the text of the Creed which

¹ St. Athanasius, *Apol. contra Arianos*, xxxvi and xlix.

they submitted to their colleagues, and also the draft of a letter to the Pope advocating this text.¹ This letter especially proclaims the unity of the divine hypostasis, and the inseparability of Father and Son; it endeavours to explain how it is that the Father and Son nevertheless differ; against Marcellus of Ancyra it affirms that the Son reigns eternally with the Father, and that He will never surrender His royalty. Then, passing on to the Incarnation, it declares that it was not God who suffered and rose again, but the man whom God had assumed and taken from the Virgin Mary.²

It is easy to see the dangers involved in such a formula. Not to insist on the inadequacy of the terms used in defining Christology, it is only too evident that the unconditional affirmation of the unity of hypostasis in God, and of the perfectly synonymous character of the words *ousia* and *hypostasis*, were bound gravely to compromise the future. Moreover, the whole text was connected with controversy: it dealt only with heretics and their absurdities, their blasphemous interpretations, their crass folly, and the darkness which covers them and prevents them from seeing the light. St. Athanasius was certainly right in protesting against this projected Creed. There lacked nothing, he pointed out, in the Creed of Nicaea, and it was unwise to encourage those who never ceased writing and defining the faith.³ The Council accepted this wise protest: the Creed was not promulgated. A few years later, about 361, the irreconcilables of Antioch certainly tried to promulgate it, but their efforts were unavailing, and the Council of Alexandria in 362 expressly condemned their action.⁴

¹ The Greek text of the Creed is given by Theodoret, *Hist. eccles.*, II, vi. The Latin version of the Creed and of the projected letter to the Pope are in the collection of the deacon Theodosius. Sozomen (*Hist. eccles.*, III, xii) also mentions the letter to Julius.

² A. Hahn, *Bibliothek der Symbole*, 3rd edn., § 157, pp. 188 *et seq.* Cf. F. Loofs, *Das Glaubensbekenntnis der Homousianer von Sardika*, in *Abhandlungen der Kgl. preuss. Akademie der Wissenschaften*, Berlin, 1909.

³ St. Athanasius, *Tom. ad Antioch*, v.

⁴ *Id.*, *ibid.* Cf. F. Loofs, *Zur Synode von Sardica*, in *Theologische Studien und Kritik*, 1909, pp. 291 *et seq.*

The Synodal Letters

Several other letters were written by the Council of Sardica, in conformity with custom. One of them was addressed to all the bishops of the Catholic Church, informing them of the measures taken with regard to Athanasius, Marcellus and Asclepias and also with regard to the deposed Eastern bishops. It requested those who had not taken part in the assembly at least to subscribe to its Acts.¹ Another letter was destined for the Church of Alexandria,² and it began thus:

The holy Synod, gathered together at Sardica by the grace of God, from Rome, Spain, Gaul, Italy, Campania, Calabria, Apuleia, Africa, Sardinia, Pannonia, Moesia, Dacia, Norica, Siscia, Dardania, the other Dacia, Macedonia, Thessaly, Achaia, Epirus, Thrace, Rhodopus, Palestine, Arabia, Crete and Egypt, to the priests, deacons, and the whole holy Church of God at Alexandria, well beloved brethren in the Lord: We salute you.

This solemn formula shows in itself that the Fathers of Sardica were conscious that they did more than represent the Church of the West. Finally, a third letter was sent to the priests and deacons of the Mariotis.³ To this dossier, Athanasius personally joined two letters, one for the priests and deacons of Alexandria, and the other for the priests and deacons of the Mariotis.

The Canons of Sardica

The Bishops did not wish to separate without first passing

¹ This letter is conserved by St. Athanasius, *Apol. contra Arianos*, xlv-lj, and by Theodoret, *Hist. eccles.*, III, viii; the Latin text is in St. Hilary, *Fragm. histor.*, ii, 1-8. St. Athanasius gives after the letter the signatures thus obtained; they number more than two hundred, outside the members of the Council.

² Letter conserved by St. Athanasius, *Apol. contra Arianos*, xxxvii-xl. In the text of Theodoret, the encyclical letter has a similar inscription, enumerating the provinces represented at Sardica.

³ Of the letter to the clergy of the Mariotis, we have only a Latin translation, in the collection of the deacon Theodosius (Migne, *P.L.*, Vol. LVI, 848). The same applies to the two letters of Athanasius. The authenticity of these three documents has been contested by Hefelè, but without grounds.

a series of disciplinary canons.¹ The events of the preceding years had shown that the decisions of Nicaea and Antioch were insufficient. At Sardica an endeavour was made to take the new circumstances into account, and to make ecclesiastical legislation more precise. The first two canons severely prohibit episcopal translations which, they say, are motivated only by interest, ambition and the desire to dominate. Others reprove the constant journeying of bishops to the imperial court (Canons 8-12 in the Latin text), or else regulate local matters, such as those at Thessalonica (Canons 20-21). Others again deal with the residence of bishops: these may not absent themselves from their own church for more than three Sundays in succession, and they must take care not to appear on a Sunday in the episcopal town of one of their colleagues (Canons 14-15). Another matter is the ordination and trial of clerics: bishops must not ask the clergy of another

¹ On the Canons of Sardica, cf. J. Zeiller, *Les origines chrétiennes dans les provinces illyriennes de l'Empire romain*, pp. 243-256. The authenticity of the Canons of Sardica was at first denied by J. Friedrich, *Die Unechtheit der Kanones von Sardica*, in *Sitzungsberichte der bayer. Akad. Philos. hist. Kl.*, 1901, pp. 417-476; Id., *Die sardicensischen Aktenstücke der Sammlung des Theodosius diaconus*, *ibid.*, 1903, pp. 321-344; Id., *Zur Kritik meiner Abhandlung: Die Unechtheit der Kanones von Sardica*, in *Revue internat. de théologie*, Vol. XI, 1903, pp. 427-454. Several critics have replied to J. Friedrich, among them L. Duchesne, *Les canons de Sardique*, in *Bessarione*, Vol. VII, 1902, pp. 129-144; C. H. Turner, *The Genuineness of the Sardican Canons*, in *Journal of Theological Studies*, Vol. III, 1902, pp. 370 *et seq.* More recently, E. Ch. Babut (*L'authenticité des canons de Sardique*, in *Transactions of the Third International Congress for the History of Religions*, Oxford, 1908, Vol. II, pp. 345-352) has maintained that the Canons of Sardica are authentic on the whole, but that those concerning the Holy See, i.e. Canons 3, 4, 7 and 10, have been interpolated. On this hypothesis, cf. P. Batiffol, *M. Babut sur l'authenticité des canons de Sardique*, in *Bulletin d'ancienne littérature et d'archéologie chrétienne*, Vol. IV, 1914, pp. 202 *et seq.*

There has been much discussion as to the original language of the Canons of Sardica. Not long ago it was generally held that they were written in Greek and Latin. Hankiewicz, in an article in *Zeitschrift der Savigny Stiftung, Kanon. Abt.*, Vol. II, 1913, pp. 44 *et seq.*, has brought forward arguments in favour of the authenticity of the Greek text, and his opinion is adopted amongst others by E. Caspar, *Geschichte des Papsttums*, Vol. I, pp. 159-160. On the other hand, many historians still give the preference to the Latin text, and regard the Greek as only a translation: thus Turner, and still more recently Schwartz in a study in the *Zeitschrift für neutestam. Wissenschaft*, Vol. XXX, 1931, pp. 1-35. The question is perhaps insoluble.

bishop to pass over to their churches; they must not ordain, under pain of nullity, the clerics of another bishop without the authorisation of the latter; they must not receive into communion clerics of any degree who have been excommunicated by their own bishops (Canons 16, 18-19).

Particularly important are canons which deal with the cases of bishops who have been condemned and deposed, but who wish to appeal against their sentence. This was precisely the case of Athanasius, Marcellus and Asclepias. Indeed, depositions had happened so frequently in the East that it was necessary to lay down rules governing the matter. The Fathers of Sardica recall, in the first place, that according to immemorial rule a bishop can be judged only by the council of the province. If the bishop is not satisfied with the decision given, the bishops of the province must write to the Bishop of Rome. The Pope may decide that there is no reason to review the trial, and his decision must be accepted as irrevocable. But he may, on the other hand, declare that the former process was null. In that case, he will not proceed to a new examination of the case, but he will give instructions to this effect to the bishops of a province near to that of the plaintiff; he can, if he wishes, send one or more of his priests to represent him at the Council, but he is not strictly obliged to do so.

These measures have the appearance of a compromise, and manifest a real spirit of conciliation. The Council of Sardica maintains the principle of appeal to Rome, which Pope Julius had so vigorously affirmed; but at the same time it deprives the Pope of the right to act himself as a judge of appeal, and it binds him to transfer to another episcopal tribunal the examination of the matter in dispute. In practice, this legislation had little effect. "Pope Julius had the canons of Sardica transcribed into his registers, after those of Nicaea. There they remained, more or less a dead letter. Afterwards, as before this legislation, the Apostolic See continued to receive appeals, but we do not find that in doing so it conformed to the procedure laid down at Sardica. Instead of confining itself to suspending the decisions taken and appointing new judges, the Pope continued to judge the

appeal himself. The West did not trouble about the new Canons; the East received them only two or three centuries later, and then rather as documentation than as an obligatory legislation."¹

Results of the Council of Sardica

Before separating, the members of the Council of Sardica wrote to the Emperor Constantius, begging him to put an end to the intrigues and violence of one part of the bishops against their brethren, and to forbid magistrates to interfere in religious matters.² They also wrote to Pope Julius, expressing their regrets at his absence, and communicating to him all the results of their deliberations. For, they add, "it is very good and in every way suitable that the bishops of the Lord, to whatsoever province they may belong, should refer to their head, that is to the see of the Apostle Peter."³

Summoned above all to put an end to the disputes between East and West which had arisen out of the affair of

¹ L. Duchesne, *Histoire ancienne de l'Eglise*, Vol. II, pp. 226-227.

² The letter of the Council of Sardica to the Emperor Constantius is given in the first five chapters of *Lib. I. ad Constantium Augustum* by St. Hilary, as Dom A. Wilmart has shown, in *L'Ad Constantium liber primus de saint Hilaire de Poitiers et les fragments historiques*, in *Revue bénédictine*, Vol. XXIV, 1907, pp. 140-179, 293-317. Cf. Id., *Les fragments historiques et le synode de Béziers*, in *Revue Bénédictine*, Vol. XXV, 1908, pp. 225-229; A. L. Feder, *Studien zu Hilarius von Poitiers, I*, in the *Sitzungsberichte* of the Vienna Academy, 1910.

³ The letter of the Council of Sardica to Pope Julius is quoted by St. Hilary, *Fragm. histor.*, ii, 9-15. Possibly it was drawn up only in Latin. The words which we have quoted above are regarded as suspect by several historians. Already Tillemont remarked about them: "These words have no connection with what precedes, and little relation with what follows, and interrupt the sequence of thought rather than clarify it" (*Mémoires*, Vol. VIII, p. 109). It has been suggested that the phrase was at first a marginal note, and that it was afterwards incorporated into the text. Nevertheless it remains possible that the phrase is authentic.

[*Additional Note.*—On the whole question of the Council of Sardica and its Canons, one may usefully consult Trevor Jalland, *Church and the Papacy*, pp. 219 *et seq.* As to the impugned phrase in the letter to Pope Julius, Jalland thinks this may be considered "not as an irrelevant insertion, but as supplying an additional, though perhaps not very convincing justification for the Pope's absence from Sardica" (pp. 222-223).—Tr.]

Athanasius and some of his colleagues, the Council of Sardica met only with obstacles. The Easterns refused to sit in the Council, and left even before they had discussed matters with their Western brethren; the excommunications pronounced on both sides served only to embitter relations which were already strained. The project of a new Creed was definitely set aside; the Canons showed themselves to be inapplicable in practice. It was a great disappointment. Finally, the most manifest result of the meeting called to restore peace in the Church was the breaking out of the schism which was already threatened between the two halves of the Christian world. The Pass of Succa, between Sardica and Philippopolis, the boundary between Illyricum and Thrace, constituted from now on the boundary between the two communions, as it was between the two empires.

CHAPTER III

THE VARIATIONS OF ARIANISM¹

§ I. FROM THE COUNCIL OF SARDICA TO THE DEATH OF CONSTANS

After Sardica

THE letter from the Council of Sardica to the Alexandrians announced to them the speedy return of their legitimate bishop, Athanasius. This promise, if it was made seriously, displayed great optimism, and for several more years the Sardican decisions were to remain a dead letter in the States of Constantius. The latter, urged on by his bishops, began by carrying out reprisals against all those who claimed to accept the sentences passed by the Council. The Eastern bishops, after their departure from Sardica, had met with a bad reception at Adrianople, where Lucius the bishop was a follower of Athanasius. Lucius was at once sent into exile, chained by his neck and with manacles on his hands.² Ten workmen of the arms factory were condemned to death,³ and executed. Two bishops, Arius the Palestinian and Asterius of Petra, who had rallied to the Western party, were relegated to Upper Libya. Two priests and three deacons of Alexandria were sent to Armenia. Constantius gave further orders that a strict watch should be kept at the ports and the gates of cities, to prevent those who had been rehabilitated at Sardica from returning secretly to their sees and taking up their functions once more.⁴

¹ For Bibliography, see p. 401.

² St. Athanasius, *Histor. Arian.*, xvii. Lucius had already been sent into exile a first time after 335. He had, apparently, been able to return after the death of Constantine. The letter of the Easterns at Sardica, in Hilary, *Fragm. histor.*, iii, 9, accuses him of having in some way thrown to the dogs the Eucharist consecrated by holy and pure bishops.

³ St. Athanasius, *loc. cit.*

⁴ St. Athanasius, *loc. cit.*, xix.

Nevertheless, in spite of the excommunications which the Easterns and Westerns had reciprocally pronounced against each other at Sardica, and in spite of the terror which Constantius caused to reign in his States, relations were not completely broken off between the two halves of the Church, and very soon attempts were made to reopen negotiations. About Easter 344, there arrived at Antioch two Western bishops, Vincent of Capua and Euphratas of Cologne, escorted by a *magister militum*, and bearing a letter from the Emperor Constans: they were instructed to ask permission for Athanasius to return to Alexandria.¹ As soon as they arrived, they were subjected to an abominable outrage. A prostitute was introduced into the house where they were staying, and instructed to compromise the aged Bishop of Cologne. The plot failed, and it was established without any difficulty that it had been planned by the Bishop of Antioch, Stephen. The crime was too manifest to remain unpunished; a synod was at once called which deposed Stephen and replaced him by a Phrygian whose name was Leontius.²

Leontius of Antioch

He himself was far from being a reputable personage. He had previously been a disciple of Lucian of Antioch, and St. Eustathius had always refused to admit him into the ranks of his clergy, because of his heretical opinions. His morals were no better than his doctrine: it was asserted that he had mutilated himself in order to be able to live with a woman named Eustolium, and this mutilation alone ought, in virtue of the canons of Nicaea, to have excluded him from ecclesiastical dignities.³ Leontius, however, was not without prudence, and with years he had acquired a real moderation; his outward gentleness, his political sense, and his cleverness possibly made him more suitable than some others to govern

¹ St. Athanasius, *Histor. Arian.*, xxi, puts the death of the intruder Gregory on the 25th of June 345, about ten months after some events which followed fairly closely the deposition of the Bishop of Antioch. We are thus led to put the embassy of Euphratas and Vincent in the spring of 344.

² St. Athanasius, *Histor. Arian.*, xx; Theodoret, *Hist. eccles.*, II, vii-viii.

³ St. Athanasius, *Apol. de fuga*, xxvi.

without trouble a church so profoundly divided as Antioch was at that time.

The events which had brought about the election of Leontius were not without their effect upon the embassy from the West. Certainly, Vincent and Euphratas could not obtain from Constantius the recall of the exiled bishops; the Emperor however consented at least to restore to freedom the priests and deacons of Alexandria who had been deported into Armenia, and to order his officials to cease all persecution of the Athanasian clergy and faithful in Egypt.¹

Eastern Embassy at Milan

That was a first concession. Another step was taken shortly afterwards by the Easterns, who sent in their turn a deputation to the West. Four bishops, Demophilus, Eudoxius, Macedonius and Martyrius, were instructed to go to Milan to set forth their belief to their colleagues and the Emperor Constans. They took with them a long profession of faith, the "Macroscopic Ecthesis," consisting of the fourth formula of Antioch and eight new articles which explained and clarified its meaning.² Pure Arianism was once more condemned; the unity of God was clearly proclaimed; it is not compromised by the fact that we recognise in God three different entities or Persons, in conformity with the Scriptures. The eternal divinity of Christ was also affirmed, against the followers of Paul of Samosata, who claimed that Christ was only a mere man who subsequently became God. With particular insistence the Creed rejected the theories of Marcellus of Ancyra and Photinus of Sirmium, who had denied the eternal pre-existence of Christ as well as the divinity and eternity of His reign. There was nothing very new here: at most we note the first occurrence of the name

¹ St. Athanasius, *Hist. Arian.*, xxi.

² The *Macroscopic Ecthesis* is given by St. Athanasius, *De synod.*, xxvi; Socrates, *Hist. eccles.*, II, xix; Sozomen, *Hist. eccles.*, III, ii, who gives a *résumé*. The name "Macroscopic Ecthesis" given to this formula is difficult to interpret correctly. Strictly speaking, the terms mean a Creed set forth in long lines or stiches.

of Photinus,¹ a fellow countryman of Marcellus of Ancyra, trained in his school and raised by him to the diaconate. Photinus had for some time been Bishop of Sirmium, and his diocesans greatly appreciated his knowledge and his eloquence.² But unfortunately his doctrine reproduced and even exaggerated that of Marcellus, and almost rejoined that of Paul of Samosata. By expressly condemning him, the Easterns drew the attention of their Western colleagues to the dangers which could arise for the Catholic faith from a too close and too indulgent solidarity with Marcellus, whose opinions were leading to such grave consequences.

Councils of Milan

Their warning was understood. A certain number of Western bishops, assembled at Milan,³ agreed to condemn Photinus. On the other hand, they requested the Easterns to sign a condemnation of the doctrine of Arius. The Easterns were angry at such insistence which, after the clear declarations made at Antioch in 341, they regarded as quite uncalled for. Accordingly, they declined to sign anything and returned home, and thus the *entente*, which at one time seemed in view, was once more postponed.⁴ Nevertheless,

¹ In the text conserved by St. Athanasius, Photinus is called Scotinus. This is probably a play upon words, for Photinus means luminous and Scotinus dark. But Lucifer of Cagliari (*De non parcendo in Deum delinquentibus*) seems to say that Scotinus was in fact the real name of the heretic.

² Socrates, *Hist. eccles.*, II, xxx; Sozomen, *Hist. eccles.*, IV, vi; cf. Epiphanius, *Haeres.*, lxxi, 1.

³ The chronology of events here is rather obscure. The date of 345 for the first Council of Milan which condemned Photinus seems to follow from two facts. The letter *Obsecro* of Pope Liberius (Hilary, *Fragm. histor.*, v, 1) to the Emperor Constantius, which was written in 353 or 354, puts about eight years previously—"ante annos octo"—the synod of Milan in which four Eastern delegates refused to condemn the doctrine of Arius—a date confirmed by Athanasius in the *De synod.*, xxvi. On the other hand, we know through Hilary, *Fragm. histor.*, ii, 19, that Photinus was first condemned at Milan two years before being condemned a second time by another council: "ante biennium jam in Mediolanensi synodo erat haereticus damnatus." Now, this second Council could only be in 347 or 349. The date 349 would be rather late, and since the Council of 345 is certain, it must be this that for the first time dealt with Photinus. Cf. J. Zeiller, *Les origines chrétiennes dans les provinces danubiennes*, p. 263, n. 1.

⁴ St. Hilary, *Fragm. histor.*, v, 4 (Letter *Obsecro* of Liberius).

negotiations continued between the two episcopates. In 347, a new Western Council met at Milan.¹ The bishops there renewed the sentence passed against Photinus, which had remained without effect by reason of the attachment of the population of Sirmium to their bishop, and they gladly received a letter in which Ursacius of Singidunum and Valens of Mursa, after making profession of the orthodox faith, asked for a restoration of communion with the Roman Church. This letter was significant: if two personages as compromised as Valens and Ursacius agreed to take such a step, a new wind must certainly have been blowing.

Return of Athanasius

The wind had indeed veered round in favour of Athanasius and his supporters. After the Council of Sardica, the Bishop of Alexandria had retired to Naissus, where he had been fraternally welcomed by his colleague Gaudentius.² There he had received information about Marcellus and Photinus, and he had given Marcellus to understand that he could no longer be in religious relationship with him. The Bishop of Ancyra had abstained from any recrimination, and had bowed to the inevitable.³ Then, on the 25th of June 345, after a long illness, Gregory of Alexandria had died. He had not been replaced, and Constantius had at once written to Athanasius asking him to return. Athanasius was suspicious, and did not reply. But Constantius had persevered, and had written two more letters to the exile,⁴ and further, he had

¹ Two years after the first Council, according to Hilary, *Fragm. histor.*, ii, 19. The date 347 must therefore be correct. Hilary, it is true, does not say where this Council was held, but we know by a letter of the Council of Rimini (Hilary, *Fragm. histor.*, viii, 2) that Ursacius and Valens asked to return to the communion of Rome at a Council of Milan, where the Emperor Constans and representatives of the Pope were present; this last text fixes the place of assembly. Cf. J. Zeiller, *op. cit.*, p. 263, n. 3. L. Duchesne (*Histoire Ancienne de l'Eglise*, Vol. II, p. 231) seems to speak of only one Council, that of 345.

² *Chronic. festal.*, 344.

³ St. Hilary, *Fragm. histor.*, ii, 21-22. The passage is rather difficult to understand. Athanasius would seem to have refused communion personally to Marcellus, but he apparently did not oppose him in public. He still speaks of him with goodwill in *Histor. Arian.*, vi, written a little before 357.

⁴ The three letters of Constantius have been inserted by St. Athanasius into the *Apol. contra Arianos*, li; cf. *Histor. Arian.*, xxi.

persuaded Constans to write as well, and also high functionaries of the imperial court, the Counts Polemius, Datianus, Bardion, Thalassus, Taurus and Florentius.¹ In the end, all these letters produced the desired effect. Athanasius left Aquileia, then his place of residence, and returned to Gaul to see the Emperor Constans²; then he went to Rome to bid farewell to Pope Julius, who had drawn up a warm letter for the Alexandrians.³ Finally he embarked for the East, and at Antioch he was received by Constantius. Certainly the latter did not grant all his requests; in particular he did not consent to put him in presence of his opponents, nor provide him with an opportunity of justifying himself publicly. But he showed himself well disposed, and gave him three letters, one to the bishops and clergy of the Catholic Church,⁴ another to the people of Alexandria,⁵ and a third to Nestor, prefect of Egypt.⁶ That high functionary was therein given an order to return to the court all the letters he had received concerning Athanasius, which was equivalent to revoking the measures taken since 339 by the imperial administration against the Bishop of Alexandria.

Athanasius's journey was like a triumphal progress. In Palestine, where nevertheless the metropolitan, Acacius of Caesarea, successor to Eusebius, was one of his most resolute opponents, Maximus, Bishop of Jerusalem, had called a council of sixteen bishops to greet him in passing, and to give him cordial letters for the Egyptian episcopate and the faithful of Alexandria. When the Egyptian frontier was reached, the officials themselves came to greet the exile. And finally at Alexandria, where Athanasius arrived on the 21st of October 346, "a river of people, the Nile with golden waves, flowed all the day. Like Jesus, the bishop proceeded on horseback, and his passage was honoured by

¹ St. Athanasius, *Histor. Arian.*, xxii.

² St. Athanasius, *Apol. ad Constant.*, iv.

³ St. Athanasius, *Apol. contra Arianos*, li-liiii.

⁴ St. Athanasius, *Apol. contra Arianos*, liv.

⁵ St. Athanasius, *Apol. contra Arianos*, lv.

⁶ St. Athanasius, *Histor. Arian.*, xxiii.

palms and many coloured carpets; before him the crowd marched, some shouting out and others dancing."¹

Submission of Ursacius and Valens

These manifestations were indeed significant. Doubtless careful observers did not fail to note that the recall of Athanasius was the work of Constantius alone, and that the decisions of the Council of Tyre had not been cancelled by a new synod, so that the bishops were not bound to consider themselves involved in the imperial will.² But for the moment, at least, peace seemed assured, and this was realised more or less everywhere. Valens and Ursacius who, as we have seen already, addressed themselves to the Council of Milan in 347, wrote to the Pope to express their submission and recognition of the decisions taken in their regard by the Council of Sardica.³ Julius consented to restore them to the direction of their churches, after they had gone to Rome and signed a document retracting all they had said or done against Athanasius, condemning Arius and his doctrine, and promising to take no further part, without the consent of the Pope, in the matters which had recently caused so many schisms, whosoever might seek to involve them in these. In order the better to seal their undertakings, the two bishops wrote to Athanasius a letter in which they called him "brother," and declared themselves to be in communion with him.⁴

Council of Sirmium

There remained the matter of Photinus, which the two Councils of Milan had not been able to settle. It seems that, towards the end of 347, some Eastern bishops assembled at

¹ St. Gregory of Nazianzum, *Orat.*, xxi, 29.

² The letters from Constantius to the Catholic Church and people of Alexandria declare expressly that Athanasius had returned to his country and to the church where the will of God had established him as head "by the will of the Most High and by our sentence." Thus the Emperor claimed to be above the decisions of councils.

³ St. Hilary, *Fragm. histor.*, ii, 20.

⁴ St. Hilary, *Fragm. histor.*, ii, 20. Cf. St. Athanasius, *Apol. contra Arianos*, lviii.

Sirmium, partly in order to proceed against the heretic, and partly to reply to the letter addressed to them by the Westerns assembled at Milan.¹ Once more Photinus was excommunicated, but the fidelity of his people kept him in his episcopal see, and the imperial government took no steps to dismiss him. As for the reply to the Westerns, this was somewhat sharp in tone, and it took care to recall that, if Photinus had fallen into heresy, he owed this to the theological formation he had received from Marcellus of Ancyra.² At a moment like this, when the pacification of minds was the chief aim, such a reference was inopportune. But no one took offence at it, and for a time peace seemed re-established.

At Alexandria, Athanasius continued his triumph. More than four hundred bishops, he declared, were in communion with him: at their head was the Bishop of great Rome, then those of Italy, Sicily, Sardinia, Corsica, Africa, Spain, Gaul, Britain, bishops of Pannonia, Norica, Dalmatia, Dardania, Dacia, Moesia, Macedonia, Thessaly, Crete, Cyprus, Lycia, Isauria, most of those of Palestine, all those of Achaia, Egypt, the Thebaid, Libya and the Pentapolis.³ Doubtless the majority of the Eastern bishops, especially those in the orbit of Antioch, remained refractory. But there was reason to hope that time would reconcile even these.

Death of Constans

This hope was destined not to be realised, and political events interfered with the pacification of the Church. Constans in the West had shown himself favourable to orthodoxy which, indeed, met with little opposition there. Constantius in the East had put his trust in the opponents of Athanasius, who were still in the majority there. Thus

¹ The whole matter of this Council of Sirmium is very involved. It is conjecturally put at the end of 347, because the Emperor Constantius was at Milan in the spring of 348, and might well have stopped at Sirmium a few months before. It is more surprising to find the Eastern bishops assembling at Sirmium, in the States of Constans. But the witness of St. Hilary on this point, *Fragm. histor.*, ii, 21, permits of no doubt.

² St. Hilary, *Fragm. histor.*, ii, 22-23.

³ St. Athanasius, *Histor. Arian.*, xxviii; cf. *Apol. contra Arianos*, i.

was maintained a certain uneasy equilibrium, and the authority which Constans exercised over his brother was ultimately an advantage to the supporters of Nicaea. On the 18th of January 350, a military rebellion broke out at Autun, and the Count Magnentius was proclaimed emperor by the troops. Constans took flight, but was caught at Elne, at the foot of the Pyrenees, and there put to death. A few weeks later, on the 1st of March, an aged general, Vetranion, took the title of Augustus at Sirmium, while at Rome on the 3rd of June a grandson of Constantine, Nepotian, was acclaimed. The latter disappeared from the scene first: the troops of Magnentius easily dealt with him, and killed him in the course of a decisive battle. Vetranion in turn was abandoned by his soldiers, and came to terms with Constantius, who sent him to end his days peacefully at Prusias in Bithynia. Magnentius, on the other hand, resisted for a long time, and it was only on the 10th of August 353, after a lengthy campaign, that he was finally defeated and took his own life. Constantius entered Lyons, and the unity of the Empire was thus restored, to his own advantage.

§ 2. THE POLICY OF CONSTANTIUS (350-357)

Attitude of Constantius towards St. Athanasius

Athanasius and his supporters did not learn without regret of the death of Constans. Constantius understood this, and thought it prudent to proceed cautiously so long as he was not the sole master. He wrote to the Bishop of Alexandria assuring him that the wishes of Constans would be respected, and that he would receive from himself the support he might need. The Egyptian officials received instructions in the same sense.¹ Such assurances were certainly well timed, for very soon there arrived at Alexandria an embassy from Magnentius which included among its members Servatus, Bishop of Tongres, another bishop named Maximus, and two Palatines, Clement and Valens. With his usual tact, Athanasius received the envoys from Magnentius, and in their presence lamented the death of Constans and invited

¹ St. Athanasius, *Apol. ad Constant.*, xxiii.

the community to pray for the health of the most pious Emperor Constantius¹: thus Athanasius returned courtesy for courtesy.

Second Council of Sirmium

Nevertheless, ecclesiastical affairs began gradually to take another turn. Already at the end of 351, a certain number of Eastern bishops assembled at Sirmium, where Constantius resided, and in his presence they held a great council, with the object of finishing once for all with the bishop Photinus and of drawing up a new Creed.² The matter of Photinus was treated with care: at the request of the accused, a great conference took place, presided over by the personages of the court best known for their knowledge and dignity. Several stenographers were present to prepare an official report.³ Basil, Bishop of Ancyra, a man well known for his knowledge and eloquence, was chosen to argue against Photinus, and to ascertain his real doctrine. At the end of a long discussion, it became clear that Photinus was heretical and ought to be deposed from the episcopate. The Emperor approved this decision, and sent the bishop into exile. He was replaced by a certain Germinius, formerly of Cyzicus.⁴

As regards the new Creed, known as the First Creed of Sirmium, the bishops decided to repeat the fourth formula of

¹ St. Athanasius, *Apol. ad Constant.*, ix.

² Socrates, *Hist. eccles.*, II, xxix. At the Council of Sirmium there were present amongst others Narcissus of Neronias, Theodore of Heraclea, Basil of Ancyra, Eudoxius of Germanicia, Macedonius of Mopsuestia, Mark of Arethusa and Valens of Mursa. As soon as they saw that Constantius was master of Illyricum, Valens and Ursacius had retracted, and approached the Eastern group. On the 28th of September 351 Constantius defeated the troops of Magnentius near Mursa. Valens learnt the news before the Emperor, and conveyed it to him, saying he had learnt it through an angel, and this clever move won him the favour of the prince (Sulpicius Severus, *Chronic.*, II, xxxix).

³ Sozomen, *Hist. eccles.*, IV, xxvi; Epiphanius, *Haeres.*, lxxi, 1. The latter gives the names of the counts who presided over the discussions, and those of the secretaries chosen to take the notes. See also Socrates, *Hist. eccles.*, II, xxx and xliii.

⁴ St. Athanasius, *Histor. Arian.*, lxxiv.

Antioch, completing it with twenty-seven anathemas.¹ These condemned once more those who declare that the *ousia* of God expands or retracts, and those who give the name of Son to the divine *ousia* thus expanded; they define that the theophanies of the Old Testament were manifestations of the Son of God and not of the invisible Father; they teach that the Holy Spirit is not the ingenerate God, that further He is not identical with the Son, and that He is not a part of the Father or the Son. Without mentioning any names, the Fathers of Sirmium evidently aim here at Marcellus of Ancyra and Photinus, but the somewhat new emphasis with which they speak of the Holy Spirit shows plainly that they also have other preoccupations. Like the other Creeds formulated since the Council of the Dedication, this one is capable of an orthodox sense, and St. Hilary speaks of it in favourable terms.² But it is the last of its kind: henceforth the Easterns will, under the pressure of some bold and intriguing leaders, return to the more intransigent formulae of open Arianism.

Their desires were very soon made manifest. As Constantius made progress in his difficult campaign against Magnentius, the opponents of Athanasius began once more to raise their voices: already in the winter of 351-352 they criticised the Bishop of Alexandria for his attachment to the memory of Constans; they commented on the embassy sent by Magnentius, and added that Athanasius himself had written to the usurper.³ In short, they did all in their power

¹ The first formula of Sirmium is given by St. Athanasius, *De synod.*, xxvii; Socrates, *Hist. eccles.*, II, xxx. Cf. Sozomen, *Hist. eccles.*, IV, vi; St. Hilary, *De synod.*, xxxvii, gives a Latin translation. Cf. Hahn, *op. cit.*, § 160, pp. 196-199.

² St. Hilary, *De synod.*, xxviii-lxii.

³ St. Athanasius, *Histor. Arian.*, xxx; *Apol. ad Constant.*, iii et seq. Other complaints were brought forward by the opponents of Athanasius: they accused him openly of having celebrated the feast of Easter in a new church, the *Caesareum*, then being built by Constantius, without waiting for the solemn dedication in the presence of the Emperor. It is interesting to recall the judgement of Ammien Marcellinus (XV, vii) on Athanasius, according to reports circulating in the army: "Athanasium episcopum eo tempore apud Alexandriam ultra professionem altius se efferentem siscitarique conatum externa, ut prodidere rumores assidui, coetus in unum quaesitus ejusdem loci

to induce Constantius to change his friendly attitude towards the bishop who had been condemned at Tyre.

Death of Pope Julius

While this was going on, Pope Julius died, on the 12th of April 352.¹ During the difficult years of his pontificate, he had always carried out the duties of his office. He had not allowed himself to be circumvented by any manœuvre, but had spoken to all as circumstances demanded. He had been full of indulgence towards individual weaknesses, but very firm in safeguarding principles. In him St. Athanasius lost a strong supporter, and the Church a great pontiff. On the 17th of May Liberius was chosen to replace him: he had been one of the deacons of the defunct Pope, and there was reason to hope he would be a worthy successor.

Intrigues against Athanasius

At once intrigues began to manifest themselves in connection with the new Pope. He had hardly been installed when he received letters, written by bishops in the East and in Egypt,² denouncing the supposed misdeeds of Athanasius. As the Pope was already aware of the affair, he contented himself with having these letters read in a Council,³ and replied to the authors that he saw no reason why he should sacrifice the Bishop of Alexandria.⁴ The latter in any case

multorum, synodus, ut appellat, removit a sacramento quod obtinebat. Dicebatur enim fatidicarum sortium fidem, quaeve augurales portenderent aliter scientissime callens, aliquoties praedixisse futura. Super his intendebantur et alia quoque a proposito legis abhorrentia cui praesidebat." In other words, the pagan soldiers were not far from regarding the Bishop of Alexandria as a magician and a rebel.

¹ *Liber Pontificalis*, ed. Duchesne, Vol. I, p. 9.

² Cf. Sozomen, *Hist. eccles.*, IV, viii. The Egyptian bishops in question may have been Meletians.

³ St. Hilary, *Fragm. histor.*, v, 2. It is possible that this Roman council was held on the 17th of May 353 for the Pope's *natale*; but it may have been held already towards the end of 352.

⁴ In a letter to Constantius, *Opto tranquillissime* (Hilary, *Fragm. histor.*, v, 1-6), Liberius recalls the fact that the Easterns accused him of having suppressed their letters, but that he had himself informed them of the decisions taken at Rome.

did not remain inactive: on the 18th of May 353 he sent to the West a delegation from the Egyptian episcopate, headed by Serapion of Thmuis, and charged with handing to the Emperor a protest signed by eighty of their colleagues.¹ By a strange chance, this embassy had scarcely been four days at sea when there arrived at Alexandria an imperial envoy named Montanus who, in answer to a supposed request from the bishop, was charged to tell the latter that the Emperor awaited him at the court. Athanasius had not asked for anything, and was not in the least desirous to meet Constantius. He accordingly replied to Montanus that he was quite prepared to accompany him, that he was not one to resist a magistrate of any kind, much less the Emperor, but that he wished to have a definite order.² The order did not come, and for twenty-six months Athanasius waited for it in vain. He employed part of the time in preparing an excellent apology which he wanted to be able to present to Constantius should the occasion present itself. The occasion did not come, but the bishop subsequently published it, accompanied by some telling additions which brought out the Emperor's duplicity.

While Athanasius was thus laboriously drawing up his defence, his fate was in the balance in the West, where Constantius was retained by political necessities. About the end of 353, two bishops, Vincent of Capua and Marcellus, bishop of another church in Campania, had been sent from Rome to the Emperor who was residing at Arles.³ They were instructed by Liberius to ask him to call a new council, to meet at Aquileia, which would take up again the task of uniting East and West which the Council of Sardica had not been able to conclude successfully.⁴ Constantius must have smiled at reading the letter of Liberius, if his imperial dignity permitted it. At Arles he had with him the two Pannonian bishops, Valens of Mursa and Ursacius of Singidunum, who had become his ecclesiastical advisers, and although he had known them only for a short time, he already knew of what the Gallic bishops were capable. They were certainly

¹ *Histor. aceph.*, iii.

² St. Athanasius, *Apol. ad Constant.*, xix-xxi.

³ St. Hilary, *Fragm. histor.*, vi, 3.

⁴ St. Hilary, *Fragm. histor.*, v, 1.

excellent men, and attached wholeheartedly to the Catholic faith, but they were completely ignorant of the controversies which had caused such excitement in the East for so many years, and only one or two of them, Maximin of Trèves, Verissimus of Lyons and Euphratas of Cologne, had been present at any Eastern council. The others had relied on these rare witnesses. When, after the Council of Sardica, they had been asked for their signatures, they had declared for the synod of the Westerns and for Athanasius, because that had been the advice of their leaders. For the rest, they had no desire to possess a more detailed knowledge, and their simplicity was so great that one of the best informed among them, St. Hilary, Bishop of Poitiers, had never heard of the Creed of Nicaea down to the time of which we are writing. Moreover, for them Constantius was the son of the great Constantine, the most pious Emperor, and most beloved of God: he might therefore ask for whatever he wanted; none would have the audacity to disobey his orders, or even his wishes.

Council of Arles

Now, when the Papal legates arrived at Arles, Constantius was busy collecting signatures against St. Athanasius. He answered their request for a Council by saying that he would willingly hold a meeting of Western bishops, provided it took place at Arles itself and in his presence. The Council did in fact meet, and to it was immediately presented a decree condemning Athanasius.¹ In vain did the legates and a few bishops protest, and declare that the first thing to settle was the question of faith. The eloquence of Valens and also, we must add, the threats of the Emperor, who promised deposition and exile to all those who should refuse to sign the condemnation of the Bishop of Alexandria, triumphed over all resistance. Everybody signed, including the two bishops sent by the Pope. Only Paulinus of Trèves had the courage to refuse, and he was deposed and exiled.²

¹ Sulpicius Severus, *Chronic.*, II, xxxix.

² St. Hilary, *Fragm. histor.*, i, 6; St. Athanasius, *Apol. ad Constant.*, xxvii: "Indignus ecclesia ab episcopis, dignus exilio a rege est judicatus," is what St. Hilary says of Paulinus of Trèves.

Resistance of Liberius

In these critical circumstances, Liberius did not give up the struggle. In spite of his unworthiness, God had entrusted him with the episcopal charge: he decided not to allow any sort of diminution in the episcopate of the city of Rome, and he desired nothing better than to keep for ever immaculate the faith which had come to him through the succession of so many and such great bishops, several of whom had been martyrs.¹ When speaking of Liberius Constantius never ceased to accuse him of vanity, ambition, pride and hot-headedness, yet the Pope wrote a fine letter to the Emperor recalling the circumstances in which he had been raised to the see of Rome. Around him many were failing in courage and defections were increasing in number: by all the means in his power he did his best to raise their spirits, and he confided only to the aged Hosius of Cordova the pain he felt at the betrayals which he was witnessing.²

Council of Milan

The letter of Liberius to Constantius was not only an apologia. The Pope also requested the convocation of a new Council, for that of Arles had not dealt at all with the main problems, and he outlined the programme: the confirmation of the faith of Nicaea, and an agreed decision of the problems concerning persons. Liberius chose as his legates three men of high courage, Lucifer, Bishop of Cagliari, the priest Pancratius, and the deacon Hilary.³

Constantius, who possibly knew more about human weakness than did the Pope, acquiesced, and it was agreed that a

¹ Liberius, *Epist. ad Constant.*, apud St. Hilary, *Fragm. histor.*, v, 3: "Secutus morem ordinemque majorum nihil addidi episcopatu urbis Romae, nihil minus passum sum, et illam fidem servans quae per successionem tantorum episcoporum incurrit, ex quibus plures martyres extiterunt, illibatam custodiri semper exopto."

² Liberius, *Epist. ad Oss.*, apud St. Hilary, *Fragm. histor.*, vi, 3: "Credideram integrum Dei evangelium sua legatione posse servari. Non tantum nihil impetravit, sed etiam ipse in illam ductus est simulationem. Post cujus factum, duplici affectu moerore, mihi moriendum magis pro Deo decrevi, ne viderer novissimus delator aut sententiis contra evangelium commodare consensum."

³ Liberius, *Epist. cit.*, apud St. Hilary, *Fragm. histor.*, v, 6.

great Council should meet at Milan in 355, and that all the bishops of the Catholic world should be summoned to it. But in fact only a few came from the East to Milan, to meet, it is said, more than three hundred bishops from the West.¹

The assembly at Milan took place in conformity with the wishes and anticipations of the Emperor. To raise up the courage of the weak, the Pope had above all relied on two bishops in whom he had complete trust, Eusebius of Vercelli and Fortunatian of Aquileia. Eusebius did not at first go to Milan, and Constantius had to send to him to request his presence, supported by urgent appeals from the papal legates.² When he did arrive, the Council had been in session several days, and the bishops were beginning to show signs of weakness. Eusebius was called upon to sign the condemnation of Athanasius; he replied that in his opinion it was necessary, before dealing with personal questions, to agree on matters of faith, and to sign the Creed of Nicaea. Thereupon he presented a copy of this Creed to the Bishop of Milan, Dionysius. The latter was about to put his signature, when Valens of Mursa rushed at him and seized the pen from his hands, crying out that nothing could be done in that way. A great disturbance followed. The populace, who had assembled at the end of the church, while the bishops were occupying the choir, sided with their bishop, and made plain their resentment at the attitude of Valens. Several interventions by Dionysius were necessary before calm was restored.

From that time the meetings were held in the imperial palace,³ and Constantius composed for the people of Milan a well-written letter, but one full of deceit, with the object of restoring tranquillity. When it was read in the church, this letter led to a fresh disturbance.⁴ Ursacius and Valens decided that it would be better not to go too far, and that

¹ Sozomen, *Hist. eccles.*, IV, ix. The figure of 300 is given by Socrates, *Hist. eccles.*, II, xxxvi; it seems much exaggerated.

² St. Hilary, *Ad Constant.*, i, 8. Cf. Sulpicius Severus, *Chronic.*, II, xxxix; St. Athanasius, *Histor. Arian.*, 32-34. A long account of the Council of Milan is given by Tillemont, *Mémoires*, Vol. VII, pp. 534-547.

³ Lucifer of Cagliari, *Moriendum esse pro Dei Filio*, i.

⁴ Sulpicius Severus, *Chronic.*, II, xxxix.

they had better content themselves with persuading the bishops to renew the condemnation of Athanasius. Accordingly, the bishops were given the choice between signing this condemnation and exile. Almost all signed, willingly or unwillingly; three alone chose exile, Lucifer of Cagliari, Eusebius of Vercelli, and Dionysius of Milan. The last mentioned was immediately replaced in his see by a Cappadocian named Auxentius, who had been ordained priest by Gregory of Alexandria, and who wholly sided with the opponents of Athanasius. When the Council was concluded, steps were taken to collect the signatures of those absent. Imperial emissaries, accompanied by clergy of Ursacius and Valens, were sent from town to town to make known the will of the Emperor, and to press the bishops to sign the condemnation of Athanasius.¹

Council of Béziers

There was some resistance, especially in Gaul, where St. Hilary had succeeded in grouping round himself a certain number of faithful bishops, and even in converting some of those who had bowed to the imperial will at the Council of Arles. A new synod was convoked at Béziers in 356, and Hilary was summoned to appear there. The eloquence with which he defended his faith was of no avail in face of opponents so manifestly determined as were Saturninus of Arles and Paternus of Périgueux. He was sent into exile, and Rhodanius of Toulouse, encouraged by his example, merited the same honour.²

Attitude of Liberius

Constantius nevertheless realised that he would not get complete success unless he could overcome the resistance of Liberius, and there seemed no likelihood of that happening. As soon as Liberius received news of the Council of Milan,

¹ St. Athanasius (*Hist. Arian.*, xxxi *et seq.*) gives a dramatic account of all this. Naturally we need not accept it all literally, but the general description of the situation is undoubtedly correct.

² St. Hilary, *Contra Constant.*, ii. We know little about this Council of Béziers.

he wrote a noble letter to the three exiles, in order to assure them of the joy with which he had learnt of their courage, and his regret that he could not as yet share their fate. He told them that their glory was all the greater, in that they had to resist, not the bloody sword of a persecutor, but the perfidy of false brethren, and he asked for their prayers, so that he might be able to support the evils with which he was himself threatened.¹

He was not mistaken in writing these last words. The messengers to whom he had entrusted his letter, the priest Eutropius and the deacon Hilary, were both exiled. And almost at once there arrived at Rome a messenger from the Emperor, the eunuch Eusebius, with instructions either to persuade Liberius with presents or to intimidate him by threats. The Pope was inflexible, and expressed himself thus :

Judge you yourselves if what you ask me is possible. How can we condemn Athanasius, after he has been declared innocent, not only by a first Council, but also by a second assembly from all parts of the earth, and after the Roman Church has sent him away in peace . . . ? If indeed the Emperor desires the peace of the Church, and for this end wishes to cancel what we have done for the justification of Athanasius, it is also necessary to cancel what has been done against him; it is also necessary to cancel what has been done against all the others. And then there should be held an ecclesiastical assembly, far from the palace, at which the Emperor would not be present, and where there would be no count or other judge to make use of terror or threats, where only God would be feared, and where the only rule would be the ordinances of the Apostles. The first thing to be done there would be to conserve the faith of the Church, as our Fathers defined it in the Council of Nicaea. Those who follow the opinions of Arius should be excluded from it, and those whose faith is pure should there possess complete authority.²

¹ St. Hilary, *Fragm. histor.*, vi, 1-2.

² St. Athanasius, *Hist. Arian.*, xxxv-xxxvii.

The imperial messenger did not expect such resistance: he left Liberius, uttering threats, and took the presents sent by the Emperor for the Pope to the church of St. Peter. The Pope was indignant, and threw the money outside. Such an act was not calculated to mollify Constantius. The latter at once ordered the prefect of the city, Leontius, to seize Liberius and send him to the court. The task was not an easy one, for Liberius was much loved by the Romans; for several days Rome experienced the horrors of persecution. Finally, operations were transferred to night-time, and Liberius was taken secretly and sent off to Milan.

*Exile of Liberius*¹

The Pope was not frightened by the Emperor's presence. We still possess, in Theodore's *Ecclesiastical History*, a verbatim report of an audience given by Constantius to Liberius in the presence of other persons, including the eunuch Eusebius and a certain Epictetus, Bishop of Centumcellae.² Constantius declared in the first place:

¹ The date of the exile of Liberius is usually put at the end of 355. Athanasius in his *Histor. Arian.*, xli, as well as in the *Apol. contra Arianos*, lxxxix, says that Liberius succumbed at the end of two years: his fall, as we shall see, was in 357, and this enables us to put the beginning of his exile in 355. Moreover, the dialogue between Constantius and Liberius quoted by Theodore, and which took place immediately after the removal of Liberius from Rome, contains a reference to the usurpation by Silvanus, who had just rebelled and was beaten almost at once; and that took place in 355. In addition, according to the account prefixed to the *Libellus precum*, Liberius had been in exile two years when Constantius went to Rome in May 357. True, St. Jerome in his *Chronicle* puts the exile of St. Hilary before that of the Pope, and Hilary was exiled in January 356. But the authority of St. Jerome is far from being decisive, and errors or alterations of figures are frequent in the *Chronicle*. Cf. J. Zeiller, *La question du pape Libère*, in *Bulletin d'ancienne littérature et d'archéologie chrétiennes*, Vol. III, 1913, pp. 20-51. Those who, like P. Savio or Mgr. Batiffol, do not accept the date 355, and put the exile of Liberius at the earliest in February 356, are more or less influenced by the desire to defend the Pope from the writing of the four letters to which we refer later. But the question of the date of the exile should be dealt with apart from these letters.

² Theodore, *Hist. eccles.*, II, xvi. Cf. Sozomen, *Hist. eccles.*, IV, xi. The original text must have been written in Latin by an eyewitness of the scene. We do not know where Theodore derived the Greek translation.

Because you are a Christian, and Bishop of our city, we have thought it good to cause you to come here, and to invite you to refuse communion to the wicked Athanasius, whose audacity is unspeakable. He has been well judged by the whole earth, which has, by a conciliar sentence, rejected him from the ecclesiastical communion.

The Pope replied:

Prince, ecclesiastical sentences must be pronounced with full justice. If, then, it pleases Your Piety, give orders that the matter be judged; and if Athanasius deserves to be condemned, a sentence will be pronounced against him in the form of ecclesiastical procedure which is the rule. But we cannot condemn a man we have not judged. . . .

Then the Emperor said:

For how many do you stand, then, in the world, you who side with a wicked man and upset the peace of the whole world ?

Liberius answered:

If I am indeed alone, the faith will not lose anything thereby: in ancient times only three persons were found who resisted.

This last remark greatly angered the eunuch Eusebius, who cried: "Are you really comparing our Emperor with Nabuchodonosor?" Liberius took no notice of this question. He continued to state his requirements: before a re-examination of the case of Athanasius, the Creed of Nicaea must be signed and the exiles recalled, and after that it would be possible to proceed to a calm examination of what was required for peace and the honour of the Church. Constantius did not take that view:

There is only one thing to do. You must side with the party of peace, sign, and then you shall return to Rome.

The Pope answered:

I have already said farewell to my brethren in Rome. The ecclesiastical laws are more important than residence in Rome.

The Emperor then said:

You have three days in which to decide: if you are willing to sign, you shall return to Rome; but if not, consider the place where you wish to be exiled.

The Pope answered:

Three days will not change my decision: send me to exile where you will.

Two days after this conversation, Liberius was sent to Berea in Thrace, where the Arian bishop, Demophilus, was charged to watch over him. Before his departure, Liberius sent back to Constantius the five thousand golden coins which the Emperor had sent to him to defray his expenses. He also declined the money which the Empress desired him to accept, and which Eusebius the eunuch had had the effrontery to offer him. After a time, the Roman see was treated as vacant: the archdeacon Felix was chosen to replace Liberius and he was weak enough to acquiesce.¹

Exile of Hosius

In the West, there was only one voice which was still able to make itself heard, now that all the others had been reduced to silence: that was Hosius of Cordova. This aged bishop, who had been for a long time the most favoured counsellor of Constantine, and who at Nicaea had showed himself to be the champion of the term "consubstantial," was at this time more than a hundred years old. Constantius nevertheless made him come to Milan, about the same time as Liberius, and endeavoured to win him over by promises and threats.² But seeing that he could not succeed, he decided to send him back to his distant diocese. This

¹ Cf. *infra*, p. 294.

² St. Athanasius, *Apol. contra Arianos*, xlii.

decision did not satisfy the Arians. "We have done a great deal," they said, "we have exiled the Bishop of the Romans, we had already exiled many other bishops, and we have spread terror everywhere, but all this counts for nothing so long as Hosius remains. . . . He holds councils, and when he writes, he is read everywhere. . . . He is the one with whom we must deal, without regard to his great age, for our heresy has not learnt to respect the white hairs of old men."¹ Hosius was therefore written to once more. Constantius himself wrote several times, but the bishop remained inflexible.

The letter in which Hosius announced his decision is a fine one. "There could be nothing," writes Tillemont, "greater, or wiser, or more generous—in a word, more truly episcopal."² In it Hosius says:

I confessed Jesus Christ in the persecution which Maximian, your grandfather, aroused against the Church. If you intend to renew it, you will find me ready to suffer all things rather than betray the truth or shed the blood of an innocent man by consenting to his condemnation. I am not shaken either by your letters or by your threats: it is useless to continue them. . . .

Do not involve yourself further, I implore you. Remember that you are a mortal man. Fear the day of judgement. Do your best to appear there pure and without blame. Do not interfere in ecclesiastical affairs. Issue no commands about them. Learn rather from us what you ought to believe. God has given to you the government of the Empire, and to us that of the Church. Whoever dares to attack our authority is setting himself against the Divine order. Take care not to become guilty of a great crime by usurping the authority of the Church. We are commanded to render to Caesar the things that are Caesar's, and to God the things that are God's. We are not allowed to arrogate

¹ *Ibid.* Naturally here again Athanasius dramatises the incident, and his account need not be taken too literally.

² Tillemont, *Mémoires*, Vol. VII, p. 312.

to ourselves the imperial authority. And you have no power in the ministry of holy things.

I have thought it my duty to write to you thus, out of a desire for your salvation. This is the only reply I have to make to your letters. I will by no means communicate with the Arians: on the contrary, I anathematise their heresy. I will by no means sign the condemnation of Athanasius, whose innocence you have yourself recognised, in company with the Church of Rome and a whole Council. You recognised it yourself when you recalled him, and permitted him to return with honour into his country and to take up again the government of his church. Whence then this change? . . .¹

Nothing was more calculated to move Constantius, and this letter, in which Hosius reminded him of his duty, and called up the memory of his brother Constans, must have made painful reading. But those around him were not idle: the Bishop of Lisbon, Potamius, was a convinced Arian, and a personal opponent of Hosius; he played his part so well that the Emperor decided to have Hosius brought to Sirmium and to keep him there.²

Exile of Athanasius

That was the end. The East had been pacified and the West subjugated: such were the results of the religious policy of Constantius. The moment had come to proceed against Athanasius, who was holding on at Alexandria, sustained by the devotion of his flock. The task certainly was not an easy one, and there was ample room for doubt, in view of the way in which the prelate had been left in peace since

¹ St. Athanasius, *Apol. contra Arianos*, xlv. The letter of Hosius is one of the most important documents in the history of relations between Church and State. Not only does it affirm the perfect independence of the Church in regard to the State in strictly spiritual matters, and the sovereignty of the State in temporal matters: it seems further to present the first known instance of the utilisation in this sense of the Gospel text, "Render to Caesar the things that are Caesar's, and to God the things that are God's." Cf. E. Caspar, *Geschichte des Papsttums*, Vol. I, p. 179.

² *Libellus precum*, xxxii, in the *Collectio Avellana*, ii.

the day when he had been unexpectedly summoned to the court.¹ Already in July-August 355, an imperial notary, Diogenes, arrived at Alexandria and tried to provoke a disturbance against the bishop. His efforts were vain, although he counselled, encouraged, and stormed: Athanasius was protected by the letters of Constantius forbidding anyone to do anything against him, and still more by the attachment of his clergy and people. At the end of four months, Diogenes had to depart as he had come (23rd of December 355).²

It was decided to proceed against the intrepid bishop without further delay. On the 6th of January 356 Syrianus the Duke made his solemn entry into Alexandria. He brought with him detachments of all the legions stationed in Egypt or Libya, and he had express orders to bring about the departure of Athanasius. A whole month passed in useless negotiations, so that in the end Syrianus promised on Caesar's life that he would do nothing without referring to his master. But in spite of this undertaking, he ordered his troops to take possession of the church of Theonas, one of the largest in Alexandria, during the night of the 8th of February,³ when the faithful were celebrating a vigil there under the presidency of the bishop. "There were very many sacred virgins in the congregation; these were assailed with obscene cries, several were killed, and others outraged. Trodden under foot, and crushed in the doorway, many of the faithful met their death, and their corpses were strewn around. While this was going on, the bishop remained on his throne, surrounded by monks and devoted laymen. These succeeded in getting him away, but he was not able to pass through the crowd without being badly mauled. But those who were looking for him did not recognise him. For the rest, they were not over anxious to capture him: what they wanted was to bring about his expulsion, and to make it seem that he had been thrown out by a popular rising. They met with apparent success, and from that moment Athanasius was seen there no more."⁴

¹ Cf. *supra*, p. 169.

² *Historia aceph.*, iv.

³ *Historia aceph.*, v. Cf. *Apol. de fuga*, xxiv.

⁴ L. Duchesne, *Histoire ancienne de l'Eglise*, Vol. II, pp. 263-264. St. Athanasius describes these sad events in his *Apol. de fuga*, xxiv.

Without delay, "the people of the Catholic Church of Alexandria, having for its most reverend bishop Athanasius," made themselves heard (12th of February 356). An excellent letter, though somewhat naïf in its form, announced that formal protests would be sent to the most pious Emperor to demand full justice. These illusions on the part of the faithful, if they were genuine, were destined to be speedily dispelled. Already on the 10th of June there arrived in Alexandria an imperial message denouncing the bishop as a seditious person, and all his supporters as enemies of the Emperor.

George, Bishop of Alexandria

Doubtless it was not possible to install immediately the Arian successor chosen by Constantius and the bishops. For more than a year, the Alexandrians resisted all the pressure which, with a perseverance worthy of a better cause, the Emperor, the local officials, the Arians, pagans and even Jews constantly exerted. On several occasions there were riotous scenes, especially on the 14th of June 356, when the churches were taken away from the Catholics and handed over to the Arians.¹ It was not until the 24th of February 357 that George, the new bishop, made his solemn entry into Alexandria. Like many other prominent Arians, he was originally from Cappadocia, and after leading a somewhat eventful life, and in particular, occupying at Constantinople a post in the public treasury, in which he showed himself to be unscrupulous and greedy, he had settled at Antioch. There he had been discovered by a council of some thirty bishops from Syria, Thrace, and Asia Minor, and as he was quite without scruples, hands were laid on him.²

Very soon he gave proof of his capabilities. The whole of Egypt was subjected to violence by his orders. Sixteen bishops were exiled; some thirty others had to take flight; the rest were reduced to silence.³ Priests and other ranks of the clergy received no better treatment. They were ordered

¹ St. Athanasius, *Histor. Arian.*, lv-lviii.

² Sozomen, *Hist. eccles.*, IV, viii. Cf. St. Athanasius, *Histor. Arian.*, li.

³ St. Athanasius, *Apol. ad Constant.*, xxviii; *Histor. Arian.*, lxxiii.

to renounce the communion of Athanasius; those who refused to submit were sent into exile or condemned to the mines. The faithful in their turn were also dealt with by George. He forbade them to hold separate meetings; and as they persisted in doing so, many of them, and particularly women, were ill-treated, beaten with rods, thrown into burning braziers, sent across the desert as far as the Great Oasis, or brutally slaughtered. The terror lasted eighteen months, during which George plundered Alexandria and Egypt, taking possession of the nitre, the saltpits and the marshes where the papyrus grew, and setting up a monopoly for the celebration of funerals.¹ At the end of August 358 the exasperated Alexandrians rose up against him and compelled him to flee, and for three years no more was heard of him.

The Last Resistance

Never had the situation been so critical for orthodoxy as it was at that terrible time. All the voices which could be raised in favour of the faith of Nicaea, or in protest against the intrusion of the prince in ecclesiastical matters, had been condemned to silence. True, from time to time, in spite of all the prohibitions, some one of these voices would suddenly be raised to remind Constantius of his transgressions and of his mortality. Athanasius who, on his departure from Alexandria, had retired to the desert, where he had found a very warm though very discreet welcome from the monks, multiplied his apologetical works and pamphlets. He published a revised edition of his *Apologia to Constantius*; he drew up an *Apologia on his Flight*; above all he gave a lively account of the *History of the Arians*. For his part, Lucifer of Cagliari disseminated throughout the world his invectives with challenging titles such as *St. Athanasius*; *The Apostate Kings*; and *Let us Die for the Son of God*. In this way was the flame kept burning. But it gave only a glimmer of light.

§ 3. DIVISIONS AMONG THE ARIANS

New Doctrinal Tendencies

Everywhere, the great episcopal sees were vacant, or

¹ St. Epiphanius, *Haeres.*, lxxvi, 1.

occupied, if not by Arians, at least by their sympathisers: Auxentius was at Milan, Leontius at Antioch, George at Alexandria, Germinius at Sirmium, Macedonius at Constantinople, and Felix at Rome.¹ The other sees—we might say all the others—were held by prelates who had at least given guarantees of their obedience to the imperial will, and had signed the condemnation of Athanasius. Even so, no one had yet dared to interfere with the Nicene Creed. To tell the truth, it was not mentioned: if some bold spirit dared to recall its existence, and to suggest that it should once more be signed, he was speedily called to order. The order of the day was silence concerning the Council of the three hundred and eighteen Fathers, and its work. At that time the test of orthodoxy was not a formula, not even the term “consubstantial”: it centred instead round one man, and the condemnation of Athanasius was equivalent in the eyes of Constantius and his bishops to an act of submission, while the holding of communion with Athanasius was for the orthodox a clear sign of attachment to the true faith.

At the time of which we are writing, things were about to change, and doctrinal preoccupations were taking the first place. Several reasons explain this change. Since 341, as we have seen, the Easterns had multiplied formulae of faith; at Sardica, the Westerns themselves had been on the point of giving way to temptation and proposing a new creed. But none of these formulae had been made obligatory, so that officially the Creed of Nicaea retained its authority throughout, and it alone did so. The dominant party therefore thought it good to propose for signature by all the bishops a text which more completely represented their doctrinal position, and to a certain extent established a State standard of orthodoxy.

On the other hand, the Arian theologians re-enter the lists, and the most thoroughgoing Arianism began once

¹ Felix must have been installed at Rome shortly after the departure of Liberius into exile. Acacius of Caesarea and Epictetus of Centumcellae were mixed up in this matter. Cf. St. Jerome, *De vir. illustr.*, xlvi; St. Athanasius, *Histor. Arian.*, lxxiii. Cf. also: *Quae gesta sunt inter Liberium et Felicem episcopos*, in the *Collectio Avellana*, i. Felix was accepted by the majority of the Roman clergy.

again to find defenders. During the preceding years, and since the death of Asterius, the Sophist, Arian tendencies were not represented by any authorised doctor: Theodore of Heraclea († about 355) concerned himself mainly with exegesis. According to St. Jerome, who praises the elegance and clarity of his style as well as the literal nature of his exegesis, he wrote commentaries on St. Matthew, St. John, the epistles of St. Paul, and the Psalms.¹ Eusebius of Emesa († about 359) was not much more concerned with dogmatic questions: St. Jerome describes him rather as an elegant and eloquent rhetorician; of his writings, *Questions on the Old Testament*, *Commentary on the Epistle to the Galatians*, treatises *Against the Pagans*, *Against the Jews and Novatians*, *Against the Marcionites and Manichaeans*, etc., we possess only a few scattered fragments; his sermons, several of which are still extant in a Latin translation, give the impression of a moderate man, opposed to anything new or to definite solutions.² George of Laodicea confined himself to writing the biography of Eusebius of Emesa and a treatise against the Manichaeans.³ Acacius of Caesarea had devoted most of his endeavours to the enrichment of the library formerly created by Origen, and to Scriptural matters, especially to a commentary on *Ecclesiastes*.⁴ Obviously works like these did not emanate from ardent controversialists.

Aëtius of Antioch

But the situation changed when Aëtius came on the

¹ St. Jerome, *De vir. illustr.*, xc.

² St. Jerome, *De vir. illustr.*, xci; cf. P. A. Vardinian, *Eusèbe d'Emèse; restes de ses écrits dans une vieille version arménienne, panégyrique de saint Etienne, premier martyr*, in *Handes Amsoreai*, Vol. XXXV, 1921, pp. 129-146; 292-298; A. Wilmart, *Le souvenir d'Eusèbe d'Emèse: un discours en l'honneur des saints d'Antioche, Bernice, Prosdoce et Domnine*, in *Analecta Bollandiana*, Vol. XXXVIII, 1920, pp. 241-284; A. Wilmart, *Un discours théologique d'Eusèbe d'Emèse: le Fils image du Père*, in *Revue de l'Orient chrétien*, Vol. XXII, 1920-21, pp. 72-94.

³ Cf. Socrates, *Hist. eccles.*, II, ix; St. Epiphanius, *Haeres.*, lxvi, 21. A letter from George is quoted by Sozomen, *Hist. eccles.*, IV, xiii.

⁴ St. Jerome, *De vir. illustr.*, xcvi; St. Epiphanius, *Haeres.*, lxxii, 5-10; Socrates, *Hist. eccles.*, II, iv.

scene.¹ Born at Antioch or in the neighbourhood, he was indeed a strange personality. In his youth he had tried all the professions, and had been in turn a coppersmith, a jeweller, a domestic, and a physician. Meanwhile, he had cultivated his mind, studied theology, and especially dialectics, so that he became a master in the art of subtle discussion. His greatest pleasure was to provoke his opponents, and to defeat them with the aid of irrefutable syllogisms. Thus, at Alexandria he had succeeded in reducing to silence a well-known Manichaean named Aphthonius, who was so upset at his defeat that he died. At Antioch he next attacked Basil of Ancyra, still enjoying the honours gained in his recent controversy with Photinus of Sirmium, and had little difficulty in reducing him to silence. Finally, at the end of his travels he found a resting place at Antioch, where Leontius the bishop received him into his household. The Caesar Gallus also treated him as a friend, and entrusted him with the theological education of his brother Julian. Thus protected by Church and State, Aëtius was able to cultivate without risk his favourite occupation, and to put his doctrine into syllogisms.² He was a fanatical exponent of the most exaggerated theses of Arianism, and represents what has been called Radical Anomoeanism.³ According to his teaching, there is no resemblance between the Father and the Son; they are two totally different beings, one being Creator and the other a mere creature. Any comparison of the two is injurious to the Father.

¹ The history of Aëtius is known to us mainly through Philostorgus, who has a great admiration for him, and gives a detailed account of his life. Philostorgus regards Aëtius almost as a saint.

² St. Epiphanius (*Haeres.*, lxxvi, 11) asserts that Aëtius composed some three hundred syllogisms. Socrates (*Hist. eccles.*, II, xxxv) attributes to him a certain number of letters. Cf. G. Bardy, *L'héritage littéraire d'Aëtius*, in *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique*, Vol. XXIV, 1928, pp. 809-827; P. Batiffol, *Études d'hagiographie arienne*, *Parthénien de Lampsaque*, in *Römische Quartalschrift*, Vol. VI, 1892, p. 38.

³ Anomoeanism (from the Greek *ἀνόμοιος*, unlike) is the doctrine which teaches that the Son has nothing in common with the Father. In a certain sense this goes further even than the doctrine of Arius, for he did not deny all resemblance between the Father and the Son.

St. Epiphanius has conserved for us a little treatise by Aëtius in forty-seven heads, the first of which is as follows:

If it were possible for the ingenerate God to cause the generate to become ingenerate, then, the two substances being both ingenerate, they would not differ from each other from the standpoint of independence. Why, then, say that the one has changed, and that the other changes it, seeing that people will not allow that God produces (the Word) from nothing?

Happy those who can take an interest in such subtleties! The bishop Leontius thought a great deal of them, and raised Aëtius to the diaconate, which gave him a right to preach in church. His sermons caused an uproar, for people at Antioch, where there were still many Catholics, were not accustomed to hear such things. Aëtius had to depart for a time, and to seek refuge with George of Alexandria. Even so, in him the party had found a theologian.

Council of Sirmium

The ideas of Aëtius were completely shared by the bishop Germinius of Sirmium who, in 351, had been called from Cyzicus to replace Photinus in the episcopal chair of this imperial residence. In the course of the summer of 357, an episcopal assembly was held at Sirmium under his presidency; among its prominent members were Valens of Mursa and Ursacius of Singidunum, together with Potamius of Lisbon.¹ The members of the Council decided to promulgate a new theological statement which, unlike those which had preceded, would give a clear explanation of the points in dispute.² This document, known as the Second Creed of Sirmium, begins as follows:

As some disagreement has been expressed concerning the faith, all questions have been dealt with and carefully discussed at Sirmium, in presence of our very

¹ St. Hilary, *De synod.*, xi; Sozomen, *Hist. eccles.*, IV, xii.

² The Latin original of this formula is given by St. Hilary, *De synod.*, xi; the Greek translation is in St. Athanasius, *De synod.*, xxviii.

holy brothers and fellow bishops Valens, Ursacius and Germinius.

After affirming the unity of God, it goes on to declare that the Father is manifestly greater than the Son:

There can be no doubt about it: in honour, dignity, glory, majesty, and even in name, the Father is greater than the Son. . . . No one is ignorant that the Catholic Faith teaches that there are two persons, the Father and the Son, and that the Father is greater, and the Son less and subject.¹

Finally, it was forbidden henceforth to use the terms "substance" and "consubstantial," which only upset men's minds and are not Scriptural. The same prohibition is applied to the term *homoiousios*, which appears here for the first time and which will occupy a very prominent place in the controversies of the following years.²

Signature by Hosius

When they had drawn up this precious formula, the Arian bishops considered that the most pressing need was to father it upon someone, and for this they addressed themselves to the aged Hosius of Cordova. It was clever to get the condemnation of the term "consubstantial" supported by the very one who had been its most ardent defender at Nicaea.³

¹ "Nulla ambiguitas est majorem esse Patrem : nulli potest dubium esse Patrem honore, dignitate, claritate, majestate, et ipso nomine Patris, majorem esse Filio . . . et hoc catholicum esse nemo ignorat, duas personas esse Patris et Filii, majorem Patrem, Filium subjectum."

² This term, of course, means precisely "of like substance"; it accordingly expresses less strongly than "consubstantial" the divinity of the Son. But for the Easterns, always anxious to avoid Sabellianism and to adhere to a very definite affirmation of the Trinity of persons, it seemed to present certain advantages; hence the favour with which it was widely regarded. (Cf. additional note, p. 97.)

³ The defection of Hosius is attested by Sozomen, *Hist. eccles.*, IV, xii. This historian says that Germinius, Ursacius and Valens produced a letter from Hosius and a few other Westerns, who agreed to use neither *homoousios* nor *homoiousios*. St. Hilary (*De synod.*, xi, lxiii, lxxxvii) speaks several times of the second formula of Sirmium as the "folly" or "impiety" of Hosius. Foebadus of Agen (*Contra Arianos*, xiv, 28) writes: "I very much question,

In spite of its audacity, the project succeeded: Hosius signed the second formula of Sirmium. "It is evident that advantage was taken of his old age and the weakening of his faculties, and that he was scarcely responsible for the part allotted to him in this sad affair. This is all the more likely, in that they never succeeded in getting him to curse Athanasius. His poor head was doubtless muddled in questions of theology, but Athanasius remained for him a concrete person, a friend, and a fellow warrior; he held on to him, and nothing could persuade him to give him up."¹

The Fall of Liberius

Did they go further, and take steps also to obtain the signature of Liberius? That is unlikely, for at the time of the meeting at Sirmium, Liberius had already given to the Emperor Constantius tokens of submission. The exile at Berea weighed heavily upon him; the bishop of the place, Demophilus, increased his efforts to obtain his submission to the Emperor, and his friend Fortunatian of Aquileia constantly urged that he would do well to yield.² Finally the Pope submitted: four letters, conserved by St. Hilary, testify to this fall.³ The first, *Studens paci*, addressed to the

now that everything has been discussed and brought to the light of public opinion, whether they will now make use of the name of Hosius, that very old bishop, always so strong in faith, as a battering ram to break down the boldness of our opposition. In any case, to those who set up against us this implement of war, I will reply in a few words . . ." P. Batiffol (*La paix constantinienne*, p. 483, n. 3) tries to whitewash Hosius on the ground that the letter in his name mentioned by Sozomen may be a forgery. But there is no proof that it is a forgery. As Tillemont wrote (*Mémoires*, Vol. VII, p. 317), "one would have to contradict too many authorities to doubt that this great Hosius, who had so long and with such strength defended the Catholic Faith, did in the end condemn it by a signature which, even if given under compulsion, did not cease to be criminal."

¹ L. Duchesne, *Histoire ancienne de l'Eglise*, Vol. II, p. 284.

² St. Jerome, *De vir. illustr.*, xcvi. Cf. L. Duchesne, *Libère et Fortunatien*, in *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire*, Vol. XXVIII, 1908, pp. 65 et seq.

³ We cannot discuss here in detail the authenticity of the four letters quoted by St. Hilary in his *Fragmenta*. The first letter, *Studens paci*, appears in a context which does not belong to it, and which seems to be contemporary with the first years of the pontificate of Liberius. A. L. Feder (*Studien zu Hilarius von Poitiers*, in the *Sitzungsberichte* of the Vienna Academy, 1910,

Easterns, recalls that Liberius had in 352 gathered together at Rome a Council, to which he had summoned Athanasius, but in vain; it adds that since that time the Pope had become better informed concerning events, and accordingly he now condemns the Bishop of Alexandria. The second letter, *Pro deifico timore*, was equally intended for the Easterns. Liberius informs his readers that he adheres to the condemnation of Athanasius, and has told the Emperor that he is returning to communion with them. He has subscribed to the profession of faith recently drawn up at Sirmium by several bishops,¹ and accordingly he asks them to intervene with Constantius to obtain his return to Rome. The third letter, *Quia scio vos*, was sent to Ursacius, Valens and Germinius. Liberius makes to them the same declarations as those made to the Eastern episcopate, and expresses the same desires. Finally, the fourth letter, *Non doceo*, was addressed to Vincent of Capua: it begged him particularly

p. 164) has well shown that the only document going back to this time is the letter to Constantius, *Obsecro, Fragm.*, v, 1-6. The letter *Studens paci* belongs to the same period as the other three. Cf. A. L. Feder, *op. cit.*, pp. 153-183. The letter *Non doceo*, as E. Caspar points out (*Geschichte des Papsttums*, Vol. I, pp. 589-590), is given as an extract from the official register of the Pontifical Chancery. The recent attempt of P. Batiffol (*La paix constantinienne*, pp. 515-521) to show that these letters are apocryphal, has brought forth no fresh argument. In any case, the fall of Liberius is strongly asserted elsewhere. St. Athanasius (*Hist. Arian.*, xli; *Apol. contra Arianos*, lxxxix) testifies that Liberius was frightened by threats of death, and signed a formula. St. Hilary (*Ad Constant.*, iii) writes: "You have carried the war to Rome itself, and sent away its bishop, and alas! I do not know if you have not done more impiously in sending him back there than you did in first exiling him." St. Jerome (*Chronic.*, anno 349) writes: "Liberius, taedio victus exilii, in haeretica pravitate subscribens, Romam quasi victor intraverat." Cf. St. Jerome, *De vir. illustr.*, xcvi; *Quae gesta sunt inter Liberium et Felicem*, in the *Collectio Avellana*, i. This series of testimonies constitutes a solid proof which it would be very difficult to evade.

¹ The formula which Liberius signed was not the Anomoean Creed of 357, i.e. the *second* formula of Sirmium, but the *first* formula of Sirmium, that of 351. This follows from a passage in the *Historical Fragments* (vii) of Hilary, who gives the names of those who drew up the formula which the Pope had agreed to sign. These are in the main Eastern bishops, whereas the synod of 357 comprised only Westerns, and moreover, amongst them appears Theodore of Heraclea, who had died before 357. Cf. Theodoret, *Hist. eccles.*, II, xiii; J. Zeiller, *Les origines chrétiennes dans les provinces danubiennes*, p. 277, n. 4.

to organise a collective action by the Campanian prelates and an appeal to Constantius in his favour.

These letters of Liberius did not obtain the desired result all at once. When they were written, in 357, they no longer expressed a sufficient submission, for the Arian bishops were at that time teaching a much more radical doctrine than that taught in 351. Above all, Constantius was embarrassed by the situation he had helped to bring about at Rome. He wondered what ought to be done with Felix, if Liberius were authorised to regain possession of his see, and he did not know how to solve this problem. In May 357, being then in Rome, he had been able to see for himself the attachment of the faithful of the old capital to their bishop. The matrons had asked for an audience in order to request the recall of Liberius, and in the circus he had heard the cries of the people.¹ Something had to be done, and accordingly Liberius was authorised to leave Berea and to go to Sirmium.

Resistance to Anomoeanism

There a certain reaction awaited him. The Anomoean formula of 357 (the second formula of Sirmium) had been in general rather badly received by the Christian world. It was too obviously heretical, and contradicted too openly the general view to have a favourable echo in the episcopate as a whole or the faithful in general. The West, in spite of the collapse of the bishops at Arles and Milan, was still profoundly orthodox. When the declaration of Sirmium reached them, people were astounded. The Bishop of Agen, Foebadus, published a vigorous criticism of it in the form of a little treatise based largely on Tertullian, and which owed some of its force to a utilisation of the argument from tradition.² His colleagues in Gaul agreed with him in repudiating the heretical formula, and St. Hilary was informed in his place of exile of this unanimous manifestation.³ Africa also protested in writing.⁴

¹ Theodoret, *Hist. eccles.*, II, xiv.

² Cf. A. Durengues, *Le traité de saint Phébade contre les Ariens*, Agen, 1927.

³ Cf. St. Hilary, *De synod.*, i. Except for the region of the Rhone, and the Vienne and Narbonne country, the whole Gallic episcopate remained faithful to orthodoxy.

⁴ St. Hilary, *Advers. Constant.*, xxvi. This protest was due to Basil of Ancyra. Cf. Sozomen, *Hist. eccles.*, IV, xxiv.

But a very extraordinary and unexpected thing happened. The East itself, which hitherto had shown itself so docile in following the directions of imperial policy, did not accept without some protest the declaration of Sirmium. Yet the circumstances there seemed rather favourable for Arian enterprises. At Antioch the aged Bishop Leontius had just died, and had been immediately replaced by the Bishop of Germanicia, Eudoxius, who had been installed, without being elected by the bishops of the province, merely at the Emperor's orders, and thanks to the support of the eunuchs of the imperial palace.¹ Eudoxius, after professing fairly moderate opinions, had become a fervent Anomoean. He had hardly taken his seat in the chair of Antioch when he sent his adhesion to the Sirmium formula, and endeavoured by all possible means to obtain that of the bishops belonging to his jurisdiction. At the same time, he surrounded himself with counsellors or select disciples, among them being Aëtius and Eunomius. The latter was to become one of the great theologians of the party. But all this zeal, which was calculated to facilitate Arian propaganda, was in the event harmful to it.

The moderate men in the East had never been Arians, strictly speaking: they had shown plainly at the Council of the Dedication in 341 that they declined to join their cause with that of Arius, and that their faith was in any case more orthodox than some of their expressions. The first formula of Sirmium, that of 351, to which many of them had rallied, was not itself heretical, provided it was correctly interpreted. When they learnt that a new formula had been drawn up, expressly denying the divinity of the Son and his resemblance with the Father, and above all, when they learnt that Eudoxius of Antioch was collecting signatures in favour of the heresy, they were profoundly moved.

¹ Sozomen, *Hist. eccles.*, IV, xii. In what follows, the account of Sozomen, which depends on Sabinos, is particularly well documented, and is of considerable authority. Cf. on Eudoxius: Tillemont, *Mémoires*, Vol. VI, pp. 422 *et seq.* Philostorgus (*Hist. eccles.*, IV, iv) gives information on the early days of Eudoxius.

Council of Ancyra

George of Laodicea, who had, moreover, recently intrigued in vain to get the see of Antioch, made himself the mouthpiece of their sentiments. He addressed to his colleagues, Macedonius of Constantinople, Basil of Ancyra, Cecropius of Nicomedia, and Eugenius of Nicaea, an anxious letter, asking them to hasten to succour the church of Antioch, to intervene with Eudoxius, and to persuade him to dismiss Eunomius and his friends.¹

Basil of Ancyra had long been an enemy of Aëtius and his captious arguments. He gathered together a Council in his episcopal city on the occasion of a church dedication shortly before Easter 358, and drew up in the name of the assembled bishops a long letter, which he at once sent to all his colleagues in the Christian Church.² A little later, apparently, this letter was supplemented by a second document, written in the names of Basil and George.³ These two documents are very important for the history of theology; in addition, they mark a decisive moment in the history of the Arian controversy. Until then, the Easterns had been more or less hypnotised by the fear of Marcellus of Ancyra and Sabellianism, and they had multiplied anathemas against that error. Basil and his colleagues now seem to have discovered that there was another danger for the faith, that of Anomoeanism, which in the end lowers the Son of God to the rank of a creature. Their letters declare, though with

¹ The letter of George of Laodicea is included in Sozomen, *Hist. eccles.*, IV, xiii.

² St. Epiphanius (*Haeres.*, lxxiii, 2-11) quotes the text of the synodal letter of Ancyra, from the copy addressed to the bishops of Phoenicia.

³ This second document may have been sent out in the course of the summer of 358. It is given complete by Epiphanius, *Haeres.*, lxxiii, 12-22. It was originally preceded by a letter written by Basil and his friends to Ursacius and Valens concerning the meaning of the words *ὁμοουσιος* and *ὁμοιουσιος*; the letter has been lost, but we know its contents sufficiently by the analysis of it given by St. Athanasius, *De synod.*, xli *et seq.*, and especially by St. Hilary, *De synod.*, lxxxi. Cf. J. Gummerus, *Die homöusianische Partei bis zum Tode des Konstantius*, pp. 94 *et seq.*; G. Rasneur, *L'homöusianisme dans ses rapports avec l'orthodoxie*, in *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique*, Vol. IV, 1903, pp. 204 *et seq.*

some obscurity and reticence, that the idea itself of fatherhood implies a resemblance in substance between Father and Son; that the Word is a son in the natural sense of the word; that He was truly begotten, and therefore not created; that the very notion of Son essentially implies complete similarity with the Father; that the Son is therefore similar to the Father in substance and divinity. They condemn Anomoeanism at length; and if they also reject the term "consubstantial," recalling that it had previously been rejected by the Council which condemned Paul of Samosata, they show plainly that they did not understand it in the sense of the Council of Nicaea but in a Sabellian sense. In spite of these confusions, the doctrine of the Council of Ancyra indicates a definite movement of the moderate Easterns towards orthodoxy. The term to which Basil and his friends rally as the one most capable of expressing the truth is that of "homoiousios," that is to say, "like in substance"; hence the name "Homoiousianism" given to their teaching.

Constantius Changes his Attitude

The synodal letter of Ancyra was taken without delay to the court of Sirmium by Basil and two of his colleagues, Eustathius of Sebaste and Eleusius of Cyzicus.¹ It must be said that here the course of events is difficult to understand, but it is none the less certain. The Emperor Constantius, who had hitherto favoured the Anomoeans, had approved the Arian formula of 357, and had installed Eudoxius at Antioch, was completely won over by Basil and his supporters. The clearest indication of this change of attitude is a letter which he at once wrote to the Antiochenes,² explaining that it was not he who had sent them Eudoxius, and that they should mistrust these ambitious men, whose zeal consisted in changing bishoprics to increase their revenue, and also the sophists, who were vendors of impiety, and who sought only to deceive the multitude; they should recollect the discourses which the Emperor had addressed to them

¹ Sozomen, *Hist. eccles.*, IV, xiii.

² Sozomen, *Hist. eccles.*, IV, xiv.

on the faith, in which he showed that the Saviour is the Son of God, and like to the Father in substance. As for the heretics, it would suffice for the time being to separate them from communion; Constantius did not wish as yet to say what punishment they would incur shortly if they did not recover from their madness.

New Council of Sirmium

It remained to define the new imperial orthodoxy. A Council was speedily held at Sirmium (358). With the inevitable Illyrians, Germinius, Ursacius and Valens, to whom one more retractation did not matter, and who were always ready to follow the views of Constantius, it comprised four African bishops then present at court, Athanasius, Alexander, Severus and Severian, and some Easterns grouped around Basil.¹ The bishops did not think it necessary to draw up a new formula: they contented themselves with joining together the articles defined against Paul of Samosata and Photinus of Sirmium, i.e. the Creed of 351 (the first formula of Sirmium), and the Creed of the Council of the Dedication in 341.² These together constituted the *third* formula of Sirmium. They realised without difficulty the authority which such a formulary would possess if it were also signed by the Pope. Liberius, it will be remembered, was then at Sirmium: he was invited to place his signature at the foot of the document. It was, in any case, substantially orthodox; Liberius signed it.³

Sozomen adds that Constantine strongly urged the Pope to confess that the Son is not consubstantial with the Father, and that Basil of Ancyra joined his pleading to that of the prince, to obtain from him a condemnation of this disputed term. The credibility of this statement has been called in

¹ Sozomen, *Hist. eccles.*, IV, xv.

² The Creed of the Dedication here referred to is the *second* of the formularies of Antioch, and not the *fourth*, as was still maintained by Batiffol, *La paix constantinienne*, p. 489. Cf. H. M. Gwatkin, *Studies of Arianism*, 2nd edn., p. 166, n. 3. It was already the *second* formula of Antioch that was referred to in the synodal letter of Ancyra: Epiphanius, *Haeres.*, lxxiii, 2; cf. *supra*, p. 193.

³ Sozomen, *Hist. eccles.*, IV, xv.

question,¹ and it is certainly difficult to accept. It is, on the other hand, certain that Liberius, not content with signing the third formula of Sirmium—the name given to the Creed we are discussing—handed to Basil a document in which he declared excommunicate all those who did not believe that the Son is like the Father in substance and in all things. This declaration was not uncalled for, since the Anomoeans of Antioch were just then spreading a report that Liberius had rejected the term “ consubstantial ” and was professing their own doctrine.² Hence it was very important to make the exact truth known.

Return of Liberius to Rome

It was in these circumstances that Constantius decided to send Liberius back to Rome. The bishops present at Sirmium wrote to Felix and the clergy of the capital to announce the coming return of Liberius, and to say that henceforth the Roman Church would be ruled by two bishops, the old and the new. The Emperor for his part addressed a letter to the Romans communicating to them the same decision.³ But the Romans were not prepared to accept the strange combination envisaged by Constantius. When the imperial letter arrived at Rome it was ridiculed. “ Just so,” people said: “ there are two factions at the circus; each already has its own colour, and each will now have its bishop.” Then ridicule gave place to anger: “ One God,” they cried, “ One Christ, one bishop!” The return of Liberius brought the excitement of the masses to a climax. People ran in front of him, and gave him an enthusiastic welcome.⁴ Felix, in view of this popular feeling, did not attempt to resist, but left Rome. True, he tried shortly

¹ P. Batiffol, *La paix constantinienne*, p. 488. But it must be noted that the nineteenth anathema of Ancyra expressly condemned the term ὁμοούσιος, which it understood in a Sabellian sense, regarding it as synonymous with παντοούσιος. In the *De synodis*, xii-xxv, St. Hilary comments only on twelve of the nineteen anathemas of Ancyra. It is possible that the seven others were abandoned by Basil when he was trying to obtain the support of Liberius. The question remains obscure.

² Sozomen, *Hist. eccles.*, IV, xv.

³ Sozomen, *Hist. eccles.*, IV, xv.

⁴ Theodore, *Hist. eccles.*, II, xiv.

afterwards to recover the Transteverine Basilica of Julius, with the help of a part of the clergy. But the attempt failed, and henceforth Felix remained in retirement till the day when God called him to Himself (22nd of November 365).¹

The "De Synodis" of St. Hilary

The attitude of Liberius was regarded with favour by the orthodox. St. Hilary and St. Athanasius, the two great exiled bishops and the most authoritative spokesmen of West and East, both praised his attempt to come to an understanding with Basil of Ancyra and his group. Certainly, the Nicene word "consubstantial" did not appear in the texts signed by the Pope; but that mattered little, seeing that the faith itself was saved. Could one not sacrifice the term for the time being in order to conserve the doctrine itself? At the end of 358 or the beginning of 359, Hilary explains his position in a work, the *De synodis*, addressed to his colleagues in Gaul and Britain. He there retains all his severity for the Anomoean formula of 357; on the other hand, he adopts an indulgent attitude towards the formula of the Council of Ancyra, of which he quotes only twelve anathemas out of nineteen.² He reminds the Western bishops that the term "homoousios" itself is not free from all ambiguity, and that if it was previously rejected at Antioch by the Fathers who condemned Paul of Samosata, it certainly needs clarification. Then, turning towards the Easterns, he shows that ultimately the two expressions "homoousios" and "homoiousios" have the same meaning provided they are properly understood, and that they express the same truth, namely, the perfect divinity of the Son. Accordingly, he asks them not to reject the "homoousios" which was canonised by the great Council of Nicaea, and since they are not themselves Arians, he asks them to avoid all appearance of being such. As Tillemont says, Hilary "defends all that can be defended. He gives a good sense to all that is capable of receiving one. He justifies all

¹ *Gesta inter Felicem et Liberium*, in *Collectio Avellana*, i. Cf. *infra*, p. 294.

² St. Hilary, moreover, seems to be citing an official text, not shortened by himself for apologetic purposes.

that is not absolutely bad, partly in order not to alienate the Easterns and to bring them from a state which he regards as tolerable but dangerous to one which is wholly perfect, and partly to prevent the French bishops from breaking unnecessarily with persons who could be of service to the truth."¹

The "De Synodis" of St. Athanasius

A little later, St. Athanasius on his side wrote a very similar work in favour of conciliation.² The *De synodis* of the Bishop of Alexandria studies the different formularies of faith set forth by the Easterns since the Council of 341. When he comes to the text of 358, he treats it with marked favour: "Those who accept all that was decided at Nicaea, while retaining some scruples on the 'homooousios,' ought not to be treated as enemies. I do not attack them as Arianisers, or as opponents of the Fathers; I discuss with them as a brother with brethren who think as we do, and who differ only about a word. . . . Of their number is Basil of Ancyra, who has written on the faith."³

We can scarcely give too high praise to the understanding generosity of the action of the Bishop of Alexandria. Though still exiled for his own attachment to the faith of Nicaea, he realises all the implications of a new situation; he sees the real meaning of the formulae employed by the friends of Basil, and the significance of their conciliatory attitude. Without hesitation he takes the hand stretched out to him, and agrees to forget all the personal injuries he has suffered. It was certainly right to hope for great things from such a generous attitude.

Persecution of the Anomoeans

While Hilary and Athanasius were thus singing the praises of conciliation and peace, Basil of Ancyra was making use of the imperial favour to wage war against the Anomoeans. At his instigation, Aëtius was exiled to Pepuza; Theophilus, the great thaumaturge of the sect, to

¹ Tillemont, *Mémoires*, Vol. VII, p. 445.

² The *De synodis* of St. Athanasius must have been written towards the end of 359.

³ St. Athanasius, *De synod.*, xli.

Heraclea in Pontus; Eunomius, arrested at Ancyra, was interned at Midaeon in Phrygia; Eudoxius had to retire to Armenia.¹ For some months terror reigned in the East, in favour of the new homoiousian orthodoxy: Philostorgus mentions seventy sentences of exile pronounced at that time against Arian bishops.²

§ 4. THE COUNCILS OF RIMINI AND SELEUCIA

Towards a General Council

To make his triumph more complete and final, Basil conceived the idea of getting it sanctioned by a universal council. At first it was suggested that this should meet at Nicaea, but the memory of the assembly of 325 did not make this desirable. Nicomedia was next proposed: Basil of Ancyra hoped to gather there from all parts of the Empire the bishops who were the most learned and the most eloquent, and capable of forming a complete representation of the episcopate. But on the 24th of August 358 the city in question was destroyed by an earthquake.³ This led to some delays. After summoning to Nicaea all the bishops of the Roman world, excusing only those whose infirmities made the journey thither impossible, Constantius changed his mind, and instructed Basil to write new letters requesting the bishops to choose themselves the place of the meeting. These steps took time, and the Anomoeans profited by all these changes to blacken Basil and his friends in the Emperor's eyes.⁴

It was not difficult to do. Constantius, although so full of his own authority, was open to all kinds of contrary influences. When the Bishop of Ancyra had returned to his far-off diocese, it was not difficult to convince the Emperor that he was a mischief-maker, a self-seeker, and a tyrant. In point of fact, during the few months in which he had been able to exercise his own influence, Basil had made many

¹ Sozomen, *Hist. eccles.*, IV, xvi.

² Philostorgus, *Hist. eccles.*, IV, viii-ix.

³ St. Jerome, *Chronicon*, anno 358.

⁴ Sozomen, *Hist. eccles.*, IV, xvi.

enemies by his drastic methods. In order to complete the Emperor's change of mind, two veterans of the Arian controversy were brought to Sirmium, both of them Nicene Fathers, Narcissus of Neronias in Cilicia, and Patrophilus of Scythopolis in Palestine. These persuaded the Emperor that, instead of one Council, there should be two, one for the East and the other for the West. This doubtless seemed a wise plan: the difference of languages and the considerable expense which would be involved in transporting to the East all the Western bishops might well seem to justify it. It was, in any case, a clever move: the Arians hoped they would still command a majority in the East; and they knew by experience from preceding years that the Westerns, unaccustomed to the complex shades of meaning of theological terms, would always end by signing all the formulae. In the end, no difficulty was experienced in choosing the places for the two meetings. For the West, the choice fell on the town of Rimini in Italy, on the Italian Adriatic coast; for the East, the town of Seleucia in Isauria, near the Cilician coast, was chosen.¹

The "Dated Creed"

It was also thought good, in order to facilitate the task of the bishops, to appoint a small committee to prepare a formula of faith to be submitted for approval. Mark of Arethusa, who was then at Sirmium, was charged with the preparation of this Creed, known as the *fourth* formula of Sirmium. It begins as follows:

The Catholic Faith has been set forth in presence of our master, the most pious and triumphant Emperor Constantius Augustus, eternal and venerable, under the consulate of Flavius Eusebius and Flavius Hypatius, the eleventh of the kalends of June (22nd of May 359).²

¹ Sozomen, *Hist. eccles.*, IV, xvi. Cf. Athanasius, *De synod.*, i and vii; Philostorgus, *Hist. eccles.*, IV, xvi.

² The original text of this Creed was probably drawn up in Latin; this Latin text, however, no longer exists. The Greek text is conserved by Athanasius, *De synod.*, viii, and Socrates, *Hist. eccles.*, II, xxxiv. St. Epiphanius

A preamble of this kind, apparently assigning a fixed date for the promulgation of the true faith, and making it depend upon the civil magistrates, did not promise any good.¹ In actual fact, this "dated Creed"—so described very soon in irony—is an expression of the vaguest and most inconsistent Homoianism, i.e. the doctrine that the Son is simply like (ὅμοιος) to the Father:

We believe in one single and only true God . . . and in one only Son of God who, before all ages, before all power, before all conceivable time, before all imaginable substance, was generated by God, without passion . . ., like to the Father who generated Him, according to the Scriptures. As for the term *ousia*, which the Fathers used in their simplicity, but which, being unknown to the faithful, has been to these a cause of scandal seeing that it is not found in the Scriptures, it has seemed good to suppress it, and to avoid for the future all mention of *ousia* in connection with God, for the Scriptures never speak of *ousia* in connection with the Father and the Son. But we say that the Son is like to the Father in all respects, as the holy Scriptures say and teach.²

This formula, with its carefully balanced language, was intended to please everyone. The orthodox found in it the affirmation of the eternal generation of the Son of God; the Arians found there a condemnation of the term "consubstantial"; the use of the word "like" was defended by its Scriptural origin; and the advantage of peace seemed to excuse all these subtleties. As often happens in such cases, no one was really satisfied; and this became evident when the bishops present at Sirmium were invited to sign. Valens of Mursa did not wish to say that the Son is like to the Father

gives us the signatures (*Haeres.*, lxxiii, 22). On the other hand, a letter from Germinius of Sirmium, conserved in St. Hilary (*Fragm. histor.*, XV, iii), gives the protocol which precedes the formula of faith properly so called. We must mention that this Creed is the first to express officially the descent of Christ into hell.

¹ Cf. St. Athanasius, *De synod.*, iii.

² St. Athanasius, *De synod.*, viii; Hahn, *op. cit.*, § 163, pp. 204-205.

in all things, and he tried to avoid these words "in all things." Constantius had to compel him to reintroduce them into the text he had signed. On the other hand, the terms which seemed too definite to Valens were not strong enough in the opinion of Basil of Ancyra; and as he was not allowed to use the word *homoiousios*, as he desired, he accumulated synonyms with the object of making plain his belief, asserting that the Son is like to the Father in hypostasis, in subsistence, in existence. But he signed, nevertheless, and that was all that mattered.¹

At the time when the Creed was thus being prepared, various questions of procedure concerning the two councils were also dealt with at Sirmium.² Thus it was decided that, when the episcopal committees had finished the examination of the formula, each one should designate ten of its members to take to the Emperor the results of their labours, and to draw up the final agreed text. It was also decided to leave the examination of particular cases and personal questions to the wisdom of each synod. The Easterns were to deal with Eastern quarrels, and the Westerns with those in their parts.

Council of Rimini

The Council of Rimini opened first, at the beginning of the summer of 359.³ It comprised more than four hundred

¹ St. Epiphanius, *Haeres.*, lxxiii, 22. St. Epiphanius, who here makes use of a homoiousian document, is particularly well informed on these events in the controversy.

² These details are known through a letter from Constantius to the bishops of the Council of Rimini, dated the 27th of May 359, and given by St. Hilary, *Fragm. histor.*, vii, 1-2. Cf. A. L. Feder, *Studien zu Hilarius von Poitiers*, in the *Sitzungsberichte* of the Vienna Academy, 1910, p. 80.

³ The history of the Council of Rimini is known to us mainly through Sulpicius Severus, *Chronic.*, II, xli-xlv. See also St. Jerome, *Advers. Lucifer.*, xvii-xviii. Several documents are given in St. Hilary, *Fragm. histor.*, vii-ix: here we have the definition of the orthodox bishops (vii, 3), the condemnation of the heretics (vii, 4), the letter from the Council of Rimini to the Emperor Constantius, and the *Acts* of Nike (viii, 1-6); the letter of the Arian bishops present at the Synod to the Emperor Constantius (ix). St. Athanasius, when he composed his *De synodis* in the autumn of 359, knew only about the first phase of the Council of Rimini: his testimony thus puts us *in medias res*.

bishops, from all the Western provinces. Most of them had agreed to travel at the cost of the Treasury; only a few bishops from Aquitaine, Gaul and Britain had preferred to pay their own expenses.¹ The Roman Church, strangely enough, was not represented. We know that it had at that time two heads recognised by Constantius; doubtless the Emperor had not wished to choose between the two, and had preferred a complete abstention. From the first, it was evident that the great majority of the assembled bishops were openly orthodox; the refractory ones, numbering about eighty, were grouped around Ursacius, Valens, Germinius, Auxentius of Milan, Epictetus of Centumcellae, and Saturninus of Arles, and formed a separate group. When they tried to present to their colleagues the formula just drawn up at Sirmium and a letter from Constantius ordering its signature, they were badly received. The orthodox proclaimed the dogma of Nicaea, and excommunicated Ursacius, Valens, Germinius and another Illyrian bishop, Gaius, in the session of the 21st of July,² and then they decided to send a delegation to the Emperor to set forth their views.³ The opposing party did the same.⁴ The two groups of delegates met Constantius near Constantinople, for Persian difficulties had recalled him to the East. Naturally, the Emperor warmly welcomed the Arian delegates; but he refused to receive the orthodox party, which had as its leader Restitutus, Bishop of Carthage, a good man, but one unfortunately not equal to the difficult circumstances of the time. Constantius ordered them to await the development of events, first at Andrianople, then at Nike in Thrace.⁵

There they once more met the Arians, who began to

¹ Sulpicius Severus, *Chronic.*, II, xli.

² St. Athanasius (*De synod.*, ix) adds the names of Auxentius of Milan and Demophilus of Berea.

³ St. Hilary, *Fragm. histor.*, viii, 1-3.

⁴ St. Hilary, *Fragm. histor.*, viii, 4.

⁵ St. Athanasius (*De synod.*, lv) gives us the letter addressed by Constantius to the Council of Rimini, informing them that its delegates had received orders to await his return, and that the Council itself should not separate before receiving the imperial permission. It also quotes the Council's reply: the Fathers of Rimini complain that they have been kept so long away from their churches, and ask that they should be sent back to them before the winter.

indoctrinate them. The Arians succeeded so well by their explanations, promises and even lies,¹ that Restitutus and his companions quickly yielded. Not only did they agree to enter into communion with the Arian deputation which included the four deposed bishops, but also, contrary to their mandate, they signed the new formula of Sirmium, which Ursacius and Valens presented to them after suppressing the words "in all things" which explained the nature of the resemblance between the Father and the Son.² A protocol, dated the 10th of October 359, confirmed this capitulation.³

It remained to persuade the bishops at Rimini to accept the results of the weakness of their delegates, whose return they were awaiting. This was not difficult. The prelates were greatly bored in that small Italian town. The praetorian prefect, Taurus, charged to watch over their security, did not cease to recommend them to submit to the desires or orders of the Emperor. For the rest, these orders were definite: they demanded the signatures of all the members of the Council to the Creed of Valens (the formula signed at Nike), failing which no one would be permitted to leave Rimini. Before much time had elapsed, the great majority of the bishops had signed, and had even agreed to address to Constantius a letter of thanks for the care with which he watched over the purity of the faith.⁴

¹ The deputation was assured, contrary to the truth, that the Council of Seleucia had unanimously proscribed the term *ousia*. We learn of this fraud through the letter of the bishops of Gaul to the Easterns, *apud* St. Hilary, *Fragm. histor.*, xi, 4. Cf. A. L. Feder, *op. cit.*, p. 52.

² The formula of Nike is given in Theodoret, *Hist. eccles.*, II, xxi. It forbids anyone to hold or teach that there is only one hypostasis of the Father, Son and Holy Spirit. This formula, which contents itself with affirming an unspecified similitude between the Father and the Son, is a backward step from the fourth formula of Sirmium.

³ St. Hilary, *Fragm. histor.*, viii, 5. The protocol of Nike names fourteen legates. The Emperor, as we have seen, had limited the number of deputies to be sent to the court to ten; but in the letter to the Council (*apud* St. Athanasius, *De synod.*, lv) he speaks of twenty legates. Cf. Sozomen, *Hist. eccles.*, IV, xviii. It is likely that ten legates were sent at first, and that the number was increased later.

⁴ St. Hilary, *Fragm. histor.*, ix. Cf. A. L. Feder, *op. cit.*, p. 77.

Some fifteen irreconcilable "Nicene" bishops nevertheless continued to hold fast, grouped around Foebadus of Agen and Servatus of Tongres. Ursacius and Valens, who never lacked expedients, then suggested that these should sign the fourth Creed of Sirmium, adding to it, if they wished, some explanations calculated to reassure their consciences. Foebadus and Servatus fell into the trap: they anathematised Arius and his doctrine, declared that the Son is not only like to the Father, but eternal as He is, and even added that the Son is not a creature, without realising that Valens could change completely the sense of this by adding the words "like the others."¹ So they signed the formula, and their companions followed their example. That was all the Emperor desired. To bring the Council to an end, it only remained to nominate a new delegation, to take to Constantius the documents testifying to a universal collapse. Ursacius, Valens and Gaius were its chief members.

Council of Seleucia

While these events were taking place in the West, the Council of Seleucia met in its turn on the 27th of September 359. It comprised about a hundred and fifty bishops.² The most important group included Basil of Ancyra, Macedonius of Constantinople, Eleusius of Cyzicus, Silvanus of Tarsis, Cyril of Jerusalem, Sophronius of Pompeiopolis, etc. George of Alexandria and Eudoxius of Antioch were also

¹ The reservations made by Foebadus and Servatus are known to us through St. Jerome, *Advers. Lucifer.*, xvii. The third of their anathemas is thus worded: "Si quis dixerit creaturam filium Dei, ut sunt creaturae ceterae, a.s." "The phrase 'ut sunt creaturae ceterae' is absent in the Council's anathemas as reproduced by Hilary. Hence it is conjectured that Valens, after obtaining the signatures, fraudulently added these words, which radically changed the sense of the declaration" (J. Zeiller, *Les origines chrétiennes dans les provinces danubiennes*, p. 287, n. 1).

² The history of the Council of Seleucia is known to us mainly through Socrates, *Hist. eccles.*, II, xxxix-xl. He gives an analysis of the *Acts*, which he had read in the collection of Sabinos. Sozomen (*Hist. eccles.*, IV, xxii) had also read these *Acts*, and takes from them some fresh details. Cf. Hilary, *Advers. Constant.*, xii-xv. St. Hilary was among the bishops present at Seleucia. Doubtless the vicar of the diocese of Asia, charged with the sending of the bishops to the Council, had not realised that Hilary had been exiled, and had sent him to Seleucia with the others.

there, and represented radical Anomoeanism, while Acacius, Metropolitan of Caesarea in Palestine, put himself forward as the leader of a third party, favouring moderation based on equivocal terms. The quaestor of the sacred palace, Leonas, represented the Emperor, and the Duke of Isauria, Lauricius, had orders to support him with armed force in case of need.

On the first day, in the absence of Basil, against whom an accusation had been made, Silvanus proposed that the bishops should adopt the Antiochene Creed of the Dedication. His proposal was accepted by a hundred and five bishops, whereupon Acacius and his supporters, to the number of eighteen, left the assembly.¹ On the next day, the hundred and five attached their signatures to the formula of Antioch. The Acacians, assembling apart, decided to adopt the new formula of Sirmium, adding to it the condemnation of the term "anomoios," and modifying some expressions used.² This formula, presented at the third session of the Council, was scarcely discussed at all. "If the strengthening of the faith," cried Sophronius, "consists in allowing everyone to put forward every day a particular opinion, there can be no more certainty as to the truth."³ Eleusius, for his part, roundly declared: "If Basil and Mark have done anything in private, or if they and the Acacians accuse each other in some particular point, that does not concern the Council: it does not have to examine if their exposition of the faith is or is not satisfactory."⁴ This last

¹ Socrates, *Hist. eccles.*, II, xxxix. The formula in question here is, of course, the second Creed of Antioch. Cf. G. Bardy, *Le symbole de Lucien d'Antioche et les formules du synode in encaeniis*, in *Recherches de Science religieuse*, Vol. III, 1912, pp. 148 *et seq.*

² The formula of the Acacians is quoted by Athanasius, *De synod.*, xxix; Epiphanius, *Haeres.*, lxxiii, 25; Socrates, *Hist. eccles.*, II, xl. It begins thus: "We do not reject the authentic faith set forth at the Dedication Council at Antioch . . . but the words *ὁμοούσιος* and *ὁμοιούσιος* have caused much trouble, and some have recently suggested the word *ἀνόμιος*. We reject *ὁμοούσιος* and *ὁμοιούσιος* as foreign to Holy Scripture, and we anathematise *ἀνόμιος*." Some expressions in this Creed seem to be concessions made to the Homoiousians, e.g. the explanation of the term *ὁμοιος* by the formula of St. Paul: "He is the image of the invisible God."

³ Socrates, *Hist. eccles.*, II, xl.

⁴ Sozomen, *Hist. eccles.*, IV, xxii.

declaration is significant, for it shows that the Homoiousian group as a whole did not approve of Basil's attitude, or of his signing the fourth formula of Sirmium. From the time of that act the Bishop of Ancyra had lost the authority necessary to conduct negotiations,¹ and in consequence his position at Seleucia was a very obscure one.

In vain did Acacius defend his right to propose a new formula, seeing that so many different texts had already been drawn up and adopted since the Council of Nicaea. Eleusius merely replied that the Council had not been called to approve of a new faith but to confirm that of the Fathers.² Finally the quaestor Lucius declared that he had been sent to a meeting of concord not to a divided assembly, and he left the hall. The Acacians did the same, and refused henceforth to appear at the Council.³

Nevertheless, the majority continued to meet. The problems relating to the faith were regarded as settled, and accordingly they passed on to personal questions. The Bishop of Jerusalem, Cyril, had been deposed two years previously by his metropolitan, Acacius: he was rehabilitated. On the other hand, George of Alexandria, Eudoxius of Antioch, Acacius of Caesarea, Patrophilus of Scythopolis and five other bishops were excommunicated and deposed. Also, it was decided temporarily to break off relations with nine bishops less seriously compromised, until they should justify themselves. The Council went so far as to consecrate a new bishop for Antioch in the person of Annianus, who belonged to the clergy of that city. But he was only just consecrated when he was removed by orders of Duke Lauricius and sent into exile, and the representations thereupon made on his behalf remained without effect.⁴ It was

¹ Cf. F. Loofs, art. *Arianismus*, in Herzog-Hauck, *Realencyclopädie*, 3rd edn., Vol. II, p. 37; J. Gummerus, *Die homöusianische Partei*, pp. 141 *et seq.*

² Socrates, *Hist. eccles.*, II, xl.

³ The number of adherents to the Acacian party was not constant. On the occasion of the disagreement at the first session, they were, as we have said, nineteen. The Acacian Creed was presented to the Council with thirty-two signatures. St. Epiphanius (*Haeres.*, lxxiii, 25-26) reproduces it with forty-three signatures. It is probable that new recruits joined the others, and also possible that the formula was signed by bishops not present at the Council.

⁴ Sozomen, *Hist. eccles.*, IV, xxii; Socrates, *Hist. eccles.*, II, xl.

only after taking these decisions that the Council proceeded to nominate the ten delegates charged to convey them to Constantius.

Conversations at Constantinople

The Acacians had not waited so long before taking the road for Constantinople. They had left Seleucia as soon as they had realised that their presence was useless, and had hastened to work upon the Emperor. The situation, in point of fact, was favourable for them in the capital. Already the first delegates from Rimini had yielded to the pressure of Ursacius and Valens, and had signed the formula of Nike, and it seemed likely that all the Westerns would rapidly follow their example. Acacius and his party felt they could await without anxiety the result of the negotiations. In the meantime, they conceived the idea of bringing forward Aëtius at the court, and organising one of those theological discussions in which Constantius took such delight. A lay tribunal was appointed, presided over by the prefect of Constantinople, Honorius, and on occasion by the Emperor himself. In spite of what Philostorgus says about it, the discussion resulted in the confusion of Aëtius, who openly made profession of the frankest Anomoeanism. It had to be abandoned.¹

It was in the midst of these controversies that the deputation from Seleucia arrived. They endeavoured to unmask before the Emperor the heresy of Eudoxius, who seemed to them the most redoubtable of their opponents. Eleusius and Silvanus especially made courageous efforts to obtain from him a condemnation of Anomoeanism, but their efforts

¹ Philostorgus, *Hist. eccles.*, IV, xii. Cf. Sozomen, *Hist. eccles.*, IV, xxiii. The appearance of Aëtius before a tribunal charged with the examination of his doctrine raises many problems. It is difficult to see why Aëtius was invited to explain himself in this way. Possibly it was hoped in official circles that his well-known dialectical skill would triumph over all the arguments on the other side, and that in this way the doctrine upheld at Seleucia by the Acacians would win a sensational victory. Yet Aëtius was, as everybody knew, not a Homoi-ousian, but a strict and intransigent Anomoean, and Anomoeanism did not please the Emperor any more than Nicene orthodoxy. There is something obscure here. Cf. Tillemont, *Mémoires*, Vol. VI, pp. 182-184.

produced little, in face of the duplicity of the Arian Bishop of Antioch.¹ Constantius was manifestly playing for time, and this was realised when the new delegates from Rimini at last presented themselves, bringing with them the capitulation of their colleagues. In vain did Silvanus of Tarsus, Sophronius of Pompeiopolis, Neon of Seleucia, Elpidius of Satales and the other Homoiousians write to the Westerns a touching letter warning them of the bad faith of the Acacians, and showing them once more that, if these had decided to condemn the person of Aëtius, they were nevertheless canonising his doctrine; they begged the Westerns to follow their example, and to abstain from all religious relations with the abettors of heresy.² But it was of no use. The Westerns, led henceforth by Ursacius and Valens, had burnt their boats, and joined forces with the Acacians.

Resistance of Hilary

St. Hilary had also come to Constantinople. He witnessed the despair of the legates from Seleucia; he saw his compatriots, the Westerns of whose orthodoxy he had boasted so much, and for whom he had so generously fought, betray the truth under his very eyes, and go over to the Court party. He lost his patience, and addressed them in scathing terms:

What! Arriving at Constantinople after the Council of Seleucia, you are going at once to join the heretics there condemned? You do not delay an instant, you do not take time even to think, or to inform yourselves! The legates of the Eastern synod, who did not communicate with the bishops of this place, meet you, they inform you of the real facts, and show you that the heresy has just been condemned. Ought you not, at least at this moment, to have remained aside, and to have reserved your judgement? . . .

A slave—I will not say a good slave, but an ordinary one—will not support an injury to his master: he

¹ Sozomen, *Hist. eccles.*, IV, xxiii; Theodoret, *Hist. eccles.*, II, xxiii. Other bishops joined the original delegates a little later. St. Hilary names eighteen prelates from Seleucia.

² This letter of the Easterns is given in St. Hilary, *Fragm. histor.*, x, 1.

avenges it, if he can do so. A soldier defends his king, even at the peril of his life, and even making a rampart of his own body. A dog barks at the slightest alarm, and leaps forward at the slightest suspicion. But you hear it said that the Christ, the true Son of God, is not God, your silence is an adhesion to this blasphemy, and yet you remain silent. Indeed, you protest against those who cry out, and join your voices to those who wish to stifle those of the others.¹

Hilary did not stop there. He wrote to the Emperor, asking him to be allowed to meet Saturninus of Arles, who had been responsible for his exile, and thus provide him with an opportunity of justifying himself. He also asked Constantius to receive him, so that he might publicly deal with matters of the faith according to the Scriptures.² These requests were ignored. Constantius did not deign to grant him an audience. He had other things to do, instead of hearing the great bishop.

In point of fact, he was occupied at that time with overcoming the last resistance of the legates from Seleucia. These fought to the end, with a fierce energy. Promises, threats, intrigues—all possible forms of pressure—were employed. The whole of the 31st of December and a part of the night were occupied with discussions. Constantius wanted to begin his tenth consulate on the 1st of January with a proclamation of religious peace, and he just succeeded in doing so. The last signatures, and in particular that of Eustathius of Sebaste, were obtained only during the night.³

§ 5. THE TRIUMPH OF THE HOMOIANS

Council of Constantinople

To complete the work, it was necessary to get the sanction of a great Council for the decisions taken by the legates of Rimini and Seleucia, and to settle all the personal questions which had arisen out of the controversies of the preceding

¹ St. Hilary, *Fragm. histor.*, x, 2-4.

² St. Hilary, *Ad Constant.*, ii.

³ Sozomen, *Hist. eccles.*, IV, xxiii. Cf. St. Basil, *Epist.*, lxxiv and lxxxii.

years. This was the task of a synod which met at Constantinople in the early days of January 360.¹ To it were summoned the bishops of Bithynia and Thrace. A few others were also present, amongst them being Uranius of Tyre, Theodosius of Philadelphia, Paul of Emesa, and Demophilus of Berea. The aged Maris of Chalcedon was there, of course, and also Ulfila, the national bishop of a colony of Goths established on the banks of the Danube, who happened to be in the capital. He was an Arian, and destined to play an important part in the propagation of the heresy among his compatriots.²

Naturally, the Council began by confirming the formula of Rimini: the Son was declared like to the Father, according to the Scriptures; the term "ousia" was repudiated as a cause of trouble for people and as foreign to the Scriptures; the use of the word "hypostasis" was similarly forbidden. All the previous Creeds were finally rejected, and it was forbidden for the future to promulgate any other formula of faith. Here we have "the official formula of what will henceforth be called Arianism, and particularly of the form which spread amongst the Barbarian races. The two Creeds of 325 and 360, i.e. of Nicaea and Rimini, are mutually opposed and exclusive of each other. Yet we cannot say that the Creed of Rimini contains an explicit profession of Arianism. It reproduces none of the technical terms of the original heresy, and as for the new form of Arianism, Anomoeanism, it expressly rejects this: it proclaims, not the ἀνόμοιος but its contrary, the ὅμοιος. At the same time,

¹ Our information on this Council comes mainly from Sozomen, *Hist. eccles.*, IV, xxiv. He had found its *Acts* in the collection of Sabinos. Of official documents we possess no more than a letter addressed to George of Alexandria concerning the condemnation of certain bishops, *apud* Theodoret, *Hist. eccles.*, II, xxiv.

² On Ulfila, see the information given by Philostorgus, *Hist. eccles.*, II, v; Socrates, *Hist. eccles.*, II, xli; IV, xxxiii; Sozomen, *Hist. eccles.*, IV, xxiv; VI, xxxvii, and above all the *Dissertatio Maximini contra Ambrosium*, edited by F. Kauffmann, *Aus der Schule des Wulfila*, Strassburg, 1899. This last treatise contains a long extract from a letter in which Auxentius of Durostorum, a disciple of Ulfila, gives an account of his master's life, and at the end, we have a profession of faith of Ulfila himself. Cf. J. Zeiller, *Les origines chrétiennes dans les provinces danubiennes de l'Empire romain*, pp. 440-464, and next Vol.

the vagueness of the formula allowed of its being understood in the most varied and even opposed senses: Athanasius and Aëtius, with a little good will, would have been able to recite it together. That is why it was dangerous and useless, and why no Christian worthy of the name, holding truly the absolute divinity of his Master, could hesitate to reject it."¹

The Council then passed on to personal matters. Aëtius was deposed from the diaconate and expelled from the Church because of his impious writings, which were scandalising everybody, and because of the troubles which had arisen concerning him. The Council added that, if he persisted in his criminal dispositions, he would be anathematised, together with all his supporters. As for his books, the Council exhorted the faithful not to read them, but to tear them up as useless.² Although this sentence was comparatively a mild one, some ten bishops nevertheless refused to approve of it.³ The Council, still generous, after a lively discussion with them, excommunicated them unless they should make amends within six months. It communicated its decision to George of Alexandria, in a letter which Theodoret has conserved.⁴

Naturally, the Council of Constantinople showed itself very much more severe in regard to the Homoiousians. It deposed from the episcopate Macedonius of Constantinople, Eleusius of Cyzicus, Eortasius of Sardis, Dracontius of Pergamum, Basil of Ancyra, Eustathius of Sebaste in Armenia, Sophronius of Pompeiopolis in Paphlagonia, Helpidius of Satala, Neon of Seleucia in

¹ L. Duchesne, *Histoire ancienne de l'Eglise*, Vol. II, p. 306.

² Sozomen, *Hist. eccles.*, IV, xxiv; Theodoret, *Hist. eccles.*, II, xxiv. Only the person of Aëtius was the subject of a precise condemnation: his doctrine, in fact, was not affected by the sentences of the Council of Constantinople. Cf. St. Gregory of Nazianzum, *Orat.*, xxi.

³ Among these bishops, we find Theophilus the Indian, the great thaumaturge of the sect, Seras of Paretonium in Libya; Stephen of Ptolemais, and Heliodorus of Sozouza in Cyrenaica; a Phrygian, Theodulus of Keretapa; three Lydians, Leontius of Tripoli, Theodosius of Philadelphia, and Phoebus of Polycalanda; and two others. Cf. Sozomen, *Hist. eccles.*, iv, 25; Philostorgus, *Hist. eccles.*, VII, vi; VIII, ix.

⁴ Theodoret, *Hist. eccles.*, II, xxiv. As Bishop of Alexandria, George was the head of the bishops belonging to Libya and Cyrenaica.

Isauria, Silvanus of Tarsis, and Cyril of Jerusalem.¹ These condemnations, incidentally, were not based on reasons of a doctrinal character: it was thought more prudent, or more clever, to invoke in each case some disciplinary pretexts. Thus, Eortasius was condemned for having been nominated Bishop of Sardis without the consent of the bishops of the province; Dracontius was accused of having changed his bishopric; Silvanus was deposed for having been the occasion of disturbances at Seleucia and for having caused the transfer of Theophilus of Eleutheropolis to the see of Castabala; Neon for having allowed Annianus to be consecrated in his church as Bishop of Antioch. Many grave accusations were brought forward against Basil of Ancyra, who had made use of his few months of favour to beat down for the time being all his enemies: against him were brought up the troubles he had caused in Illyria, Italy and Africa, the cruelties he had used against the priest Diogenes and various others; he was also accused of false oaths, unlawful ordinations, and several other crimes. All this led Tillemont to write: "If these accusations were true, Basil certainly deserved to be condemned."²

All these decisions were of a spiritual nature. The government of Constantius thought it its duty to reinforce them by sentences of exile. Aëtius was sent to Mopsuesta in Cilicia, where he was treated with great consideration by Auxentius, who was then its bishop.³ But he was soon sent on to a less hospitable region, Ambladus at the foot of the Taurus, on the confines of Pisidia, Phrygia and Caria. Basil of Ancyra was exiled to Illyria, and the rest in various other places.

Seeking Signatures

At the same time, steps were taken in high quarters to get the official formula of Rimini-Constantinople signed by all the bishops of the Catholic world. Once more a choice was given between signing and exile. The majority agreed to sign. In the West, so many bishops had already taken part

¹ Sozomen, *Hist. eccles.*, IV, xxiv.

² Tillemont, *Mémoires*, Vol. VI, p. 493.

³ Philostorgus, *Hist. eccles.*, V, i-ii.

in the Council of Rimini and had accepted the Creed proposed there by Ursacius and Valens that little more was needed to secure unanimity. In the East, the task was more protracted and more difficult; but there was apparently no real resistance except in Egypt. In spite of his exile, Athanasius, always beyond the reach of the imperial police agents, remained the uncontested leader of the episcopate; he at once wrote an eloquent encyclical to the bishops of Egypt and Libya, exhorting them to remain faithful to the true faith, and to refuse their signature.¹ The authorities did not dare to insist, and Egypt remained faithful. It was otherwise in the other provinces where, in the course of time, almost everyone gave way. At Caesarea in Cappadocia in particular, the aged Bishop Dianius had long been accustomed to sign all official documents; he signed this one too, to the great sorrow of the Catholics of the city.² But everywhere, there were, according to Sozomen, some more noble examples, and in all provinces some bishops were exiled: these showed that, in the midst of universal cowardice, Christian courage had not entirely disappeared.³

New Bishops

When these operations had been completed, it was necessary to replace the bishops who had been deposed or expelled from their sees. Philostorgus maintains that in nearly all places upholders of the "consubstantial" were installed,⁴ but this doubtless means merely that open Anomoeans were not chosen. In point of fact, the bishops chosen by the victors of the day, Acacius and his followers, were mainly new men, who had not had occasion to compromise themselves in the various controversies over signatures. Thus

¹ The date of the *Epistola encyclica ad episcopos Aegypti et Libyae* is disputed. According to E. Schwartz, *Zur Geschichte des Athanasius*, in the *Göttingen Nachrichten*, 1905, p. 298, it belongs to the year 360-361; the date already given by Baronius. On the other hand, O. Bardenhewer (*Geschichte der altkirchlichen Literatur*, Vol. III, p. 70) puts its composition between the 9th of Feb. 356 and the 24th of Feb. 357. It is difficult to choose between these dates.

² St. Basil, *Epist.*, lxxxiv.

³ Sozomen, *Hist. eccles.*, IV, xxvii.

⁴ Philostorgus, *Hist. eccles.*, V, 1.

Onesimus was chosen for Nicomedia, Athanasius at Ancyra, Acacius at Tarsus, and Pelagius at Laodicea.¹

The most interesting election was undoubtedly that which put an end to the vacancy at Antioch. Eudoxius its bishop had made his presence in Syria impossible by his opinions no less than by his conduct. On the 27th of January 360 the bishops then assembled at Constantinople had installed him in the see of the capital,² and he had very soon made his presence there known in the most deplorable way. On the 15th of February, in fact, there took place the great ceremony of the Dedication of the new Church of Holy Wisdom, or Sancta Sophia, the building of which had been begun by Constantius almost twenty years previously. In the course of the solemnity, Eudoxius had delivered an address in presence of all the bishops, and he had found nothing better than to develop the following theme: the Father is impious, but the Son is pious. His hearers had at once complained of so strange a statement, but Eudoxius had then explained, to the great scandal of all, that the Son revered the Father, while the Father had no one to revere.³

Meletius of Antioch

To replace Eudoxius at Antioch, Acacius and his friends chose Meletius, previously Bishop of Sebaste.⁴ Meletius was originally from Melitene in Armenia, and in 358 a Council assembled in that town had nominated him Bishop of Sebaste, after deposing the occupant of that see, Eustathius, a man of great repute because of his ascetical life, and very

¹ Philostorgus, *Hist. eccles.*, V, 1; Sozomen, *Hist. eccles.*, IV, xxvi.

² Socrates, *Hist. eccles.*, II, xliii.

³ Socrates, *Hist. eccles.*, II, xliii; Sozomen, *Hist. eccles.*, IV, xxvi. This formula was dear to Eudoxius, for we find it again in his profession of faith, published by Caspari, *Alte und neue Quellen zur Geschichte des Taufsymbols*, Christiana, 1879, p. 179; Hahn, *Bibliothek der Symbole*, 3rd edn., p. 261. Probably Eudoxius had presented this Creed on the occasion of his enthronement at Constantinople.

⁴ Theodoret, *Hist. eccles.*, II, xxvii. Theodoret says that, to prevent any surprise, the electors who selected Meletius drew up and signed a document asserting the perfect regularity of the procedure: this document was entrusted to the care of one of their number, Eusebius of Samosata. Cf. St. Epiphanius, *Haeres.*, lxxiii, 28.

popular among his diocesans. Eustathius was at that time one of the followers of Basil of Ancyra; Meletius had never had occasion to make known his own ideas, but he was well liked because of his piety, his gentleness, and his upright spirit. Even so, when he had tried to take possession of the see of Sebaste, he had encountered a violent opposition on the part of the faithful, who had made up their minds to keep their bishop, Eustathius. Accordingly, Meletius had not insisted, but had had the wisdom to withdraw to Berea in Syria. In the following year, 359, Eustathius had been present at the Council of Seleucia, and had formed part of the Homoiousian majority, while Meletius, either at the Council itself or shortly afterwards, had signed the formula of Acacius.¹

When he was appointed to the see of Antioch, Meletius had thus to some extent committed himself to the Homoians. But for him as for many others, one signature more or less freely given did not necessarily express his inmost sentiments. This was evident at the ceremonies which followed his installation. Constantius, who was there, asked him and two of his most prominent colleagues, George of Alexandria and Acacius of Caesarea, to speak on the well-known text of *Proverbs* (viii, 22) concerning the creation of Wisdom. It was a prominent occasion, and reporters took down the speeches.² Naturally, George set forth the most daring theses of Arianism. Acacius, more prudent, took refuge in generalities. When Meletius's turn came, he pronounced a very learned discourse:

We recognise that he is the Son of God, God from God, one from one, only Son of the ingenerate, true offspring of Him who generated him, worthy Son of

¹ Socrates (*Hist. eccles.*, II, xlv) expressly states that Meletius signed the Acacian formula. St. Epiphanius (*Haeres.*, lxxiii, 23) thrice puts Meletius among the principal Homoians, immediately after Acacius. The attempt of F. Cavallera (*Le schisme d'Antioche*, pp. 95-97) to establish the perfect orthodoxy of Meletius does not seem to be convincing. It is only natural that subsequently Basil should not have stressed Meletius's beginnings, and should have passed over in silence his doctrinal relations with Acacius. The presence at Antioch, on the occasion of his installation, of Acacius himself and of George of Alexandria, would suffice to show that he was not a fervent Nicaean.

² Theodoret, *Hist. eccles.*, II, xxvii; St. Epiphanius, *Haeres.*, lxxviii, 29-33.

Him who is without beginning, unspeakable interpreter of the Unspeakable, Word, Wisdom and Power of Him who is above Wisdom and Power and above all that can be expressed by language or conceived by the intellect, perfect and stable offspring of the Being who is perfect and stable in His identity; issuing from the Father, not by emanation or separation or division, but proceeding without passion and in his entirety from Him who has lost nothing of what He had; he is the Word, and we call him Son, without thinking of him as the voice or speech of the Father, for He has His own subsistence and His own activity. All things exist by Him and in Him (*Coloss.*, i, 16); in the same way, though we call him Wisdom, we do not regard him as the thought of the Father. Nor do we call him Activity because of an operation of his reason; but Offspring, because he is like to the Father, and is an exact imprint of Him. For God the Father has thus sealed him. It is false that he exists in another, or has not his own subsistence, but being active offspring, he has made the whole world and conserves it. This suffices to free us both from pagan error, and from Jewish susceptibility, and also from evil heretical doctrine.¹

While carefully avoiding the forbidden terms "ousia" and "hypostasis," the discourse of Meletius was certainly calculated to please the orthodox, and these at least did not

¹ The discourse of Meletius has been preserved in its entirety by St. Epiphanius, *Haeres.*, lxxiii, 29-33. It is a very clever one. The orator emphasises especially the ineffable greatness of the divine mysteries, and declines to express himself clearly on the generation of the Son of God. The passage which we have quoted, from F. Cavallera (*Le schisme d'Antioche*, pp. 79-80), is the most characteristic one. It would seem that the decisive phrase is the affirmation of the similitude between Father and Son. Meletius thus adopts the formula of Acacius. But it is evident that the general tone of the discourse goes still further. We get the impression that Meletius is a man who does not wish to compromise himself, who is carefully picking his way, and at the same time trying to please all his hearers. His attitude is, as it were, that of a diplomat. But given the circumstances, it is also that of a wise and prudent man who is attached to orthodoxy, but does not want to give scandal. The Antiochene Catholics were not deceived by it, and neither were the Arians.

hesitate to give expression to their approval.¹ The Arian revenge did not delay: some disciplinary measures which Meletius had thought it necessary to take in regard to certain members of his clergy were made an excuse for getting the Emperor to depose him. A month after his triumphal entry into Antioch, Meletius left to go into exile: he was sent into Lesser Armenia.² In his place was put Euzoius, one of the first Arians, who had previously been deposed from the diaconate by Alexander of Alexandria, but who still survived.

The Defeat of Orthodoxy

The election of Euzoius completed the defeat of orthodoxy. As Tillemont writes, "the declared enemies of the divinity of Jesus Christ triumphed everywhere. The chief churches were in the hands of the leaders of the purest Arianism. Thus, George was at Alexandria, Euzoius at Antioch, Eudoxius at Constantinople, Acacius at Caesarea in Palestine, Germinius at Sirmium, Auxentius at Milan, and the others were held by those who sympathised with their views and their interests, or at least had compromised themselves by entering into communion with them, and had signed the formula drawn up at Nike in Thrace and received by the Councils of Rimini and Constantinople.

"St. Athanasius, St. Meletius of Antioch, St. Eusebius of Vercelli, and all the others who were regarded as defenders of the true faith, were either deposed or banished, or else compelled to conceal themselves to avoid a still worse fate, so that in all the sees of the Church there appeared no bishop of whom one could say that he conserved the honour and purity of the faith, apart from a small number whose very obscurity preserved them from persecution by the heretics, such as Gregory of Elvira in Spain. . . .

"The heresy was then so dominant that it could not even suffer those who were only partly heretical; Macedonius of Constantinople, Eleusius of Cyzicus, Silvanus of Tarsis, Eustathius of Sebaste and the others, who passed for semi-Arians, had been deposed and relegated to various places.

¹ Theodoret, *Hist. eccles.*, II, xxvii.

² Theodoret, *Hist. eccles.*, II, xxvii.

True, the same treatment had been meted out to Aëtius and Eunomius, the most impious of the Arians in their expressions, but their opinions were still prevalent among Eudoxius, Euzoius and the others of the same party, and their most faithful disciples enjoyed the rank and authority of bishops.

"The whole earth, to use the expression of St. Jerome, thus groaned in its surprise at finding it had become Arian. The barque of the Apostles, tossed by these furious gales and battered on all hands by such violent waves, was in danger of shipwreck, and there was no more hope. But at that moment the Lord awoke, commanded the tempest, the terror disappeared, and calm returned."¹

Death of Constantius

Once more, political events gave a new turn to religious matters. For some months things had not gone well on the Eastern frontiers of the Empire. War had broken out again between Rome and Persia, and Constantius had taken the direction of military operations. In April 360 he summoned the best troops from Gaul to take part in the campaign.² The latter mutinied, and refused to move. In their camp at Paris, the soldiers proclaimed as Augustus the Caesar Julian, cousin of Constantius. After an attempt at resistance, Julian gave way and accepted the supreme power. For several months Constantius was occupied with the campaign against Persia, and could not deal with matters in the West. He contented himself with sending advice and reproaches to the usurper. Julian profited by this quasi-truce to strengthen his position, and to complete the organisation of his army. He established his winter quarters at Vienna, and on the 6th of November 360 he there celebrated the anniversary of his accession to power with the title of Caesar.³ Then, when the spring came, he started out for the East, determined to take his chance. His soldiers met with no resistance anywhere. On the 10th of October 361 they arrived at

¹ Tillemont, *Mémoires*, Vol. VI, pp. 522-523.

² Cf. J. Bidez, *La vie de l'empereur Julien*, Paris, 1903, pp. 179-180.

³ Ammianus Marcellinus, XX, ix, 9-10.

Sirmium: the garrison of this town surrendered without a blow, and acclaimed the new emperor.¹ While this was happening, Constantius was preparing for the struggle, but preyed on by anxiety and weakened by illness he did so without energy and without hope. Fever kept him at Mopsucrene, the last post in Cilicia, at the foot of the Taurus. He died there on the 3rd of November after being baptised by the Bishop of Antioch, Euzoius.² Julian was at Naissus when he heard the news. On the 11th of December he entered Constantinople, and a few days later he presided in person at the funeral of Constantius, and he ordered the honour of apotheosis to be awarded him by the Senate.³ Henceforth the destiny of the whole Empire was in his hands, and he had made up his mind to direct it in a sense opposed to that of his predecessors. The Pagan reaction which he was to conceive and carry out marks a period in the history of the Church. This is a suitable point to interrupt the account of the Arian crisis in order to study the relations between Christianity and Paganism before and during Julian's reign.

¹ Ammianus Marcellinus, XXI, ix, 6 *et seq.*

² Ammianus Marcellinus, XXI, xv; Sozomen, *Hist. eccles.*, V, 1, 6.

³ Cf. J. Bidez, *op. cit.*, pp. 203-208.

CHAPTER IV

CHRISTIANITY AND PAGANISM IN THE MIDDLE OF THE FOURTH CENTURY¹

I. IMPERIAL POLICY TOWARDS PAGANISM

General View

IT is not so easy as one might think to give an exact picture of the policy of the Christian Emperors in regard to Paganism throughout the fourth century. It is not that our documentation is scanty or very imperfect. We possess the series of laws inserted in the Theodosian Code, drawn up at the command of Theodosius II and published in 438. The historians of the Church, Eusebius of Caesarea, Socrates, Sozomen, Theodoret, etc., the Byzantine chroniclers, the Christian and pagan writers, have included in their works a quantity of facts and references. Nevertheless, one often experiences difficulties in drawing from all these texts and testimonies precise conclusions. The following reasons explain this.

1. There is an equal tendency towards exaggeration on both sides. After being bullied so long by the Roman power, the Christians were so overcome by the turn of fortune in their favour that they would like us to think that, from the conversion of Constantine, a *novus saeculorum ordo* came into being, destined to change completely the aspect of things. And especially beginning with the fifth century, they endeavoured to put back as early as possible the first destructive dispositions taken in regard to paganism. Similarly the pagans, greatly hurt even by the comparatively benign measures taken against the traditional cults, did not hesitate to complain of persecution even before the time when the increasing and decisive rigour justified their bitterness.

¹ For Bibliography, see p. 403.

2. It is sometimes not easy to determine the sense of certain expressions which appear in the laws, and which can have a wholly different meaning according to the way in which we understand them. This applies to the word "superstitio." In Roman usage, the word was given a bad sense. Already Cicero contrasted it expressly with "religio": "Non philosophi solum, verum etiam majores nostri superstitionem a religione separaverunt."¹ Under the category of "superstitiones" were included all cults of a suspect character refused the official approval,² all illicit practices capable of doing harm, all magical incantations, and any *defixio* destined to enslave the will of another or to compromise his life. But on the other hand, the Christians themselves, whose faith had been so often qualified by this contemptuous epithet,³ turned it back against "paganism" itself.⁴ Hence when the word "superstitio" appears in a legal document, we do not know precisely whether the word is to be taken in the "Roman" or in the "Christian" sense.

3. Finally, it would be a mistake to seek in the anti-pagan legislation an inflexible coherence, or a logically constructed development. Even when multiplying hostile declarations in regard to the national religion, princes had to reckon with a *de facto* state of things which could not be upset without precautions; they had also to reckon with a certain amount of resistance, strongly supported by the nobility and the world of learning; and again with the laxity, contrary attitude, or else excessive zeal on the part of local authorities. Hence we find alternating rigour and concessions, conservatism and a will to change, violence without sequel and unexpected interruptions of policy. The firmness of Theodosius and the obstinacy of his sons will be required in order that the campaign be conducted without mercy and

¹ *De natura deorum*, II, xxviii, 71.

² For instance, that of Isis, which the Senate eliminated from the Capitol in 58 B.C. in the consulate of Pison and Gabinius. See Tertullian, *Apol.*, vi, 8. Excellent study on the use of the term "superstitio" by Martroye in the *Bulletin de la Société nationale des Antiquaires de France*, 1915, pp. 106 et seq.

³ See P. de Labriolle, *La Réaction païenne*, ch. i.

⁴ e.g. Firmicus Maternus, *De errore prof. rel.*, ed. Ziegler, p. 27, l. 14; p. 43, l. 10; p. 50, l. 14.

continued to its conclusion. Even so, in the time of Theodosius it will be carried on with a real liberalism in regard to persons: in his day the highest posts were often entrusted to pagan officials.¹

§ I. CONSTANTINE AND HIS SONS

Constantine and Paganism

The religious policy of Constantine has already been discussed in these pages.² If it is difficult to discover in it a reasonable and logical sequence, it is because the decisive part he played in the destinies of the two opposing cultures led on the one hand to unmeasured praise, which greatly exaggerated his initiatives; and on the other hand, to a bitterness which misrepresented his prudence and moderation. During the lifetime of the Emperor, the historian Eusebius of Caesarea set the tune. His *Life of Constantine* and his *Address* in praise of the prince provide us with the most striking examples of immoderate praise. Not content with elevating Constantine above Cyrus and Alexander, Eusebius is never weary of praising his piety, his solicitude for the Church, his devout generosity, and his never-failing eloquence; he also emphasises his firm intention to dissipate the "darkness" of paganism,³ and to discourage those who were still attached to it. Some of Eusebius's phrases might lead us to think that the Christian cult had already conquered the other; that the latter was no more than a memory, and that the débris of idols was everywhere cumbering the ground.⁴ Following the example of Eusebius, the Christian writers—apologists, historians and chroniclers—delight to

¹ The facts are gathered together in Ch. Baur, *Der hl. Chrysostomus und seine Zeit*, Munich, 1929, Vol. I, p. 105. It was only in 408 that a more exclusive method prevailed (*Cod. Theod.*, XVI, v, 42).

² See above, pp. 3, 64 *et seq.*

³ *De laud. Constantini*, viii.

⁴ See *De vita Constantini*, iii, 1; *De laud. Constantini*, vii, 13. We must remark here that the authenticity of some of the Constantinian letters inserted in the *Vita Constantini* has been questioned (Batiffol doubts ii, 64-72; iii, 17-20; 64-65; iv, 9-13; see on the other side Bardy in *Revue des Sc. relig.*, 1928, pp. 516-551, and N. H. Baynes, *Constantine the Great*, pp. 49, 89).

represent Constantine as a destroyer of false gods.¹ And the pagans themselves, in their resentment, abstained from contradicting them.²

In point of fact, there is no evidence that Constantine ever forgot the solemn assurances he gave in 313 and repeated in 324. There was no case of destruction or closing of a temple in the West, as has already been pointed out.³ In several cases, reasons of public morality sufficed to justify the temples condemned in the East (for instance, those at Heliopolis, Aphraca and Alexandria). In some instances, certain acts of pillage or confiscation are explained by Constantine's desire to obtain artistic objects for the city he had built on the shores of the Bosphorus. But he was not the iconoclast which Pagans and Christians have, for differing reasons, pictured him to be.

As for his legislation, if we leave aside the laws favouring Christianity and take into consideration only those more or less of a prohibitive nature, we find that the imperial action was directed only against private "divination," evil magical practices, and secret sacrifices. Public divination in its traditional forms was still allowed; also beneficial magic (for individual health or the protection of harvests).⁴

¹ St. John Chrysostom, *Contra Judaeos et Gentiles*, I, ii, 9; *In Ps. xlv*, 12 cix, 5; Prudentius, *Apoth.*, 438 *et seq.*; Orosius, *Adv. Paganos*, VII, xxvii, 27 ("... Constantine decided to shut up the pagan temples, but excluded all murders"); Socrates, *Hist. eccles.*, I, iii; Malalas, *Chronogr. (Corpus Byz.*, iv, 282); *Chron. Paschale (Corpus Byz.*, iv, 282).

² Eunapius of Sardis, in his note on Edesios, remarks that he is not certain that Edesios did not enjoy divine inspiration (*θειασμός*) as did Jamblichus himself, but he may have had to hide this gift "because of the misfortunes of the time, for Constantine was destroying the most famous temples to build Christian *οικήματα*" (Ed. Boissonade, coll. Didot, p. 461, ll. 45 *et seq.*); Julian (*Contra Cyn. Heraclium*) accuses him of having despised the temples and pillaging the votive offerings.

³ Cf. *supra*, pp. 65-66.

⁴ Cf. *supra*, p. 65, n. 5. On the supposed Constantinian law forbidding the solemn sacrifices and liturgy of pagan worship, at least at Constantinople, see Martroye, in *Bulletin de la Société nationale des Antiquaires de France*, 1915, pp. 280 *et seq.* We may recall the significant declaration of Libanius in his *Pro templis* (vi): "Constantine made absolutely no change in the legal cult. True, poverty reigned in the temples, but one might see all the ceremonies of worship carried out there."

Attitude of Constantine's sons

This comparative "tolerance," however, no longer characterised the policy of Constantine's sons. That does not mean that there was a growing intensity of direct action against pagan sanctuaries during their reigns. Well-established cases of destructions of temples were not numerous in this period, in spite of the fiery exhortations of a Firmicus Maternus who, with all the zeal of a recent convert, invoked all the severity of the secular arm:

Little more is required, thanks to your laws, for the devil to be completely beaten, idolatry extinguished, and this dangerous contagion abolished. Already the poison has lost its venom; each day profane passions have less to nourish them. . . . Christ, in His goodness, has reserved for His people through the work of your hands the destruction of idolatry and the ruin of the profane temples. . . . Have no scruple to remove the ornaments of the temples. Let those false gods melt in the fire of your money, and the flame of your mines! Confiscate all their presents for your own selves; make them your own property, etc.¹

There was no reluctance in the provinces to carry out the work desired by Firmicus. The historian Ammianus Marcellinus narrates² that the well-known George of Cappadocia, Arian Bishop of Alexandria, when passing before a magnificent temple, surrounded by a numerous group of followers according to his custom, turned to the building and cried out: "*Quamdiu sepulchrum hoc stabit?*" These were imprudent words, which were not lost on those who heard them, and shortly afterwards they caused him to lose his life in the midst of a riot. Even so, the only cases of pillage or destruction known are those mentioned in the following list. It will be noticed that, as was the case under Constantine, these violent measures affected only the Eastern part of the Empire:

¹ *De errore prof. rel.*, xxviii.

² XXII, xi, 7.

Between Feb. 356 and Dec. 361

		Sources
I. Mark, Bishop of Arethusa, destroyed the sanctuary of an idol, built a church in its place.	Syria	Gregory of Nazianzum, <i>Or.</i> , iv, 88 ; Theodoret, <i>Hist. eccles.</i> , III, iii (Sozomen, <i>Hist. eccles.</i> , V, x, puts it in the reign of Constantine).
II. At the instigation of George, Arian Bishop of Alexandria, Artemius, Duke of Egypt, introduced soldiers into the Serapeum and pilaged the images, offerings and ornaments of the sanctuary.	Egypt	Emperor Julian, <i>Epist.</i> , lx.
III. The temple of Merum closed, not to be reopened for worship until the time of Julian.	Phrygia	Socrates, <i>Hist. eccles.</i> , III, xv.
IV. At Caesarea, temples of Zeus and Apollo destroyed. The Tucheion alone left standing.	Cappadocia	Sozomen, <i>Hist. eccles.</i> , V, iv.

On the other hand, the laws became more severe, and were expressed in such definite terms that if one were to take them literally, it might indeed seem that Pagan worship was about to be extinguished.

A law of 341 begins thus: "Cesset superstitio, sacrificiorum aboleatur insania . . .," and appeals in support to a law of Constantine.¹ But the meaning of this law is not clear. Some see in it a serious blow at the traditional religion.² Others point out that, at that date, when Constans was claiming the title of *Pontifex maximus*, the term "superstitio" could not juridically designate the old Roman cult, and that this law accordingly was aimed merely at the practices of divination and sacrifices which did not take place

¹ *Cod. Theod.*, XVI, x, 2.

² e.g. Geffcken, *Der Ausgang*, p. 97 ; and already J. Godefroy in his well-known *Commentary* on the Theodosian Code (ed. Ritter, Vol. VI, p. 298).

in public, and which Constantine had already prohibited.¹

This latter and milder interpretation is certainly acceptable so far as the law of 341 is concerned. But can it be extended to the law of the 23rd of November 353,² and to that of the 1st of December 356?³

We read in the law of the 23rd of November 353:

The evening sacrifices permitted by (the usurper) Magnentius must be abolished, and the criminal permission to celebrate them refused from now on.

These nocturnal sacrifices doubtless savoured of clandestine incantations and magical practices.

The law of the 1st of December 356, however, is more embarrassing:

Our will is that, in all places and in all towns, the temples be immediately closed, that access to them be forbidden to all, and that permission to preach be denied to the depraved (*perditis*). We also will that all abstain from sacrifices. Whosoever shall commit a fault of this kind is to be struck with an avenging sword. The fisc will take over the possessions of the dead man. The provincial governors who neglect to punish these crimes will receive the same punishments.

On the 19th of February 356, another constitution had already forbidden co-operation in sacrifices or the adoration of *simulacra* under pain of death.

This time it seems difficult to hold that the sole aim of these laws was to meet the danger of divination and to put obstacles in the way of carrying out magical rites.⁴ They tend rather to the interrupting of regular ceremonies. The rhetorician Libanius, a few decades later, will not interpret them otherwise:

¹ Martroye, in *Bull. de la Société nationale des Antiquaires de France*, 1915, pp. 283 *et seq.*, and *Revue historique de droit français et étranger*, new series, Vol. IX, 1930, pp. 673 *et seq.*

² *Cod. Theod.*, XVI, x, 5.

³ *Ibid.*, XVI, x, 4. The date is not absolutely certain: cf. Mommsen and Meyer, *Cod. Theod.*, pp. ccxxviii and p. 892, n. 6; Seeck (*Regesten*, p. 203) put it in 356.

⁴ That is the thesis of Martroye, *art. cit.*, in *Revue hist. de droit fr.*, p. 676.

Explain yourself: What do you mean by "frightful torment"?

I mean the time of Constantius. The evil had come from his father, but it was he who kindled the spark, blew on it, and made it a vast conflagration. His father had despoiled the gods of their wealth; he himself razed the temples, abolished all the sacred rites, and gave himself up—to whom? We know to whom! The degradation of religion extended to learning, and that is easy to understand, for religion and learning are linked together in a close relationship: they are sisters. Philosophers and sophists, and whosoever had been initiated into the mysteries of Hermes and the Muses, could never enter the palace. . . . His favourites, those whom he grouped around him, and whose advice and lessons he followed, were barbarians and miserable eunuchs.¹

Thus, the first task of Julian was, according to Ammianus Marcellinus, "to have the temples opened by clear and peremptory decrees, and to allow the victims on the altars to be approached for the worship of the gods,"² and to carry out reprisals against a goodly number of the *palatini*, "gorged with the *templorum spoliis*."³

Naturally such rigorous measures could not be applied everywhere, or completely transform the state of things hitherto existing. Constantius himself sometimes seems to have contradicted this legal severity by adopting an almost benevolent attitude: "He took away none of the privileges of the consecrated virgins," as the pagan Symmachus later on informs us.⁴ "He conferred priestly functions upon many nobles, and never refused financial support for the Roman ceremonies. [During his visit to Rome in 356] he

¹ Πρὸς τοὺς ἀποσώφαντας, § 8.

² XXII, v, 2.

³ XXII, iv, 3. The passage in Socrates, *Hist. eccles.*, III, xviii, if we give it full credence, confirms the rigour of Constantius's intentions. Cf. Sozomen, IV, x; Libanius, after pointing out the comparative moderate action of Constantine (see above, p. 223, n. 4) adds: "His son (Constantius) followed his advisers in many evil ways and in particular prohibited the sacrifices."

⁴ In his famous *Report* to Gratian, *Rel.*, III, vii, 6-7 (Seeck, *Mon. Germ. Hist.*, *Auctores Antiquissimi*, Vol. VI, i, p. 281).

gladly followed the Senate through the streets of the Eternal City; he regarded the Temples without manifesting any emotion, read the names of the gods inscribed on their portals, and asked about the origins of these sanctuaries, and admired their architects. Although he himself followed another religion, he retained this one for the Empire." Constantius had even so given an example which would later on be followed with a greater zeal.

In the last year of his reign, Constantius renewed the war against the *haruspices*, the "mathematicians," i.e. astrologers; the *harioli* (diviners), the "Chaldaeans," and the magicians. No one would be protected by his rank against torture, irons, or death, if he practised these forbidden arts, or consulted those who claimed to be seers.¹

§ 2. JULIAN THE APOSTATE (361-363)²

The anti-pagan policy which Constantius had just begun produced little effect: it was interrupted at the end of 361 by the Emperor's death and the succession of his cousin Julian, who immediately reversed his predecessor's policy. Like the Constantinian peace, this new religious policy was due to the religious conversion of the prince whom circumstances had placed at the head of the Empire. But this conversion is better known to us than that of the first Christian Emperor, for Julian has told us much about himself in numerous writings, private or official letters, formal speeches,

¹ Laws of the 4th of Dec. 356, 25th of Jan. 357, and 5th of July 358 (*Cod. Theod.*, IX, xvi, 4, 5 and 6).

² On Julian the Apostate there exist numerous monographs, amongst them being: H. A. Naville, *Julien l'Apostat et sa philosophie du polythéisme*, Neuchâtel and Geneva, 1877; C. J. Neumann, *Kaiser Julians Abfall vom Christentum*, Halle, 1884; W. Schwartz, *De vita et scriptis Juliani imperatoris*, diss., Bonn, 1888; G. Negri, *L'imperatore Giuliano l'Apostata*, Milan, 1901; P. Allard, *Julien l'Apostat*, 3 vols., 3rd edn., Paris, 1906-1910; J. Geffcken, *Kaiser Julianus*, Leipzig, 1914; A. Rostagni, *Giuliano l'Apostata*, Turin, 1920; W. Ensslin, *Kaiser Julians Gesetzgebungswerk und Reichsverwaltung*, in *Klio*, Vol. XVIII, 1922, pp. 104 et seq.; and especially J. Bidez, *L'évolution de la politique de l'empereur Julien en matière religieuse*, in *Bulletin de l'Académie royale de Belgique, classe des Lettres*, 1914, pp. 406-461, and *Vie de l'empereur Julien*, Paris, 1930.

and polemical works, which reveal to us his personality and enable us to determine the development of his thought.¹

Julian's Youth

Like all the Constantinians, Julian was brought up in the Christian religion. An orphan from his early days—for he had lost his mother Basilina while still in the cradle and his father Julius Constantius in the massacres of 337—he was entrusted to the tutelage of Eusebius of Nicomedia, a relative of Basilina's. He had amongst his masters the Cappadocian George, who was to supplant Athanasius at Alexandria, and later on Aëtius, the theologian of Anomoeanism. In the far-off retreat at Macellum in Cappadocia, where the suspicious Constantius had interned the sons of Julius Constantius, Julian was baptised, and even raised to the first stages of the clerical state and made a lector. But when the two brothers were liberated from this internment in 347, Gallus, who remained a Christian, gave free reign to his rather gross athletic instincts, while Julian, then sixteen years of age, was able to cultivate the literary taste awakened in him by his tutor Mardonios, and he began an intensive study of Greek antiquity. At Constantinople and Nicomedia he sat under grammarians and rhetoricians, in whose school he completed his Hellenic studies.² At Pergamum and Ephesus, and later at Athens, he frequented the philosophers, and then received "the first calls from the gods"³ which were very soon to lead him to apostasy.

This term "apostate," which has remained attached to his name, does not mean that Julian passed from the Christian faith to a sceptical or negative unbelief. Nor was it only by way of a reaction against a strict and tyrannical education that he deserted Christianity. "In reality, when he began

¹ For Julian's works, cf. the Bidez edn. with French translation in the collection Budé: Vol. I, Part I, *Discourse of Julian Caesar*, Paris, 1932; 2nd Part: *Letters and Fragments*, Paris, 1924. For the treatise *Against the Galilaeans*, cf. the Neumann edn., Leipzig, 1880; for the other treatises, cf. the Hertlein edn., Leipzig, 1877.

² In contrast to the other fourth-century emperors, he knew Latin only imperfectly, and always wrote in Greek.

³ J. Bidez, *La vie de l'empereur Julien*, p. 57.

to practise the cult of the gods, he was following a mystical vocation; he was obeying the divinities who protected his dynasty and Empire. He allowed himself to be guided by their voices; he surrendered himself to them deliberately and with full confidence."¹ His future belief was to be a very complicated form of Syncretism. It conserved the Graeco-Roman polytheism, subject to allegorical interpretations, because this represented tradition; Julian was a conservative graecophile. But it also found room for the myths and strange cults of the East, grouped around one central doctrine which extended a welcome to all exotic religions, namely neo-Platonism.

Neo-Platonism in the Fourth Century

For more than a century, this philosophical school, continuing its evolution,² had become a veritable religious sect. Jamblichus and Sopatros, who taught at Apamea in Syria in the time of Constantine, and after them Edesios of Pergamum, Maximus of Ephesus, and Priscos had combined the doctrine of their immediate masters with the speculations of all sorts of sophists and moralists, as well as with the symbolism of the Oriental mysteries. "Serapis, Isis, Hecate, Demeter, Dionysos and Cybele provided them with a whole system of emblems which they ingeniously utilised; and henceforth it was by symbolical visions that they claimed to prepare the soul to return to God. The neo-Platonists thus became mystics and hierophants, and initiated their pupils into the secret cults of their time. On the other hand, in order to win to their cause the intellectuals of the opposite camps, they endeavoured to make a place in their system for all kinds of philosophical doctrines, Epicureanism alone excepted."³

The dominant feature of the sect from the time of Jamblichus was the practice of secret rites, following the magician Julian the Chaldaean, by which, instead of helping souls to rise to God, as Plotinus dreamed, they claimed to

¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 86-87.

² Cf. *History of the Primitive Church*, Vol. III, pp. 720-729.

³ J. Bidez, *La vie de l'empereur Julien*, pp. 67-68.

evoke by force the gods and demons on earth and in the soul of the initiates. "Just as, at that time, Aristotle was made to agree with the founder of the Academy, so also Jamblichus, in his well-known *Commentary*, combined the theosophy of the Chaldaean oracles with that of all the Mysteries, and he sought above all to discover therein the same secret meaning as that of the revelations ascribed by the Greeks to Orpheus and their most venerated theologians. In accordance with the Pythagorean method which he cultivated, the author introduced the Chaldaean enumerations of gods, angels and demons into the series of triads, hebdomads and enneads, where they fraternised with the divinities of all the polytheistic religions of the Roman world. As for theurgy properly so called, in order to explain this, Jamblichus appealed to the theory of universal sympathy, which makes itself felt according to certain mystic links,"¹ such as the lunar link, for instance, but above all the solar one, for this abstruse metaphysics gave a preponderant place to the religion of the solar Fire, the supreme divine power.

Return of Julian to Paganism

Already in 351, when he was twenty years old, Julian had accepted this mysticism, and, together with Maximus of Ephesus, he submitted himself to the ritual initiations which made him a devotee of the Sun,² even more than his uncle Constantine had been prior to 312, or the founders of the dynasty, of whom he henceforth considered himself the authentic heir.³ But for ten years he had to conceal his convictions, for the autocratic and suspicious Emperor Constantius would not have tolerated in his young cousin so marked a separation from the official religion. It was in secret that Julian cultivated the pagan rhetoricians: Libanios at Nicomedia, Himerios at Athens, and above all his neo-Platonist masters. Again, immediately after his usurpation, when he started out to campaign against Constantius in January 361, he "pretended to adhere to the

¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 76-77.

² This did not prevent him being also initiated into the Eleusinian Mysteries in 355, and into the cult of Mithra during his stay in Gaul.

³ On the solar cult under the second Flavians, cf. *supra*, p. 20.

Christian cult, which he had long since secretly abandoned."¹ It was only when he had been installed at Constantinople, after the death of his rival in December 361, that he openly made profession of paganism, and called to his court Maximus and Priscos, making them his confidants and counsellors. He continued to lead a sober, austere and ascetic life as previously; but he was now able to display without restraint a pagan fervour hitherto restricted. Every day he offered sacrifices to the gods, morning and evening, under the trees in the gardens of his palace,² he regularly frequented the temples³ and constantly invoked the gods, regarding himself with pleasure as their interpreter. A prince with such religious zeal could not fail to adopt a new religious policy, which was in fact a veritable reversal of the Constantinian policy.

Edicts of Toleration

At first it seemed that an era of toleration was about to open. Julian substituted for the police methods of a thoroughgoing despotism a liberal attitude based on equity, and at the same time he raised all the prohibitions against the ancient cults, proclaiming liberty for all. As Ammianus writes:

By clear and unreserved decrees, he had the temples opened, and victims offered in honour of the gods on the altars. And in order to ensure the effect of these decisions, he called to the palace the dissident bishops of the Christians, and the mass of their believers, and gently exhorted them to renounce their discords and profit by the toleration offered them, in order that each should practise his own religion without any fear.⁴

The pagan historian then admits that, if the enemy of the Christians showed himself so generous in their regard, it was "in the hope that freedom would favour their disputes." This clever measure was indeed inspired probably by motives

¹ Ammianus Marcellinus, XXI, ii, 4-5.

² Julian, *Epist.*, xcvi (ed. Bidez, p. 182).

³ Ammianus Marcellinus, XXII, ix, 5; xiv, 4, etc.

⁴ Ammianus Marcellinus, XXII, v, 2.

which were really hostile. But it must be admitted that they nevertheless had happy consequences. Coming after the Caesaropapism of Constantius, it was a veritable liberation, and the amnesty granted to those who had been banished facilitated the resurrection of orthodoxy, which had been so cruelly oppressed.

As to paganism, the liberty restored to it led to a revival all the more vigorous in that its defenders were certain of the imperial favour. Not only were the closed temples reopened, but many that had been demolished were rebuilt, and the Christians were called upon to restore the materials or objects taken from the pagan sanctuaries, or else to pay for the damage done.¹

Christian Martyrs

These operations led in various places to disturbances involving sometimes the shedding of blood. In several towns in Syria, Phoenicia and Arabia, the populace sacked or profaned the Christian churches. The Bishop of Arethusa, Mark, who had distinguished himself by his zeal against idols, was severely tortured.² The provocations by indignant Christians, who went so far as to break down the restored idols, led to several martyrdoms, such as that of the priest Basil at Ancyra,³ the soldier Aemilian at Durostorum in Moesia,⁴ and the three faithful at Merum in Phrygia.⁵ The best-known episode is the putting to death at Alexandria of the Arian Bishop George and several officials on the 24th of December 361.⁶ Such violence, it must be noted, was neither commanded nor even approved by the Emperor, who wrote a severe letter to the Alexandrians.⁷ But no punishment was

¹ J. Bidez, *op. cit.*, pp. 229 *et seq.*

² Gregory of Nazianzum, *Orat. I, in Julianum*; Philostorgus, ed. Bidez, p. 228.

³ Sozomen, *Hist. eccles.*, V, xi.

⁴ St. Jerome, *Chron.*, ann. Abr. 2379. Cf. J. Zeiller, *Les origines chrétiennes dans les provinces danubiennes*, p. 127.

⁵ Theodulus, Macedonius and Tatian: cf. Socrates, *Hist. eccles.*, III, xv.

⁶ Cf. Ammianus Marcellinus, XXII, xi; Athanasius, *Hist. aceph.*, viii.

⁷ Julian, *Epist.*, lx (ed. Bidez, pp. 69 *et seq.*).

inflicted on the rioters, who were able to satisfy their desire for revenge with impunity.

The Reform of Paganism

Besides this purely negative task of restoration, Julian planned a great enterprise in reform of paganism. It was in the course of the summer of 362, when he left Constantinople for Antioch, that he decided to take energetic measures to regenerate the old religion.¹ He adopted and developed the idea of Maximin Daia,² and created a sacerdotal body modelled on the Christian episcopate, and he tried to impose upon it the doctrines and morals which he himself professed. We know of several of his nominations. He chose some neo-Platonist theurgists like Chrysanthus at Sardis, Theodore at Ephesus, and Clematius in Palestine; also some sophists like Hierax at Alexandria in Troas, and even some renegade bishops like Pegasus of Ilion.³ We have several of Julian's letters, called since Gibbon's time "Pastoral epistles."⁴ From these we see how the Sovereign Pontiff of paganism planned the organisation of his Church. He desired that his clergy should lead an austere life and give an example of piety and charity; he specifies the acts of worship which should be carried out; he stresses the necessity of preaching doctrine to the faithful in the temples, and of practising brotherly love after the manner of the "Galilaeans." "It was thus a veritable transformation of paganism that Julian was undertaking. The only reactionary feature in his project was the return to the ancient gods. The ascetical and pietistic discipline, the mystical hierarchy, and the whole system which he planned to impress upon his religious community and his sacerdotal body constituted an innovation without precedent."⁵

¹ On this aspect of his work, cf. J. Bidez, *art. cit.* (*supra*, p. 229, n. 1), and W. Koch, *Comment l'empereur Julien tâcha de fonder une Eglise païenne*, in *Revue belge de philologie et d'histoire*, Vol. VI, 1927, pp. 123 *et seq.*; Vol. VII, 1928, pp. 49 *et seq.*

² Cf. *History of the Primitive Church*, Vol. IV, p. 1088.

³ Cf. J. Bidez, *La vie de l'empereur Julien*, pp. 267-268.

⁴ Particularly *Epist.* lxxxiv to Arsacius, ἀρχιερέως of Galatia; and lxxxix to Theodore (ed. Bidez, pp. 98-105, 144 *et seq.*, 151 *et seq.*).

⁵ J. Bidez, *op. cit.*, p. 271.

But this theocratic dream was destined to encounter the apathy of a clergy and people who did not at all possess the ardent faith of their master, or his love for the high moral virtues. "His acolytes might indeed reopen the sanctuaries, re-erect and gild the statues, restore to the priests the former insignia of their dignity, bring about a revival of the old processions, cause oracles to speak amid the rustling of groves and the murmur of fountains, revive the power of the rays of Helios and the stars, and restore to nature all its magic: they might well ascend the pulpit and preach philanthropy, invoking Homer, Hesiod and Plato. But only too often, when the Pontiff, the organiser of this brilliant and pompous manifestation, turned away from his altars to observe the effect he had produced, he must have been stupefied to meet the amused gaze of an indifferent public, or the discouraging sight of empty temples."¹

The School Law

The discomfiture Julian experienced in the check to his great reform explains in part the campaign against Christianity which he began during the last months of his reign. From the beginning, he had deprived the clergy of all the privileges they had enjoyed since the time of Constantine; and in particular bishops, monks and priests were obliged to reinstate the civil curiae, and Julian did his best to revive these and to provide new personnel.² Next, he abandoned the common law, and in his hatred of the "Galilaeans" proceeded to take further measures which were particularly injurious. "On the 17th of June 362, in all the cities, a law was promulgated which, harmless in appearance, constituted a veritable declaration of War upon Christianity."³ It forbade anyone who desired to teach to take up this work suddenly or lightly, and it enacted that all nominations of school teachers and professors were to be submitted for the approbation of the municipal authorities and the ratification of the prince.⁴ We still have the text of an imperial circular,⁵ and

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 314.

² Cf. *ibid.*, p. 238.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 263.

⁴ *Cod. Theod.*, XIII, iii, 5; *Cod. Just.*, X, liii, 7.

⁵ Julian, *Epist.*, lxi c (ed. Bidez, pp. 73 *et seq.*).

the testimonies of the ecclesiastical historians¹ show us that this procedure was intended to ascertain not only the capacity and moral character of the candidates, but above all their religious convictions, and that the office of teaching was forbidden to Christians on the pretext that the classical authors cannot be expounded by those who "despise the gods they honoured." Julian made this a question of honesty and sincerity: "It behoves all who wish to teach anything whatsoever to be sincere, and not to entertain in their own minds opinions which are irreconcilable with the public exercise of their profession; this should be the case with those who give to youth lessons in literature, and explain the writings of the ancients, either as rhetoricians, grammarians, or above all as sophists. In consequence, I require, not that the educators of youth should change their opinions, but I give them a choice: either let them cease to teach that which they do not themselves accept, or else, if they wish to continue their lessons, let them teach by example before all else."²

The Consequences

Christian teachers thus had to choose between the Church and the school. Many must have given up their work in order to keep to their faith. The best known among them is Marius Victorinus,³ an African, established about 340 in Rome, where he had speedily acquired a great reputation as an orator and a thinker. He was a pagan, a disciple of the neo-Platonism of Plotinus and Jamblichus, whom he popularised by Latin translations. But about 355 he had surprised people by becoming a convert to the Christianity he had hitherto opposed. The resignation of Victorinus, who had professed the same beliefs as the Apostate, together with that of Proheresios, an Armenian Hellenist stationed at

¹ Socrates, *Hist. eccles.*, III, xii, 7; Theodoret, *Hist. eccles.*, III, viii, 1; cf. Zonaras, XIII, xii, 21.

² Julian, *Epist.*, lxi c (tr. Bidez, pp. 73-74).

³ On Marius Victorinus, cf. Monceaux, *Histoire littéraire de l'Afrique chrétienne*, Vol. III, pp. 373-422; Bardenhewer, *Geschichte der altkirchlichen Literatur*, Vol. III, pp. 460-468; P. de Labriolle, *Histoire de la littérature latine chrétienne*, 2nd edn., pp. 346-350.

Athens, whom Julian had known and esteemed in 355, must have made a great stir in intellectual circles. Even some pagans blamed the sectarianism of the prince, who was thus interfering with eminent scholars.¹ The Christians for their part were naturally angry at this "persecution which, though not a bloody one, was likely to become dangerous."² Some tried to evade the new legislation by composing Christian works in the "classical" form which might be used as subjects for teaching. Thus a grammarian of Laodicea, Apollinaris, together with his son, the future heresiarch, planned "productions equal in number and value for morals, style, character and composition, to those of the best Greek authors"³; they then wrote⁴ a Bible history in twenty-four chants, and some Socratic dialogues on the Gospel, not to mention comedies, tragedies and odes of a Christian character. These improvisations, which have not been preserved, must have been mediocre imitations. But the attempt is nevertheless interesting and significant.

Other Hindrances to the Christians

The school law was perhaps only the first item in a bigger programme of indirect persecution. Julian "did not wish the Galilaeans to be put to death, or be unjustly punished, or badly treated in any way."⁵ But he employed against them weapons which were very effective, though not bloody ones. Not content with attacking the foundations and chief features of their religion in a big polemical work,⁶ he multiplied attacks upon them. After stressing the supposed antagonism between the Christian faith and classical teaching, Julian revived the ancient incompatibility, which the Church had repudiated, between Christian morality and

¹ Ammianus Marcellinus, XXII, x.

² J. Bidez, *op. cit.*, p. 265.

³ Sozomen, *Hist. eccles.*, V, xviii.

⁴ We cannot determine the respective parts of father and son : cf. Bardenhewer, *op. cit.*, pp. 290-291 ; A. Puech, *Histoire de la littérature grecque chrétienne*, Vol. III, pp. 635-636.

⁵ Julian, *Epist.*, lxxxiii (ed. Bidez, p. 143).

⁶ On this work, *Against the Galilaeans*, begun at Antioch in the course of the winter of 362-363, cf. *infra*, pp. 248 *et seq.*

administrative functions: he excluded the "Galilaeans" from the imperial guard and from provincial governments, "because their own law forbids them to use the sword."¹ Being thus eliminated as far as possible from public life, the Christians found themselves a butt for the ill will of fanatical crowds and of the authorities themselves. The Metropolitan of Arabia, Titus, who complained of this partiality, was sharply put in his place by a letter from the Emperor to the people of Bostra (1st of August 362).² A certain number of cities found themselves regarded with disfavour by the prince, because they manifested sentiments which were too Christian for his liking. Thus, Caesarea in Cappadocia was punished for allowing the temples of Zeus and Apollo to be demolished; Majouma in Palestine had its autonomy suppressed in favour of its neighbour Gaza; Edessa and Nisibis were threatened with being left without protection against the Persians.³ Antioch itself, where Julian lived, was severely punished. The crowned philosopher took his revenge for the jokes made against him by writing the pamphlet entitled *Misopogon*. Again, in order to purify the approaches to the holy grove of Daphne, once the seat of an oracle, he had the body of the holy martyr Babylas disinterred and transferred to the town cemetery; and when, as a reply to this profanation, an anonymous hand set fire to the temple of Apollo, he avenged his god more cruelly by closing and despoiling the magnificent golden church recently inaugurated.⁴ It was, perhaps, on this occasion that he had the public markets of the town washed down with holy water. Elsewhere he ordered the demolition of the chapels of martyrs in the neighbourhood of venerated temples. Again, with the same excuse of purification, he forbade funeral processions to take place in the daytime (12th of February 363),⁵ thus putting a serious obstacle in the way of the religious ceremonies which accompanied funerals.⁶

¹ Socrates, *Hist. eccles.*, III, xiii, 1.

² Julian, *Epist.*, cxiv (ed. Bidez, pp. 193-195).

³ Cf. J. Bidez, *op. cit.*, pp. 294-297.

⁴ Ammianus Marcellinus, XXII, xiii, 1-3. Cf. J. Bidez, *op. cit.*, pp. 286-288.

⁵ *Cod. Theod.*, IX, xvii, 5.

⁶ Cf. J. Bidez, *op. cit.*, pp. 297-298.

Finally, forgetting the toleration towards persons which he still advocated in his writings, Julian sent once more into exile the bishops he had liberated: the semi-Arian Eleusius of Cyzicus,¹ and above all the great Athanasius (October-November 362).² There seems no doubt that it was the Emperor's intention to continue and intensify this political hostility on his return from the campaign against the Persians.³ But we know what happened: leaving Syria at the beginning of March, the Roman army advanced as far as the neighbourhood of Ctesiphon, and then had to retreat. In the course of a rear-guard fight, the Emperor was mortally wounded (26th of June 363). Julian thus disappeared at the age of thirty-two years, after scarcely twenty months on the throne. His successor, Jovian, elected by the headquarters staff of the Army, immediately abandoned Julian's pagan policy, and of his work, so vigorous and insidious, and so dangerous for the Church, there soon remained nothing more than the evil memory, as of a nightmare.

§ 3. JULIAN'S SUCCESSORS

Jovian (363-364)

Jovian was a Christian. But whatever may have been his intentions on matters of policy, his eight months' reign did not provide him with sufficient time to carry them out. The spirit of the time was in favour of "toleration": it was the period when the sophist Themistios, a thoroughly convinced pagan, whom the Christian Emperors and even Theodosius treated with as great deference as had Julian himself, explained to Jovian, in a discourse on the occasion of his assumption of the consulate on the 1st of January 364 that, as God has inscribed the religious sense in the hearts of all men, each one should be left free to adore Him as he

¹ Sozomen, *Hist. eccles.*, V, xv, 4. *et seq.*

² Julian, *Epist.*, cx, cxi, cxii (ed. Bidez, pp. 121 and 187-192).

³ Cf. J. Bidez, *op. cit.*, p. 299. We must also mention Julian's plan to rebuild the temple of Jerusalem in order to disprove the prophecies (*ibid.*, pp. 305-307)—an enterprise which had to be abandoned immediately because earthquakes devastated the whole neighbourhood.

[On this, see Newman, *Essay on Miracles*, 1901 edn., pp. 334-347.—Tr.]

thinks fit, free from any compulsion, for this is excluded by the liberty granted by God Himself.¹

But, if we are to believe the historian Socrates,² Jovian nevertheless once more prohibited the public sacrifices which had been "multiplied *ad nauseam* under Julian"; and ordered the temples once more to be closed. If this order was really given, the question remains how far it was carried out. We know only of a few cases of temples destroyed or transformed at that time.³ But by a law promulgated a few days before his death, Jovian annexed to his private patrimony the landed property belonging to the temples which had reverted to the State, after having been the subject of particular donations under various princes.⁴

Valentinian I (364-375) and Valens (364-378)

Valentinian I prided himself on a religious impartiality which pagan writers more than once praised.⁵ As for Valens, a historian of the Church in the fifth century will remark with regret that in his reign all enjoyed perfect freedom "except those who were faithful to the Apostles"; the fires shone on the pagan altars; libations and sacrifices were offered to the idols; public festivals were observed at the Forum; and the initiates of the mysteries of Bacchus were able to display their extravagances.⁶ These emperors especially prohibited incantations, magical practices, astrology and nocturnal sacrifices, under the severest penalties.⁷ They also specified that "neither auguries nor indeed any

¹ *Oratio V.* French translation in E. Vacherot, *Hist. de l'Ecole d'Alexandrie*, Vol. II, p. 157.

² *Hist. eccles.*, III, xxiii; cf. Theodoret, *Hist. eccles.*, V, xx.

³ At Corfu (Kaibel, no. 1060): see also Libanios, *Epist.*, mcxlvii.

⁴ *Cod. Theod.*, X, 1, 8 (4th of Feb. 364).

⁵ Ammianus Marcellinus (XXX, ix, 5) writes: "Postremo hoc modamine principatus inclaruit, quod inter religionum diversitates medius stetit, nec quemquam inquietavit, neque, ut hoc coleretur, imperavit, aut illud . . ." Cf. Zosimus, iv, 3, and the declaration of Valentinian himself, *Cod. Theod.* IX, xvi, 9.

⁶ Theodoret, *Hist. eccles.*, V, xx.

⁷ *Cod. Theod.*, IX, xvi, 7 (9th of Sept. 364) and 8 (12th of Dec. 370 or 373); these laws were signed by Valens.

religion authorised by their ancestors were, in their opinion, criminal."¹

In general, we may say that not until Gratian's time would there take place a real separation between paganism and the State, and a denunciation of the old alliance between the Roman religion and the *Res publica*. By withdrawing from the colleges of priests and vestal virgins their revenues, and transferring to the Treasury the allocations intended for the upkeep of worship, Gratian will deal a fatal blow to the latter.

After Gratian, Theodosius will give a fresh impetus to the anti-Pagan campaign, and energetic officials and bishops accustomed to combat will take in hand direct action against the temples, thereby encountering resistance in various places, and even disturbances.² There will be no less indignation in cultivated pagan circles; and one of the most significant testimonies to this state of mind is in the discourse of Libanios, *Pro templis*. In this vehement pleading, the aged rhetorician especially condemns those who, not content with attacking the temples in the towns, also extend their measures against the temples in the country. Do they not realise, he asks, that these sanctuaries, which have seen so many successive generations, are the soul of the places where they stand?

A country which has suffered this affront is a lost land. The courage of the labourers disappears, at the same time as their hopes. They reckon that they work in vain if they are deprived of the gods who give prosperity to their labours.³

II. THE INTELLECTUAL REACTION AGAINST CHRISTIANITY⁴

Towards the end of the century, we shall find some

¹ *Cod. Theod.*, IX, xvi, 9 (19th of May 371) and 10 (6th of Dec. 371); these laws were Valentinian's.

² On the religious policy of Gratian and Theodosius, cf. Vol. II.

³ *Pro templis*, viii; cf. x.

⁴ Essential facts and texts in P. de Labriolle, *La Réaction païenne*, Paris, 1934.

attempts at resistance by the "pagans"¹ in face of imperial coercion. But we should have a very incomplete picture of historic fact if we were to limit the anti-Christian movement in the fourth century to these sporadic outbreaks. To realise its driving force and its methods, we must briefly describe the controversies waged during that time, and similar works belonging to the period preceding Constantine and Theodosius.

§ I. DEFENCES OF PAGANISM DURING THE FIRST THREE CENTURIES²

Indifference in Pagan Circles until about 160

Christianity had no real interest for any pagan writer during the long period in which the new religion was first spreading among the masses. Writers who were students of real life, and excellent observers of human customs such as Martial and Juvenal, never mention it. Even those authors who do allude to Christianity, such as Pliny the Younger, Suetonius, Epictetus, Galienus and Marcus Aurelius, make only occasional references to it. They viewed it in a detached and distant manner, and had no desire to study it more closely.

This indifference seems to have continued until after the middle of the second century. About that time, we find increasing evidence of disquiet, and active hostility. This was due to the fact that the new faith was then displaying an extraordinary vitality in the various parts of the Empire. Its missionary activity was making itself felt in all regions, not only among the lower classes, as Celsus sarcastically comments, but also amongst the intellectuals.³ It was gaining proselytes not only from the people, but also among some minds trained in the best schools of the time. Some of

¹ The term "paganus" scarcely acquired in ordinary usage the sense we ourselves give to it before the second half of the fourth century. Cf. J. Zeiller, *Paganus, Etude de terminologie historique*, Freiburg and Paris, 1917.

² For more details, see *History of the Primitive Church*, Vols. III, pp. 717-729, and IV, pp. 821-826.

³ Origen, *Contra Celsum*, III, lv.

these latter converts tried to dispel the prejudices with which Christians were regarded, by presenting apologetic works to the Emperor. At other times they addressed themselves to the general public, and to educated people who might be supposed capable of listening to reason, and even of accepting arguments once they had understood them. Again, within the churches themselves there was an ever-increasing need to interpret the Christian religion, and this led to warm controversies and a whole group of written works.

Celsus

In other words, Christianity during the second century was emerging into the light of day, and was compelling general attention. It was then that Celsus came at last to understand that, in spite of popular risings, police measures, and State persecutions, the teaching of Jesus was making alarming progress, which could only be stopped by a penetrating discussion of its bases. Accordingly, he wrote a comprehensive work criticising believers in Jesus. Philosophy, history, common sense, the witness of other religions and their curious analogies, national sentiment and the traditions of the past were invoked in turn to bear witness against Christianity, and to convict it of unreasonableness, plagiarism and civil disloyalty. Celsus was obviously alarmed, and did not feel the least desire to be fair in regard to the Christians. But the fact that he embarked upon a detailed discussion of their beliefs, so far as he knew them, and the additional fact that he ventured to appeal to whatever loyalty they still retained, shows that he realised that Christianity was already a force to be reckoned with, and one which the Empire would do well to control. In this sense his work marks an important stage, and it will remain a source-book, and indeed the most useful of all for those who, after his time, will attempt large-scale refutations of Christianity.

Porphry

In the next century, the third, Porphyry, the famous disciple of Plotinus, will renew in his turn, in a large work in fifteen books, the struggle against the Christian religion.

In matters of detail he often copies Celsus. But Celsus had a political aim, and a lively interest in the destinies of the Empire. Porphyry remained, if not outside, at least rather indifferent to that point of view. He was scarcely interested in ancestral tradition otherwise than in its religious aspect, and the sad lessons of his age and the lamentable crisis of 235 to 268 diminished his interest in the State, which he was inclined to leave to its own resources. On the other hand, there is decided progress in the critical spirit. Now, not only are the divinity of Christ and His coming into the world matters for discussion: the whole Bible is subjected to examination, sifted, and analysed. A mass of obscurities, incoherences, illogical arguments, and lies—that is apparently Porphyry's view of Christianity, to judge by the *disjecta membra* of his work. For him, a decisive struggle has begun between the old civilisation, as constituted by tradition and the law, and an impudent and barbarous enterprise which threatens its very essence (βάρβαρον τὸ λημέα). And he throws himself into the fight with all the intensity of his partisan mind.

The End of the Third Century

At the time when Porphyry was composing the *Κατὰ Χριστιανῶν*, the issue of the conflict between Christianity and Paganism might still seem doubtful. And Porphyry may well have thought that the weapons which he was presenting to his co-religionists would be of great assistance to them. But less than forty years later, there happened the great event which was to change completely the situation as he had known it. The Church came to terms with the Roman Empire, and entered upon a period of material prosperity; and its spiritual power, fortified with the support of the public authorities, began to develop without hindrance.

We must note that, during the terrible years of the Diocletian persecution, some pagan writers had definitely entered upon this war of religion. According to Lactantius,¹ a philosopher, whom he does not name but whom he pictures as a sickly sophist, an unctuous and cunning Tartufe—had

¹ *Div. Inst.*, V, ii.

"vomited" three books against "the Christian name," but with only a moderate success. On the other hand, Lactantius is obviously impressed by the pamphlet of a certain *judex*, in whom all see Sossianus Hierocles, Governor of Lower Egypt. The setting forth of apparent contradictions in Holy Scripture, the very lively criticisms of St. Peter and St. Paul, together with the unfavourable comparison between Jesus and Apollonius of Tyana, all show that Hierocles had studied the great work of Porphyry, and had made good use of it, in his own Λόγος φιλαλήθης; for such was the title given to what Lactantius calls "this abominable book."

There can be little doubt that the sudden change in the attitude of the public authorities had intimidated many enemies of Christianity. Nevertheless, throughout the century, paganism still had zealous followers and active sympathisers, and more than once the vicissitudes of State policy led to hopes of a new turn of fortune, which would be to its advantage and once more change the situation.

Paganism found its warmest defenders among the ranks of the nobility and the scholastic world.

§ 2. PAGAN SUPPORTS IN THE FOURTH CENTURY

The Upper Classes of Society

In spite of numerous conversions, the position of the pagan nobility remained a very strong one. The Roman State—at least until 408¹—continued to adopt a liberal attitude in regard to persons. In some years, for instance, in 384, we find that all the great offices were occupied by pagan officials. Also, from the second half of the fourth century, pagan piety in the upper classes became more elevated, more ardent, and more mystical. It reacted in this way against the numerous desertions of that time. It was no longer satisfied with a vague Syncretism, or respectful allusions to the *Summus Deus*: it desired rites, symbols, scholarly liturgies, and even the blood-baths of the bull sacrifices. Among the zealots of the past, there were a certain number who

¹ Law of Honorius, 14th of Nov. 408 (*Cod. Theod.*, XVI, v, 42).

delighted to mention publicly, as a sort of boast, their manifold initiations and their love of religious expression. Various inscriptions bear witness to this state of mind.¹ Amongst these pagan pietists, we find some very combative, who expressed their desire for a reversal of the imperial policy, and watched for any opportunity to help to bring it about. Rich and prominent families like those of the Nicomachi, Symmachus, or Vettius Agorius Praetextatus, constituted strong resistance points for the old Roman traditions. Nicomachus Flavianus even made a Latin translation of the well-known *Life of Apollonius* by Philostratus, which had in the course of time become an instrument of war against Christianity.

The Philosophers and Rhetoricians

On the other hand, a number of philosophers, sophists, grammarians and rhetoricians continued in the schools the cult of the ancient literature and the old religion with all the obstinacy of professional men, like so many pagan Chateaubriands, "in ecstasy before the genius of Paganism."² In the East especially, they played a very prominent part. This was one of the most effective causes of the persistence of the ancient belief amongst the cultivated classes, in spite of the number of imperial edicts and other rigorous measures, the effects of which were often modified as a result of connivance.

§ 3. ANTI-CHRISTIAN WORKS

The "Asclepius"

If we wish to have concrete examples of the sentiments of the pagan *literati*, and of the way, sometimes indirect and oblique and at others boldly direct, in which they tried to blacken Christianity, there are several significant works which we might examine. We may mention, for instance, the curious treatise bearing the title *Asclepius*, which figures

¹ See P. de Labriolle, *op. cit.*, pp. 349 *et seq.*

² C. Martha, *Etudes morales sur l'Antiquité*, p. 260.

among the works falsely attributed to Apuleius.¹ This is a dialogue supposed to have taken place in very early times between Hermes Trismegistus, the repository of mystic secrets, and those whom he is instructing—Asclepius, Hammon and Tat. The work was first written in Greek; then a Latin translation was made, apparently rather late in the fourth century. The writer protests against the anti-pagan legislation of the Christian emperors. For him, Christianity means barbarism, hatred of the light, and hatred of life; it disfigures with tombs a land which formerly shone with the beauty of its temples; it abandons all the traditions made sacred by their age; and it invokes the force of the law to bring compulsion to bear on truly religious men.

Eunapius of Sardis

Another very significant testimony is that which we find in the *Lives of the Sophists* written by Eunapius of Sardis. Although his talent is mediocre, Eunapius paints us a picture of a group of professors and educated people, wholly occupied with foolish questions and little vanities, and for the most part greatly addicted to practices of theurgy and magic. Their resentment against Christianity is, moreover, very strong, and on this matter Eunapius is in full agreement with them. His usual benevolence, which sometimes comes close to *naïveté*, turns sour and gives place to the bitterest hostility as soon as he comes into contact with the Christian religion. Thus, he loses all sense of moderation when he deals with the armies of monks: not only does he accuse them of degrading worship to a ridiculous mummery, but he also suspects them of having delivered up the Themopylae to Alaric. In point of fact, the very great development of monasticism in the fourth century led to many other reactions amongst the educated pagans, and it became one of the chief themes of anti-Christian polemics, especially in the world of scholarship and of professors.²

¹ Ed. Thomas (Bibl. Teubner), p. 60. Commentary by W. Scott, *Hermetica*, Oxford, 1924, Vol. III, pp. 159 *et seq.*

² Cf. next volume.

Julian the Apostate

When we examine the complexus of complaints, annoyance, contempt and fear which affected so many minds in presence of the great transformation effected by the influence of Christianity, we are better able to understand the enthusiasm roused by the reaction started by the Emperor Julian towards the middle of the fourth century, and the warm sympathy associated with his memory.

We must beware of turning Julian into the "tolerant" prince imagined by Voltaire¹ and Anatole France.² Julian hated Christianity, which remained associated in his mind with the most painful and depressing recollections of his youth. The opposition aroused by his first measures in favour of the pagan priesthood increased his bitterness. He accepted the challenge, and conducted the fight with sharpness and violence, almost always accompanied by sarcasm unworthy in the head of a State. Fascinated by Hellenic thought, he had, under the influence of his favourite master, the charlatan Maximus, gradually fallen into the practices of "theurgy," a suspect religious art which claimed to be able to act upon supernatural beings by certain operations, in such a way as to compel them to co-operate either for the good or the ill of human beings. He felt that the divinity was quite close to him, and was convinced that he received its messages by means of visions and prophetic dreams; the least of his intellectual or even physical impressions became for him a mysterious indication of the divine presence. His dream was to revive paganism by restoring to the ancient liturgies of the traditional cults, when they had been interpreted, spiritualised and sublimated, their utility and prestige, and again by securing the support of a priesthood which was zealous, pious and charitable, and worthy to balance the prestige of the Christian clergy.

We can understand with what displeasure Julian viewed the Christian faith, the only serious obstacle which hindered his reforming ideas. He had in his first works avoided direct

¹ Cf. P. de Labriolle, in *Revue des questions historiques*, Vol. LVIII, 1930, pp. 258 et seq.

² *La vie littéraire*, Vol. IV, p. 261.

attacks against the Christians, or rather the "Galilaeans" (for that was the expression he constantly used, in order to bring out the ridiculous pretensions of a religion so humble in its origins to aspire to the dignity of a universal faith). But very soon, hostile allusions became more frequent in his writings and letters. He conceived the idea of devoting a special treatise to the subject of Christianity, and made a careful study of the pagan polemical writings before his time. In the month of June 362 he started his own work, and in March 363 completed it, "passing the long winter nights," as Libanius tells us, "in combating those who wished to turn a man of Palestine into a god and a child of God (θεόν τε καὶ θεοῦ παῖδα)."¹

The work consisted of three books. It has not escaped the common fate of heterodox works. But Cyril of Alexandria has given us important fragments of it in his own treatise, *For the Holy Religion of the Christians, against the work of Julian the Atheist*, which he composed and dedicated to the Emperor Theodosius between 433 and 441. Unfortunately, Cyril's reply has not come down to us in its entirety. We have the whole of the first ten books, but these correspond only to the first of Julian's three books. Of books XI to XX of Cyril's work we possess only some fragments included in *florilegia* or *catena* in Greek and Syriac; and this second group seems to have dealt only with Julian's second book. Of Julian's third book we know practically nothing.

But what is still extant enables us at least to study Julian's attitude, his methods, some of his arguments, and to judge approximately the originality of this new anti-Christian effort.

Julian's Reasoning

Christianity, or, as he calls it at the beginning of his treatise, "the machination of the Galilaeans," is regarded as an "invention" pieced together by the evil activity of men. It contains "nothing divine." It addresses itself to the irrational part of the soul, the one which delights in fables and childish stories, and it proceeds to set forth this absurd

¹ *Orat.*, xviii, 178.

"teratology" as true. The words "fable," "lie," "irrational" recur over and over again in Julian's work. Christianity may be regarded as a disease of the mind, which results from a weakening of the traditional culture.

Too faithful to their first teachers, who were only ordinary fishermen, Christians content themselves with a "rustic" religion. True intellectuals are rare among them. Mediocre by reason of their education, they are also bad citizens: they have deserted the ranks of Hellenism; they have abandoned its noble laws for savage and barbarous ones, and have despised the traditions of their ancestors. Their impiety has made them unpleasing people, and, in fact, "atheists."

Julian then gives a detailed criticism of the conception of God revealed in the Old Testament. What need, indeed, is there of a Revelation? Is not the idea of God immanent in human nature, and is not the very order of the universe sufficient in itself to lead us to Him? Why should God have chosen the Jewish nation to the exclusion of all others, and reserve His blessing for it alone? It is much more logical to believe in a Demiurge, the common Father of all beings and of the "ethnarchic" gods who are charged with the special care of each nation. Then again, how can we accept a God who gets angry and calls for massacres, and even sometimes thinks of annihilating His people when He grows weary of its ingratitude? Julian indeed is much less severe in regard to the Jews than he is towards Christians. He appreciates the fidelity with which they keep to their natural traditions, however absurd these seem in particular instances or considered in themselves. But he blames the Christians for having historically allied themselves as they have done with this little people, whose destiny has been so mediocre and occasionally so humiliating, and who have remained at such a low level of culture. The prophecies Christians invoke to justify this association are seen to be chimerical as soon as we take the trouble to examine them more closely.

Passing on, then, to the gospels, Julian attacks the divinity of Christ. The career of Jesus was a miserable one. He scarcely succeeded in deceiving any who were not servants and slaves. Moreover, the doctrine which He preached

is inapplicable and dangerous from the social point of view. If we give all we have to the poor and do good to our enemies, where will all this lead? Lastly, His death was an ignominious one, unworthy of a God, for it took place on a cross. As for His resurrection, the contradictions in the evangelists on the details of the story prove its falsity. From the point of view of fame and of services rendered, what a difference there is between Jesus and the authentic heroes of Hellenism, who were real benefactors of humanity, such as Heracles, Asclepius, Helios!

Naturally, Julian extended his ill will also to the Apostles, "degenerate ignoramuses," "fisher-theologians." His hostility was particularly marked against St. Paul, the one chiefly responsible for the conversion of the Hellenes to the Galilaean religion. He also attacks St. John, the only one of the disciples who dared to suggest, and even then only in veiled terms, that Jesus had created the heavens and the earth, and the only one who dared to proclaim the divinity of Christ. As for St. Peter, Julian, like Porphyry before him, ridicules his hesitant attitude between Jews and Gentiles.

Julian did not neglect the contemporary aspects of the life of the Church. He expatiates against the monks, the ascetics of the desert, as enemies of that "philanthropy" which was for him the characteristic feature of the Hellenic spirit, the laws which it had inspired, and even of its deities. He made plain his contempt for the cult of the martyrs. But what upset him most was the Christian mania for "filling all places with tombs and sepulchres," and of constantly frequenting the chapels beneath which the martyrs were interred. Such piety was for Julian a rather unhealthy manifestation: it offended his zeal for purification, his fear of all stain or corruption, which he derived from his theurgic masters.

Originality of his Polemics

It is difficult to give an exact estimate of the originality of Julian in the polemics which we have just summarised. To evaluate it properly we ought to possess in their totality the previous works which he had been able to use. But that he made great use of the anti-Christian treatises of Celsus

and Porphyry is shown by many sure signs. It may be that his malevolent attitude towards the Christianity of his day constituted his sole original contribution. What cannot be questioned is that his own bitter animosity suggested the liveliness of his diction, his pressing dialectics and ironical language, the bitterness of which is still manifest. The effective result of this great literary effort, and of the policy which prepared and maintained it, escapes us in the main. Some of his complaints lead us to think that he met with only a mediocre success. In any case, he had too little time to realise his dreams of a restoration of paganism, and his premature death put a sudden end to the hopes to which he had given so concrete an expression.

To his followers, such as the rhetorician Libanius, Julian remained the ideal religious prince, in permanent relations with the gods. Libanius does not hesitate to divinise him, and to attribute to him the gift of miracles. It is under his influence that Libanius treats Christians as "atheists," who desire to know nothing of the Hellenic divinities and of the "profitable" smoke of sacrifice; who delight to haunt tombs and who, through their contempt for healthy traditions, have become the indirect cause of the evils under which the Empire was suffering.

§ 4. PATRISTIC TESTIMONIES

St. Augustine

At no time in the fourth or at the beginning of the fifth century was the broad path by which Christianity was advancing either smooth or easy. If for example we study the writings of St. Augustine, we find there plain evidence of the persevering and obstinate activity of the opponents of Christianity. In spite of the political changes, the "Babylon which was dispersed among the nations of the world"¹ constantly utilised against Christians its favourite weapon, contempt. "I would have you recall," said St. Augustine in one of his sermons,² "the past humiliations of the Church, and the way in which Christians were held up for derision,

¹ *Enarr. in Ps. LIV*, xii.

² *Enarr. in Ps. XXXIV*, ii, 8.

put to death, exposed to wild beasts, and burnt alive. (Even to this day) when they meet a Christian they insult him, shout after him, mock him, treat him as stupid, or as an idiot (*vocare hebetem, insulsum*), devoid of heart or intelligence." The cultivated pagans applied all their impassioned subtlety to arousing perplexity in the minds of the faithful concerning certain articles in their *Credo*. The letters of Augustine show that he was often consulted by friends, who submitted to him lists of objections current in pagan circles or which had arisen in the course of conversations between people whose faith was not equally strong.¹ Augustine did not decline any discussion or avoid any question: he always gave firm and precise answers. Sometimes, instead of being consulted by a friend, it happened that he was directly involved by some qualified representative of paganism, or else he himself initiated a discussion.²

Thus, we find in many passages of the *Sermons* echoes of the taunts daily hurled at the Christians. These were attacked for their faith in a crucified God, or the impossibility of the resurrection of the body; they were mocked for their mortified manner of life; their dogmatic dissensions were dwelt on, and the way in which these set some against others, in spite of their claim to observe "charity." It was said that the success of Christianity was due only to the spells which St. Peter utilised; Christian doctrine was looked upon as a kind of conglomeration of thefts and plagiarisms; Apuleius and Apollonius of Tyana were contrasted with Jesus Christ, and so on.

But no anti-Christian attack found more specious arguments than the one which was begun on the occasion of the taking of Rome by Alaric in 410. This time the Empire received a serious blow, and a mortal wound upon its worldly prestige, and a number of private interests suffered also in consequence. A rumour began to spread amongst the masses, carefully encouraged and repeated by the upholders of the ancient religion. "In the days when the gods were honoured, Rome flourished: why does not the Christian God know how to protect it?" In cultivated circles the question was put in a still more disquieting way. It was

¹ e.g. *Epist.*, cii, cv.

² *Epist.*, xvi, ccxxxiv.

suggested that there might be a relation of cause and effect between the victory of Christianity and the decadence of the Empire, and that the evangelical precepts of gentleness and forgiveness of injuries were calculated to disarm a State which should rigorously conform to them.

Augustine was not at all abstract or egoistic in his outlook. He lived the life of his times, and he shared its preoccupations and distresses. He first replied to the detractors of his faith in church, in presence of his flock. In three *Sermons*, Nos. 81, 105 and 296, he answers the pessimists, and points out the injustice of their complaints. Some *Letters*, and especially Nos. 111 and 138, develop the same theme.

But Augustine realised that the disturbance of minds was such that he would not succeed in reassuring them without a complete re-education of the public mind. Accordingly he decided to write his *City of God*, a veritable *Summa* of Christian thought, in which we constantly find reflections of the preoccupations of these troubled years. In a later volume we shall stress the historical, philosophical, and theological importance of this gigantic work.

St. Gregory of Nyssa

The *Letters* of Augustine, his *City of God*, etc., have shown us the virulence of the religious discussions during the fourth and the beginning of the fifth century, as well as the very great difficulties which the indefatigable Christian propaganda encountered amongst the educated classes. There is another work which is very significant from the same point of view: the *Catechetical Discourse* of St. Gregory of Nyssa, which contains the fruits of his experience and constitutes the most important product of his religious philosophy.

In this *Λόγος κατηχητικὸς* Gregory of Nyssa addresses himself to catechists. The work was composed about 384.¹ Gregory knows—and he says in his preface—that teaching must be adapted to different minds, and that the prejudices of a Jew are not the same as those of a heretic or of a Greek. The nature of the malady must accordingly determine the nature of the treatment to be applied.

One of the chief advantages of his work is that it puts

¹ Migne, *P.G.*, Vol. XVI, 9 *et seq.*

before us the current objections which, originating from the works of such as Celsus, Porphyry, or Julian, have descended to the half-educated masses—those whom Gregory calls the “Hellenisers”—and there set up a close barrage against the Christian faith.

We must first get them to realise the rational possibility of the oneness of God, a conception presenting difficulties to those whose imagination and artistic taste had familiarised them with polytheism. Gregory shows how a strict logical reasoning can compel them by a series of closely linked arguments to accept on this point the fundamental articles of the Creed.¹

But even when these people have been convinced on this essential point, how many questions are still put by Greek subtlety!

If at the beginning man was good, and enjoyed all good things, why is he now overcome or threatened by so many ills? What of the shortness of life, with its physical and moral diseases? In truth the Creator hardly spares His creature!² If God foresaw that man would by his fault expose himself to so many miseries, why did He not withhold being from him?³ For what could in fact be worse than the prospect of dying some day, when our life will be extinguished and we shall become a corpse?⁴

But here is something which scandalises still more minds formed in Greek philosophy: the very idea of an Incarnation, of a God who “mixes Himself with humanity,”⁵ who is born, grows, suffers our physical servitude, and finally dies the death of a criminal on an ignominious cross.⁶ This fusion of two heterogeneous natures, this *κοινωνία τῆς τοῦ ἀνθρωπίνου βίου*⁷ taken in conjunction with the truth that by essence the deity is *ἀπαθής*, that is, strictly impassible,⁸ constitutes the crucial point in these discussions, and Gregory devotes much time to it, in the desire to liberate those minds which seek in good faith “the rational explanation of the mystery.”⁹

¹ Preface, and i-v.

⁴ *Ibid.*, vii, 4.

⁷ *Ibid.*, xxviii, 1.

² Λόγος κατηχητικός, v, 8.

⁵ *Ibid.*, xi, 1.

⁸ *Ibid.*, xvi, 1.

³ *Ibid.*, vii, 1.

⁶ *Ibid.*, ix, 1 ; xxxii, 1.

⁹ *Ibid.*, xv, 4.

Other objections, but less grave ones, are also dealt with and refuted. Why did God defer for so long the benefit of Redemption ?¹ Why does the Gospel spread so slowly through the world, where in fact a good part of the human race remains deprived of it ?² How can one believe that a simple prayer said over water transforms it into a source of life for those who are initiated ?³ Or that bread and wine, the customary food of the body, can become a food for the soul ?⁴

In this *Catechetical Discourse* we have a lively picture of the state of mind of people who, without boasting of a very advanced education, had come to learn by their chance reading or their conversations of the arguments put forward by the anti-Christian protagonists. A manual with wholly practical aims like that of Gregory brings us into direct contact with the minds of the common people, and at the same time it tells us how much reason, logic and triumphant optimism have to be employed to bring them to accept an altogether new conception of God and of human destiny.

¹ *Ibid.*, xxix, 1.

² *Ibid.*, xxx, 2.

³ *Ibid.*, xxxiii, 1.

⁴ *Ibid.*, xxxvii.

CHAPTER V

THE CHURCHES IN THE WEST IN THE MIDDLE OF THE FOURTH CENTURY¹

DURING the sad years in which first the disciples of the Alexandrian heresiarch and next the Hellenic Emperor Julian did their best to bring about in the Roman world as a whole the domination either of Arianism or of Paganism, the Western provinces seem to have remained outside the great events of religious history. At Béziers, Milan, and above all at Rimini, the bishops accepted the Creed of Constantius; at Rome a Victorinus had to resign from his position like all other Christian rhetoricians. But the orders emanated from the Eastern Court and, as we have seen, it was in the East that the chief episodes in these religious conflicts took place.

Western Christianity should not, however, be neglected, and its history does not consist solely in the echoes of the Arian struggle or of the pagan controversies. The Roman pontiffs, and vigorous personalities like Hilary of Poitiers in the Gallic provinces, have their importance outside the bounds of the Arian crisis, and deserve to be considered for their own sake. In Africa, on the other hand, Donatism was still prevalent, and the policies of Constans and Julian led to vicissitudes of serious import. The history of the Church in the second half of the fourth century would be singularly incomplete if we did not stop to consider these aspects of Western Christianity.

§ I. THE VICISSITUDES OF DONATISM

Donatism at Rome

Donatism never made any progress outside Africa. But at Rome a small community was very soon organised in the

¹ For Bibliography, see p. 403.

African colony, and the dissidents hastened to put at their head a bishop, in order to reply to the Catholics of Carthage, who were also in communion with "the transmarine churches," and they carefully kept a list of these Donatist "antipopes."¹ But this constituted an exception, and the sect otherwise remained confined to its country of origin. There at least it was widely diffused during the quarter of a century which followed the edict of 321.

Progress in Africa after 321

The imperial authority at that time intervened as little as possible between the two parties. Constantine contented himself with once more prohibiting in 328 the publication of harmful pamphlets: an action without effect, for his successor was obliged to repeat it in 338.² In 330 Constantine repeated the immunities granted to the Catholic clergy, and ordered the construction of a basilica for them at Constantine. But such prescriptions merely show the audacity of the schismatics: these made no account of the privileges granted to their opponents, and they had taken from the Catholics a church which they refused to give back; the Emperor himself did not dare to seize it from them, but instead had another built at his expense.³ The policy then was certainly not to make a frontal attack upon the Donatist pretensions. The prefect of Africa, Gregory, had about 336 taken certain measures against them, concerning which we know little, and as a result he was ignominiously insulted by

¹ Monceaux, *Histoire littéraire de l'Afrique chrétienne*, Vol. IV, pp. 32-33, 123-124. The Donatist Bishops of Rome were, during our period: Victor of Garba, Boniface, Encolpius, Macrobius, Lucian and Claudian.

² *Cod. Theod.*, IX, xxxiv, 4 (21st of Oct. 328) and 5 (18th of June 338). Cf. Monceaux, *op. cit.*, Vol. IV, pp. 31, 241.

³ Law of the 5th of Feb. 330 to Valentine, the Governor of Numidia: *Cod. Theod.*, XVI, ii, 7 (cf. the law of the 1st of Sept. 326, *ibid.*, XIV, v, 1, which states that the schismatics are to be limited to the *munera*); letter *Cum summi dei* to eleven Numidian bishops, 5th of Feb. 330 (Optatus, Append., no. 10), which grants land and credits necessary for the construction of the new church. Seeck, *Quellen und Urkunden* (see p. 388), pp. 561-562, has denied the authenticity of this letter, which is defended by Duchesne, *Le dossier du donatisme*, pp. 615-619. Cf. Monceaux, *op. cit.*, Vol. IV, pp. 30, 199.

Donatus. We are told that the prefect replied to these diatribes only "with a patience altogether episcopal."¹ About 340 a request was received from the Donatist bishops asking the Count of Africa, Taurinus,² for the protection of the army against the brigands of Numidia, and this was granted. It will be understood that, in consequence of this toleration, the schism was able to spread everywhere. One fact sufficiently indicates the progress of the sect: at the Council which met at Carthage in 336, two hundred and seventy bishops sat for seventy-five days.³

Donatus and the Catholics

The main agent of this diffusion was most decidedly the famous Donatus, whose part in the origin of the schism has already been dealt with.⁴ He was at that time able to "display freely all his genius as an organiser and spiritual head."⁵ Ever violent and intransigent in regard to his enemies, he nevertheless knew how to show pliancy and opportunism in order to win adherents or allies for his party. Thus, although the custom of rebaptising Catholics was in his eyes one of fundamental importance, he allowed the Council of 336 to decide, at the request of the Mauretanians, that it could be dispensed with in the case of those who objected to it.⁶ This willingness to sacrifice principles must have offended or troubled many of his followers, for Donatus felt obliged to devote a special work to this question. Attempts have been made to reconstitute, with the help of some allusions in St. Augustine, the contents of his letter *De baptismo*.⁷ We do not know how he tried to justify the concession made by the Council, which so plainly contradicted the doctrine of his sect, but at least the latter was

¹ Optatus, III, 3. Cf. Monceaux, *op. cit.*, Vol. IV, pp. 31, 241, 246.

² Monceaux, *op. cit.*, Vol. IV, pp. 31-32; O. Vannier, *art. cit.*, pp. 19-20.

³ On this council, cf. Tillemont, *Mémoires*, Vol. VI, pp. 710, 829 (who dated it 337); Monceaux, *op. cit.*, Vol. IV, pp. 111 and 332-334 (who dates it 336).

⁴ Cf. *supra*, p. 36.

⁵ Monceaux, *op. cit.*, Vol. V, p. 113.

⁶ Monceaux, *op. cit.*, Vol. IV, p. 334; Vol. V, pp. 114, 124.

⁷ Monceaux, *op. cit.*, Vol. V, pp. 125-129.

vigorously asserted and developed. As the Donatists considered themselves to be the sole Christians, they put Catholics and pagans on the same plane: all the Catholic sacraments were null in their eyes, and it was therefore necessary to give to every convert a baptism which was not in reality a second one but the only true one. This attitude of Donatus will remain a permanent feature in the tradition of his church, but the concession to which he at that time consented is nevertheless significant.

Donatus and Arianism

A few years later, he showed himself equally diplomatic in regard to Arianism. At the time when thirty-six Catholic bishops of Africa were taking part in the orthodox Council of Sardica,¹ the dissident Council assembled close by addressed to the African schismatics the text of its encyclical letter. Though it is not certain, for the title of this synodal letter has been falsified, it is possible that the Donatus mentioned there was indeed the head of the African sect.² In any case, we find Donatus publishing shortly afterwards (about 345) a treatise on Trinitarian theology (*De spiritu sancto sive de trinitate*),³ which opened the way to an understanding with Arianism. "He did not follow the heretics right to the end, for he did not deny the divinity of Christ or of the Spirit, and he admitted that the three divine persons are of one and the same substance. But he established a hierarchy among them: the Spirit is inferior to Christ, who himself is inferior to the Father. . . . This compromise enabled him to harmonise as far as possible the claims of orthodoxy with the desire to please the Arians."⁴ But this attempt, in any case, could not be developed, for very soon the Donatists encountered a violent persecution by the Emperor Constans.

¹ Cf. *supra*, p. 147.

² Monceaux, *op. cit.*, Vol. III, pp. 61-62; Vol. IV, pp. 33, 335; Vol. V, pp. 114, 129-130; J. Zeiller, *Donatisme et arianisme* (gives the proofs of the Donatist falsification).

³ Monceaux, *op. cit.*, Vol. IV, p. 33; Vol. V, pp. 31-134.

⁴ Monceaux, *op. cit.*, Vol. V, p. 133.

The Emperor Constans and the Donatists

It can scarcely be doubted that Constans had no intention of extirpating the schism. Nor is it necessary to suppose that he was worried by the proposed alliance with the Arians, or the agitation of the Circumcellions, who seem at that time to have had no relations with the Donatists.¹ The success of their propaganda in Africa in the religious sphere was in itself a great danger in his eyes, and the orthodox zeal of the Western Emperor suffices to explain his intervention. As he desired to re-establish Catholic unity in the whole Roman world, we understand that, after he had succeeded in 346 in making his policy prevail in the East in regard to the Arians,² he began at that precise date to pay attention to the African schism.

The Mission of Paul and Macarius

At first, he hoped to reach his end by pacific means. Two imperial commissioners, Paul and Macarius, were sent to Africa at the beginning of 347; they were to go through the country negotiating with the ecclesiastical leaders and distributing money to them. It was thought that persuasion and the attraction of official financial support would suffice to bring the schismatics to be reconciled with the Catholics. But that was to renew the illusion entertained by the politic Constantine, and to fail to realise the strength of religious passions in Africa. Donatus found in this insidious attempt a new occasion to increase his influence, and to defend the purity of his Church. Forgetting that the first imperial intervention in 313 had been due to a petition from his own friends, he denied that the State had a right to interfere in ecclesiastical matters: "What is there common between the Emperor and the Church?" he proudly demanded of the commissioners. In these words we find enunciated for the

¹ Monceaux (*op. cit.*, Vol. V, p. 34), seeking the causes of the imperial intervention against the Donatists, suggests as a possible reason "their suspected relations with the Arians." He thinks it quite certain (*ibid.*, pp. 179-187 *et passim*) that they had linked up with the Circumcellions, bandits who were ravaging and pillaging the Numidian countryside. O. Vannier (*art. cit.*) has shown that there was no collusion between the two groups of rebels before 347.

² Cf. *supra*, pp. 161-163.

first time in the fourth century the principle of the separation between the two powers. But no one then stopped at principles: the thing to do was to fight and conquer. Donatus, realising that he had nothing to hope from the civil authority, gave free rein to his arrogant temperament; possibly he also hoped to intimidate the State by his intransigent attitude. He addressed to the Emperor a haughty and imperious protest, and he sent to all the bishops of his party instructions—everywhere observed—to refuse the advances of the imperial emissaries. In these circumstances the mission of Paul and Macarius could only fail.¹

The Persecution of 347

The Emperor then decided to use measures of compulsion. Already in the middle of 347 he gave an order to apply the law of 316: the schismatic communities were to be dissolved; their possessions were to pass to the Catholics; those who were recalcitrant, and especially the bishops, were to be exiled. The local authorities strictly carried out these instructions. At Carthage, a proconsular edict, published on the 15th of August, made obligatory the restoration of religious unity, and outlawed the clergy who should refuse to agree. There must also have been edicts issued by the prefect or the vicar, the provincial governors, and the imperial commissioners.² Macarius made himself prominent by his activity and zeal against the dissidents, who protested in their writings against the cruel acts of the "builders of unity," and gave to their opponents the name of "Macarians."³

¹ Monceaux, *op. cit.*, Vol. IV, pp. 34, 41; Vol. V, p. 115. Optatus accuses Donatus of having exasperated the Emperor by his provocation and caused the persecution. Monceaux stresses the tendentious character of this statement, and gives a good analysis of the reasons which Donatus might have for his provocative attitude.

² Monceaux, *op. cit.*, Vol. IV, pp. 35, 241-242. Was there an imperial edict in force in 347? Monceaux thinks there was. But a phrase in Augustine concerning Julian's toleration seems to imply the contrary (cf. *infra*, p. 266, n. 2). Doubtless there was merely a decree (following the interpretation of Martroye, *La répression du donatisme*, in *Mémoires de la Société nationale des antiquaires de France*, Vol. LXXIII, 1914, pp. 61-68) and edicts of local authorities, amongst which that of the proconsul is known expressly.

³ *Macariana tempora, macariana persecutio, macariana ecclesia, pars Macarii*: expressions quoted by Monceaux, *op. cit.*, Vol. IV, p. 38.

The edicts were rigorously carried out. There were in consequence numerous victims, who were honoured as martyrs by their co-religionists. One celebrated incident was that which led to the death of the two Donatists, Maximian and Isaac, whose *Passion* was written at Rome by Macrobius about 366.¹ At Carthage, on the very day the proconsular edict was published, Maximian, inspired by a vision he had during a meal with some fanatical co-religionists, tore down the edict from the wall. He was taken before the tribunal of the proconsul, and put to the torture. There was a cry from amongst those present: "Traitors, come and cure the madness of your unity." The guilty man named Isaac was in turn arrested and tortured. The magistrate then pronounced against the two delinquents a sentence of exile. But Isaac died in prison (15th of August 347). The proconsul refused to give the schismatics the body of their martyr, but had it thrown into the sea, together with that of Maximian, who must also have died in prison, or else on the boat taking him to exile.²

The most violent incidents naturally took place in Numidia. People were there particularly excited, and gave ready credence to the most absurd rumours. Thus it was seriously said that the imperial commissioners wished to make Christians adore an idol placed on the altar. Their journeys were marked everywhere by bloody episodes: their escort was attacked near Bagai by bandits, and so the troops commanded by Count Silvester massacred the Donatist population of that town, accused rightly or wrongly of complicity with the attackers.³

¹ On the *Passio Maximiani et Isaac* (Migne, *P.L.*, Vol. VIII, 767-774) and the events it relates, cf. Monceaux, *op. cit.*, Vol. IV, pp. 35-36; Vol. V, pp. 82-96.

² The *Passio* claims that Maximian was condemned to be drowned, and that he was thrown alive into the sea. Monceaux (*op. cit.*, Vol. V, pp. 84-86) discusses this statement, which seems improbable, and sets forth the facts as we have narrated them above.

³ Optatus, III, 4 and 6. Monceaux (*op. cit.*, Vol. IV, p. 36) does not question this complicity. But we may regard as suspect the affirmation of Optatus. O. Vannier (*art. cit.*) has maintained that the attack upon the convoy was a mere act of brigandage, and that the measures of precaution taken by the Bishop of Bagai can be explained by his desire to protect himself

In consequence of these disorders, a Provincial Council of the dissidents was assembled.¹ There it was doubtless decided to rebaptise all converted Catholics, withdrawing the concession made in 336. But, while displaying this intransigence in regard to the opposing Church, the Donatists showed a readiness to negotiate with the public authority. A deputation of ten bishops was sent to Macarius, and met him at Vegesela. The meeting ended in argument and blows: the commissioner had the prelates beaten, and retained as a prisoner the most insolent among them, Marculus. He was in the end executed at Nova Patra on the 29th of November. A cleric of the sect shortly afterwards wrote a book about his life and death. This *Passio Marculi*, "one of the most important and best in Donatist literature," was destined to make particularly well known amongst the schismatics the memory of this unfortunate man.²

Vitellius Afer

It was not, however, these local incidents, however dramatic they may have been, that constituted the essential feature of this persecution: rather it was the exile of the leaders, and the confiscation of their basilicas. Donatus in particular had to leave the country. He took refuge in Gaul or in Spain, and died there in 355. His disciple, Vitellius, doubtless owed his immunity to the fact that he was a layman. Before he died, probably at Carthage in January 350, he wrote, under the title *De eo quod odio sint mundo servi Dei*, a particularly clever and vigorous defence of Donatism.

against the brigands, rather than to resist public powers. Martroye (*art. cit.*, p. 70) thinks that Donatus of Bagai was legally put to death for the crime of sedition. Cf. another incident, prior to the edicts, the martyrdom of Felician (29th of June 347?), attested to by an inscription (Monceaux, *op. cit.*, Vol. IV, pp. 37 and 474-475).

¹ On this Council of Numidia, cf. Monceaux, *op. cit.*, Vol. IV, pp. 37 and 335-336.

² On the *Passio Marculi* (Migne, *P.L.*, Vol. VIII, 760-766), cf. Monceaux, *op. cit.*, Vol. V, pp. 69-81. He rejects the Donatist version that Marculus was thrown down a precipice, and also the Catholic version that he committed suicide, and decides that he died by the sword, and that his body was then thrown down the precipice.

Therein he asserts that the servants of God must ever be persecuted; the faithful suffered in this way from the beginning down to Diocletian. Since then it has been the turn of the Donatists; hence these are the true Christians. The same Vitellius "Afer" was already known through his Apologies, *Adversus gentes* and *Adversus traditores*, i.e. against the two detested enemies, pagans and Catholics. His works—lost like all the other Donatist writings—seem to have been remarkable for their moderation of tone and force of reasoning, in a literature in which "invective and conventional recriminations" often predominated.¹

The Imposition of "Unity"

Henceforth, for almost fifteen years silence reigned in Africa. Unity triumphed through force. Many of the dissidents, including even bishops, returned, with more or less sincerity, to the Catholic Church, and we find a wholesale reorganisation of the African hierarchy. After a series of provincial councils, amongst which we know that of Byzacene at Hadrumetum, a General Council at Carthage in 348 or 349 completed this disciplinary task. Bishop Gratus presided at this assembly, which passed fourteen canons, mostly about Donatism. Thus, it was forbidden to rebaptise the heretics or schismatics (Canon 1), or to honour as martyrs those who had committed suicide, etc. (Canon 2). Also various precautions were to be taken in regard to suspected converts.²

But the difficulties had not come to an end: At the Council of Carthage, Antigonus of Madaura complained of encroachments by his colleague Optantius, a convert, and further troubles occurred at Carpi. Peace was maintained only by official compulsion, which Constantius, master of

¹ On Vitellius Afer, cf. Monceaux, *op. cit.*, Vol. V, pp. 144-148. He endeavours to reconstitute the contents of his works.

² The other canons repeat minor disciplinary points concerning clerical life, and have no connection with Donatism. On this Council of Carthage, cf. Tillemont, *Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire ecclésiastique*, Vol. VI, p. 124; Hefelè-Leclercq, *Hist. des Conciles*, Vol. I, 2nd part, pp. 837-841 (he dates it 349); Monceaux, *op. cit.*, Vol. III, pp. 221-226; Vol. IV, pp. 38, 349-351 (he suggests the date 348).

the West in 353, did not renounce. But the accession of the pagan Julian in 361 was destined to change the situation completely.

The Emperor Julian and Donatism

The policy of Julian in regard to Donatism was exactly similar to that which he had adopted in the rest of the Empire in regard to the Arian problem. He granted liberty to all, thinking doubtless that this toleration would renew the internal dissensions in the Church. He did this in Africa doubtless all the more willingly because this act of liberation would profit the enemies of the Catholics.

The Edict of Toleration (362)

Already at the beginning of 362, urgent representations were made to Julian by the leaders of the sect who had taken refuge in Italy. We have portions of the petition signed by the bishops Pontius, Cassian and Rogatian. The first of these was well known as an orator and a thaumaturge. It was he who drew up the text of the petition, in which he "boldly claimed liberty of conscience, liberty of worship, and liberty of propaganda, and demanded the withdrawal of the prohibitions, restitution of the basilicas and other possessions, and of church furniture and holy Books."¹ The Emperor immediately granted these requests: a rescript ordered "the annulment of all measures taken wrongly against the Donatists without rescript, and the restoration of all things to the state in which they were previously."² This was a reversal of the situation in 347, and it led to a fierce and even bloody revenge for the victims of the persecution. In his bitter attacks upon the schismatics, Optatus of Milevis will shortly cry out: "You have expelled many bishops from their sees. With armed mercenaries you have invaded the basilicas. Many of your people, in so many places that it

¹ Monceaux, *op. cit.*, Vol. V, p. 150. On Pontius and the content of these *preces*, cf. *ibid.*, Vol. IV, pp. 40, 249-250; Vol. V, pp. 148-151.

² Augustine, *Contra Petilianum*, II, xcvi, 224. Monceaux (*op. cit.*, Vol. IV, p. 243) translates "sine rescripto" by "apart from the rescript"; it would seem more reasonable to understand it as "although there was (in 347) no imperial rescript." Cf. Martroye, *art. cit.*, pp. 76-80.

would take too long to enumerate them, have shed blood in massacres so atrocious that the governors of the time had to send in reports on such crimes."¹ Some of these officials, however, went so far as to favour the excesses of the Donatist mobs. Thus, Athenius, Governor of Caesarian Mauretania, freely allowed the Donatists of Tipasa to commit acts of the worst violence and sacrilege. In Numidia, the authorities, outnumbered, either could not or would not oppose the unleashing of the "priestly rabble,"² and many details of their deeds are made known to us by Optatus.³

Restoration of Donatism

From the standpoint of ecclesiastical history, the main event was the reconstitution of the Donatist communities. The exiled bishops returned to their sees, in particular, Parminian, elected by his companions in place of Donatus, was installed at Carthage. The not very sincere converts returned to their previous faith, and everywhere the basilicas were returned to them. Sometimes these were taken by force, but usually legal steps were taken before the tribunals to obtain the restitution of landed property, liturgical furniture and the holy books. In conformity with the rescript, the judges awarded to the schismatics the edifices and objects which they claimed.⁴ The Donatist cult was solemnly restored in the basilicas, after expiatory ceremonies destined to efface all trace of the hated *traditores*. The walls and the pavements were washed with salt water, altars were scraped, and the Catholic clergy and sacred virgins were compelled to submit to penance and to all kinds of humiliations. Then there followed a reorganisation of the Donatist Church after the same fashion as that of the Catholic Church in 348. Councils must have been held in many places. We know

¹ Optatus, II, 17 (quoted by Monceaux, *op. cit.*, Vol. IV, p. 41).

² The expression is Monceaux's, *op. cit.*, Vol. IV, p. 42.

³ Optatus, II, 18-19: disorders at Carpi, Tiddi, Castellum Lemellefense. Augustine (*Contra Petilianum*, II, lxxxiii, 184) tells us about the incident at Hippo, where the Donatist bishop forbade the bakers to bake bread for the Catholics; but this episode is perhaps of a later date.

⁴ On the *Gesta iudicum*, cf. Monceaux, *op. cit.*, Vol. IV, pp. 42, and 252-253.

of one at Theveste, where the prelates repudiated any responsibility for the troubles that had supervened at Lemellef.¹

After Julian

The reign of Julian ended too quickly for this reaction to produce all its fruit, and his laws were abrogated by his successors.² The neutral policy of Valentinian I restored peace more securely than the rather insincere toleration proclaimed by Julian. By a law of 373, the Emperor asserted his Catholicity, and pronounced against the repetition of baptism.³ In 377 Gratian renewed the condemnation, and added to its weight by confiscating for the benefit of the great Church all places of worship in which second baptisms had been conferred.⁴ But these laws may have referred only to fresh conversions. In any case it does not seem to have been applied strictly. Though the Donatists complained of some vexations, the majority of local authorities closed their eyes to rebaptisms, especially when the Emperor's representatives happened to be pagans.⁵

¹ Monceaux, *op. cit.*, Vol. IV, pp. 42 and 337.

² Was there a law of Jovian or Valentinian I against the Donatists? Martroye (*art. cit.*, p. 92) thinks there was a decree analogous to those of Constantine and Constans; but the text he quotes may merely allude to the law of 373.

³ Law of the 20th of Feb. 373, to the African proconsul Julian (*Cod. Theod.*, XVII, vi, 1). This text is usually interpreted (cf. Monceaux, *op. cit.*, Vol. IV, pp. 46-47 and 245) as forbidding rebaptism and deposing the bishops who practise it. Seeck (*Geschichte des Untergangs*, Vol. V, p. 21) explains this abnormal attitude of Valentinian, usually anxious not to intervene in religious matters, by the naïf superstition of the prince in regard to rites. Martroye (*art. cit.*, pp. 83-86) more correctly observes that "we cannot attribute to Valentinian an intention to regard as an offence a religious act, or to depose the bishops," and he reasonably suggests that the Emperor confined himself to answering an enquiry from the proconsul, to the effect that the rebaptising bishops, who were acting contrary to Catholic regulations, should be regarded as "unworthy of the priesthood," i.e. of the civil advantages which accompanied the episcopate.

⁴ Law of the 17th Oct. 377, to the Vicar Nicomachus Flavian (*Cod. Theod.*, XVI, vi, 2). Cf. Monceaux, *loc. cit.*; Martroye, *art. cit.*, pp. 89-93. It is an error to apply to Donatism the law (*Cod. Theod.*, XVI, v, 4) wrongly dated 376 (cf. *infra*, p. 360, n. 1).

⁵ Monceaux, *op. cit.*, Vol. IV, p. 47.

Thus, the years which followed the death of Julian witnessed the consolidation of the two rival churches, and a renewal of the controversies. That was the time when each party produced its best advocate: on the schismatic side, Parmenian¹; on the Catholic side, Optatus of Milevis.

Parmenian

Parmenian, Spanish or Gallic by birth, had known Donatus in exile; in spite of his foreign origin, he was his successor in the see of Carthage. He had been consecrated bishop in 355, and arrived in Africa in 362; his episcopate was to last until about 390.² Not so rigid as his illustrious predecessor, he continued to enjoy, even among his opponents, a reputation for honesty and moderation; his talents as an orator and his qualities as a leader were likewise the subject of praise. If he conceived the ingenious idea of composing psalms which his followers were to chant in choir, none of these is now extant. On the other hand, we can fairly well reconstitute the text of his great work *Adversus ecclesiam traditorum*, "one of the chief works of Donatist polemics."³ It is a collection of small treatises (possibly sermons) closely linked together in a not too well ordered whole. While the method of exposition does not seem very rigorous in this work, all the main problems which opposed Catholics and Donatists to each other are nevertheless treated in it. The reasoning on baptism (Book I), and the polemical utilisation of the Scriptural texts concerning sinners (Book V), seem rather weak, but an ecclesiological exposition (Book II), and an outline of the historical aspect (Books III and IV), provide a vigorous demonstration of the Donatist position.

¹ We must also mention Macrobius, a contemporary of Parmenian, head of the schismatic community at Rome, and author of the *Passio Maximiani et Isaac* (cf. *supra*, p. 263). Cf. Monceaux, *op. cit.*, Vol. V, pp. 152-161, who refuses to attribute to him the *De singularitate clericorum*, and regards him as "frankly mediocre both as a controversialist and as an exegete" (p. 156).

² On Parmenian and his work, cf. Monceaux, *op. cit.*, Vol. V, pp. 221-240. We shall deal later on with his quarrel with Tyconius (see next volume).

³ Monceaux, *op. cit.*, Vol. V, p. 227.

Optatus of Milevis

It was to this work, published doubtless by 363, that St. Optatus undertook to reply. He is "the earliest representative of anti-Donatist literature."¹ It is, as we have said, strange that no prominent orator or writer had for half a century come forward against the Donatist pamphleteers and panegyrists. Parmenian himself did not find an opponent immediately: the Bishop of Carthage, Restitutus, who had compromised with Arianism at the end of the reign of Constantius, did not display any activity, literary or otherwise, in regard to the schismatics. It fell to the lot of a comparatively obscure Bishop of Milevis, Optatus, to undertake about 367 a methodical refutation of the Donatist work.² The author is hardly known apart from his work, but this shows him to have been "a good man, of an engaging disposition, and certainly no fool," "sincere, honourable, practical, and of simple faith."³ His method of exegesis has no particular feature; his theology is sketchy, but remarkably clear on the essential point: "The sacraments are holy in themselves and not through men," he says, in an impressive formula (V, 4) which expresses for the first time the doctrine of the objective value of the sacraments. The discussion of Parmenian's arguments, which occupies three out of six books,⁴ is not, however, the most interesting feature of this work. What is of even more importance is its historical matter: Book I deals with the origins of the schism, Book III with the question of the responsibility for

¹ Monceaux, *op. cit.*, Vol. V, p. 241.

² On Optatus (about 320-385), cf. Monceaux, *op. cit.*, Vol. V, pp. 242-247. For an analysis of his work, cf. *ibid.*, pp. 257-263. On Optatus as a historian, cf. *ibid.*, pp. 264-281; as a controversialist, *ibid.*, pp. 282-296; as a writer *ibid.*, pp. 296-305. His work had no definite title: those sometimes given it (*De schismate donatistarum*, *Contra Parmenianum*) are of modern origin. It comprised six books; Book VII was added subsequently by Optatus himself or by a continuator. Monceaux (*op. cit.*, Vol. V, pp. 248-256) thinks that there was a second edition, prepared by the author about 385 and completed after his death by a rather clumsy disciple, responsible for several regrettable interpolations.

³ Monceaux, *op. cit.*, Vol. V, pp. 245-246.

⁴ Books II, IV and V, which respectively refute Books II, V, and I of Parmenian.

the persecutions, and Book IV with the sacrilegious violence of the dissidents in the time of Julian.

Value of his Work

Here Optatus is a valuable witness. The serious qualities of his work call for our praise, and especially its "originality of conception, its rich documentation, and his qualities as a narrator." He makes an excellent chronicler: "he is a man of episodes, anecdotes and portraits."¹ But in some respects he must be regarded indeed as a real historian. He displays a meticulous care in arranging the materials of his history, and in an *Appendix* he publishes the original documents which constituted the dossier made about 330 by the Catholic controversialists,² and he is constantly careful to base his own exposition upon the sources. The certainty of his information and his own good faith seem undeniable, in spite of the suspicions entertained by some critics.³ What one can indeed criticise in him is not so much a certain number of *lacunae* or some chronological uncertainty⁴ as some legal sophistries or polemical exaggerations. Thus, he tries at one and the same time to justify the brutal repression of the Donatists, and to throw the responsibility for it wholly on the victims; he is always ready to excuse his co-religionists, and to blacken their opponents with the worst accusations. While praising his sincerity and his veracity, we must be on our guard against this partiality, especially when he imputes to the Donatists the crimes of the Circumcellions, the redoubtable bandits of the African mountains.

Character of Donatism

Probably there never was any real collusion between the leaders of the bandits and the heads of the sect; but the fanatical masses themselves may, after the persecution of

¹ Monceaux, *op. cit.*, Vol. V, pp. 280-281.

² On these *Gesta purgationis Caeciliani et Felicis*, cf. Duchesne, *Le dossier du donatisme*; Monceaux, *op. cit.*, Vol. IV, pp. 212 *et seq.*; Vol. V, pp. 269 *et seq.*

³ Particularly by Seeck, *art. cit.*, *supra*, p. 41, n. 4.

⁴ Thus, he seems to be unaware of the Council of Arles, and his chronology of the years 313-316 is subject to caution.

347, have entered into occasional relations, disavowed or sometimes tolerated by the bishops, who found themselves either powerless or overpowered in the matter.¹ We can say the same about an alleged alliance with the revolted Moors: Firmus in 372, and later on Gildon in 397.² For the schism never had the character of a national, political or social opposition³: it was a *religious* movement, which may well at the beginning have been based on local antagonisms, and the diffusion of which may then have been facilitated by the intractable character and the legitimate discontent of the African natives. Even so, Donatism essentially resulted from ecclesiastical dissensions, and it was religious fanaticism which accounted for its survival and its continued vigour through all the vicissitudes it experienced from Constantine down to Valentinian.

§ 2. THE CHRISTIAN CHURCHES IN GAUL AND SPAIN

Progress of Christianity in these Regions

The "transmarine" churches, to use the terminology employed by the Africans, had at that time a much less eventful existence. In the most Westerly provinces in particular, we have little information concerning the churches. The history of the churches of Spain has been called "a strangely obscure history,"⁴ and the historian of Roman Gaul notes that, in the Constantinian period, "the churches (there) lived an upright, peaceful and ordinary life."⁵ Under this smooth surface, however, we suspect that

¹ This has been shown by O. Vannier in the suggestive article already mentioned. See also C. A. Julien, *Histoire de l'Afrique du Nord*, Paris, 1931, pp. 243-247.

² On the collusion between Firmus and the "heretics," cf. Ammianus Marcellinus, XXIX, v.

³ So Monceaux, *op. cit.*, Vol. IV, pp. 188-192. But he tempers his analysis by this statement: "The schismatic Church, being outlawed, was compelled to make common cause with all the malcontents" (p. 190). In the contrary sense: Thuemmel, *op. cit.*

⁴ J. Zeiller, *L'Empire romain et l'Eglise*, p. 269.

⁵ C. Julian, *Histoire de la Gaule*, Vol. VII, p. 131.

there was a great deal going on by way of evangelisation and organisation. In the case of Spain, documents are almost completely lacking.¹ But for Gaul, the reading of the signatures collected after the Council of Sardica, and a critical examination of the episcopal lists of each diocese, enable us to determine, at least approximately, the time when many of the bishoprics were founded.² In this way we find that their number, which rose to about thirty for all the provinces of Gaul just after the Constantinian peace, had doubled itself half a century later.³ The new sees were rather few in the south, which indeed seems to have been well converted already in the third century.⁴ On the other hand, they were numerous in the west and the north-east. Agen, Saintes, Périgueux, Poitiers, Nantes, and Angers became episcopal cities in the time of Constans or of Valentinian I; similarly Besançon, Bâle, Strasbourg, Worms, Spire, Mayence, Tongres, Verdun, Amiens and Cambrai. Aquitaine and the Rhine provinces (Belgium, Germany and Sequania) henceforth possess as many bishoprics as the Narbonne.⁵ All the country had been evangelised as far as the Alpine cantons. In the time of Valentinian I, Eusebius of Vercelli came from the Cisalpine region to install a bishop at Embrun, from whence Christianity very soon spread to Digne and Grenoble.

¹ Betica was already thoroughly Christianised; it possessed more than twenty bishoprics about 300 (cf. *History of the Primitive Church*, Vol. III, p. 638). In the other provinces, we have no certain information concerning the founding of episcopal sees.

² This critical study has been carried out with great prudence by Mgr. Duchesne in his *Fastes épiscopaux*.

³ To be precise, there were twenty-eight about 325, and fifty-four about 375, according to Mgr. Duchesne. It goes without saying that several of the bishoprics may in fact have been earlier than the date when we first come across a bishop there, but it would be arbitrary to extend this to all.

⁴ Cf. *History of the Primitive Church*, Vol. III, pp. 634-636. Some small towns of the Narbonne, such as Orange, Apt, Die and Vaison, already had bishops in the time of Constantine. During the next fifty years we find bishoprics at Fréjus, Valence and Béziers.

⁵ In the Lyons district, progress seems to have been slower. But the bishoprics of Chartres, Auxerre, Troyes and Orléans, if they do not go back to the pre-Constantinian epoch, were founded not later than the middle of the century.

Further north, Octodurus in Valais also had a bishop.¹ In this way the Church was gradually organised in the parts in which the Christian faith had not previously been preached.

Early Christian Poetry

Intellectual life seems to have been fairly active at this period amongst the Christians of Gaul and Spain. At the beginning of the century we find there a few timid attempts at Christian poetry. After Commodian the African—if he should indeed be put in the third century²—the anonymous Eduan who wrote the *Laudes Domini*, and the Spanish Juvencus, were the first to try to celebrate in Latin verse the divine power and glory of Christ.

The little poem entitled *Laudes domini cum miraculo quod accidit in Aeduico*³ is the first example of a literary form destined to have a considerable development, namely the versified transposition of portions of the sacred books, particularly *Genesis* and the Gospels.⁴ The author, an inhabitant of Autun who wrote about 320,⁵ is in no way original: he constantly copies Virgil, and his apologetic is not without reminiscences of Arnobius.⁶ These mediocre literary exercises show us, however, the kind of classical teaching which emanated at the beginning of this century from the famous school of Autun.

We find a similar inspiration and a like technique in the work of Juvencus, a Spanish priest who in 329 published a

¹ L. Duchesne, *Fastes épiscopaux*, Vol. I, pp. 74-75.

² Cf. *History of the Primitive Church*, Vol. IV, pp. 959-961.

³ Migne, *P.L.*, Vol. XIX, 379-386. Cf. Bardenhewer, *Geschichte der altkirchlichen Literatur*, Vol. III, p. 428 (giving a bibliography), and recently G. Bardy, *Les Laudes Domini, poème autunois du commencement du IV^e siècle*, in *Mémoires de l'Académie des sciences, arts et belles-lettres*, Dijon, 1934, pp. 36-51.

⁴ G. Bardy, *art. cit.*, p. 37.

⁵ He addresses himself to Constantine, and wishes him victory, probably over Licinius. This takes us to the years immediately preceding the conflict of 324 (G. Bardy, *art. cit.*, pp. 46-47).

⁶ G. Bardy, *art. cit.*, pp. 49-51.

versified paraphrase of the Gospels in four books.¹ His aim was more ambitious than that of the anonymous writer of Autun, for he undertook a veritable epic, which was to include all the matter of the Gospels. The result was far from being a masterpiece, for it shows too great a desire to copy the classical poets—Virgil once more, and above all Lucretius, Stacius or others. But it deserves to be mentioned, for “Juvencus founded a tradition, and his initiative secured for him the respect of his Christian successors, who often imitated this imitator.”²

Chief Spanish Bishops

The other writers whose names, if not all their works, have come down to us, are bishops who took part in the development of the Arian crisis. The first we must mention is certainly Hosius of Cordova who, from 312 to 358, remained constantly in the foreground. But we are better informed on his place in general history, already discussed here,³ than on his activity in Spain itself, or on his qualities as a writer. Although he was so often travelling along the great routes in the Roman world—he was with Constantine in Rome and the East, at Sardica in 343 and in Sirmium again in 357—he must undoubtedly have exercised a preponderating influence on the churches of his own country, to which he returned to die a centenarian. It seems that he was also the author of small works on virginity and on ecclesiastical vesture,⁴ but we have no further information on these matters.

¹ *Evangeliorum libri IV* (Migne, *P.L.*, Vol. XIX, 53-346; ed. Huemer in the Vienna *Corpus*, Vol. XXIV). Juvencus is known only through some allusions in St. Jerome: *Chron.*, ann. 2345; *De viris illustr.*, lxxxiv, lxxxviii. Cf. Bardenhewer, *op. cit.*, pp. 429-432; P. de Labriolle, *Histoire de la littérature latine chrétienne*, 2nd edn., pp. 420-422.

² P. de Labriolle, *op. cit.*, p. 422.

³ Cf. *supra*, pp. 25, 84, 88 *et seq.*, 148 *et seq.*, 177, 187.

⁴ According to Isidore of Seville, *De viris.*, v. But neither Jerome nor Gennadius speak of this literary work of Hosius. We possess merely a letter from him to Pope Julius in 343 (Migne, *P.L.*, Vol. VIII, 1317-1328) and a letter to the Emperor Constantius in 356 (Migne, *P.L.*, Vol. VIII, 1327-1331). Cf. Bardenhewer, *op. cit.*, pp. 393-395.

We should have to say the same of his opponent, Potamius of Lisbon, the champion of Arianism in the peninsula, were it not for the fact that we still possess two of his sermons on the martyrdom of Isaías and the resurrection of Lazarus,¹ "which display a deliberate cultivation of the macabre."²

Apart from these two protagonists, our knowledge of Spanish bishops is practically confined to the names of the five who participated in the Council of Sardica: Praetextatus of Barcelona, Castus of Saragossa, Anianus of Castolona, Domitian of Astorga, and Florens of Merida.³ To these we may add the name of two theologians by no means to be neglected, Gregory of Elvira and Pacian of Barcelona.

Gregory of Elvira

The career of Gregory of Elvira extended through the whole of the second half of the century.⁴ His uncompromising orthodoxy and the dignity of his life made him greatly respected; his rigorism carried him in the direction of the intransigence of the Luciferian schismatics,⁵ and he became their leader in Spain. At the beginning of his episcopate, about 360, he made himself known above all as a thoroughgoing opponent of Arianism, which he combated in a work entitled *De fide*. For a long time it was thought that the author of this work was Gregory of Nazianzum, because of an erroneous statement of St. Augustine's.⁶ It was also attributed to Ambrose of Milan, Foebadus of Agen, and Vigilius of Tapse. But the responsibility for this work has at length been restored to Gregory of Elvira. St.

¹ Also a letter to Athanasius (Migne, *P.L.*, Vol. VIII, 1411-1418). Cf. Bardenhewer, *op. cit.*, p. 395.

² P. de Labriolle, *op. cit.*, p. 328.

³ On the Council of Sardica, cf. *supra*, pp. 147 *et seq.*

⁴ He was a contemporary of the "fall" of Hosius in 357 (cf. Eusebius of Vercelli, *Epist. ad Gregorium*), and seems to have been still living in 392 (cf. St. Jerome, *De viris illustr.*, cv). Cf. Bardenhewer, *op. cit.*, pp. 396 *et seq.*; García Villada, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, ii, pp. 53-73.

⁵ Cf. *infra*, p. 288.

⁶ In a letter (*Epist.*, cxlviii, 10), St. Augustine attributes it to "Gregorius, sanctus episcopus orientalis": there is an evident confusion here.

Jerome calls it an "elegant book," and we have two successive editions of it.¹ Gregory was also the author of sermons, which St. Jerome considered mediocre²: he is referring doubtless to the five homilies on the *Cantic of Canticles*,³ twenty homilies on various texts of the Old Testament,⁴ and a sermon on the Ark of Noe⁵ long attributed to a translator of Origen, but recently restored to Gregory by Dom Wilmart. These works, though of little literary merit, are interesting because of the ingenious character of their allegorical exegesis, hitherto rather rare among Western

¹ Migne, *P.L.*, Vol. XVII, 549-568 (with the apocryphal works of St. Ambrose); Vol. XX, 31-50 (works of Foebadus of Agen); Vol. LXII, 449-463 and 466-468 (works of Vigilius of Tapse); *P.G.*, Vol. XXXVI, 669-676 (works of Gregory of Nazianzum). The attribution to Foebadus has been upheld by the authors of the *Histoire littéraire de la France*, Vol. I, ii, Paris, 1733 (re-edited in 1865), pp. 273-281, and recently by A. Durengues, *La question du De fide*, Agen, 1909. It is usually rejected, and not without reason; cf. G. Morin, *L'attribution du De fide à Grégoire d'Elvire*, in *Revue bénédictine*, Vol. XIX, 1902, pp. 229-235; P. Lejay, *L'héritage de Grégoire d'Elvire*, *ibid.*, Vol. XXV, 1908, pp. 435-457; Bardenhewer, *op. cit.*, pp. 398-399.

² "De fide elegantem librum, diversos mediocri sermones tractatus. . ." (Jerome, *De viris illustr.*, cv).

³ Published by Gotthold Heine in 1848; attributed to Gregory of Elvira by Dom Wilmart, *Les tractatus sur le Cantique attribués à Grégoire d'Elvire*, in *Bulletin de littérature ecclésiastique*, Vol. XXVIII, 1906, pp. 233-299.

⁴ Known under the name of *Tractatus Origenis* (published by P. Batiffol, Paris, 1900). The twentieth homily, in contrast to all the others, deals with the mission of the Holy Ghost. On the attribution to Gregory of Elvira, cf. Dom Morin, *Les nouveaux Tractatus Origenis et l'héritage littéraire de l'évêque espagnol Grégoire d'Elvire*, in *Revue d'histoire et de littérature religieuse*, Vol. V, 1900, pp. 145-161; and *Autour des Tractatus Origenis*, in *Revue bénédictine*, Vol. XIX, 1902, pp. 225-245; Dom Wilmart, *art. cit.* in preceding note; E. C. Butler, *The New Tractatus Origenis*, in *Journal of Theological Studies*, Vol. II, 1901, pp. 113-121, 254-262; and *Tractatus de epitalamio and Tractatus Origenis*, *ibid.*, Vol. X, 1909, pp. 450-459. P. Brewer has wrongly attributed them to Rufinus of Aquileia (*Das sogenannte athanasianische Glaubensbekenntnis*, Paderborn, 1909, pp. 142-178); H. Moretus has refuted him in *Bulletin de littérature ecclésiastique*, Vol. XXXI, 1909, pp. 365-368; H. Koch (*Zu den Tractatus de libris ss. scripturarum*, in *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*, Vol. XLI, 1922, pp. 132-139) thinks that they were not written before the seventh century.

⁵ *Tractatus de arca Noe*. Cf. Wilmart, *Arca Noe*, in *Revue bénédictine*, Vol. XXVI, 1900, pp. 1-12; and *Un manuscrit du tractatus du faux Origène espagnol sur l'arche de Noé*, *ibid.*, Vol. XXIX, 1912, pp. 47-59.

theologians. It has been well said that it is "rather strange" that these homilies, "which combat errors such as anthropomorphism and Patripassianism, do not breathe a word on the Arian question, which nevertheless occupied so large a place in the life of Gregory. But the objection admits of an explanation. . . . The West displayed a curious ignorance on some matters."¹

Pacian of Barcelona

In the north of the peninsula, the successor to Praetextatus, Pacian of Barcelona, was more or less a contemporary of the Bishop of Betica.² But unlike the hot-tempered Luciferian, he distinguished himself by his restrained eloquence and his opposition to rigorism. He had to write against the intransigence of the Novatians, and we have amongst other writings three letters written by him to a certain Symphronian to refute the errors of that sect,³ an exhortation to penance,⁴ and a short treatise on baptism.⁵ But he also combated the tendency towards laxity, especially in his *Cervulus*, a work now lost,⁶ in which he satirised the very licentious pagan celebrations which evidently Christians did not always avoid. Lastly, he is known because of a maxim of his which has remained famous: "Christianus mihi nomen est, catholicus cognomen."⁷

Chief Bishops in Gaul

On both sides of the Pyrenees, the preoccupations of

¹ P. de Labriolle, *op. cit.*, p. 345.

² Pacian is known through St. Jerome, *De viris illustr.*, cvi; he died at a great age under Theodosius, therefore after 379 and before 392. Cf. Bardenhewer, *op. cit.*, pp. 401-403; P. de Labriolle, *op. cit.*, pp. 395-397; Garcia Villada, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, 1, pp. 327-351.

³ Migne, *P.L.*, Vol. XIII, 1051-1082.

⁴ Migne, *P.L.*, Vol. XIII, 1081-1090.

⁵ Migne, *P.L.*, Vol. XIII, 1089-1094.

⁶ The book is known through St. Jerome, *De viris illustr.*, cvi, and an allusion by the author himself in his *Parenesis ad paenitentiam*, i. Dom Morin has also attributed to him a *De similitudine carnis peccati* and a *Liber ad Justinum manichaeum* (*Revue bénédictine*, Vol. XXIX, 1912, pp. 1-28; Vol. XXX, 1913, pp. 286-293).

⁷ *Contra Sympronianum*, i, 4.

churchmen seem often to have been similar. We shall find examples of this at the end of the century; already in the Constantinian epoch a bishop in Gaul published a commentary on the *Canticle of Canticles*, as Gregory of Elvira did, and also a treatise against the Novatians, like Pacian. These two books of Reticus of Autun are now lost, but if we may believe St. Jerome, who considered them very mediocre,¹ there is no cause for regret. Reticus has left more traces in the external history of the Church, for he sat in the Councils of Rome and Arles in 313-314. He seems to have been then one of the confidants of Constantine; he was in any case one of the leading lights of the Gallic episcopate at that time.

Towards the middle of the century, the Christian churches of Gaul were temporarily troubled by the echoes of the Arian crisis. The majority of the bishops were for a long time ignorant of the elements of the question, and their inexperience partly explains the concessions they made to the heresy in the conciliar meetings at Arles, Béziers, and later on at Rimini.² Only a few took a definite position in the doctrinal conflict. In the service of official Arianism, we find Saturninus of Arles and Paternus of Périgueux, who were finally deposed at the Council of Paris in 360; on the side of orthodoxy we find Maximin and Paulinus of Trèves, Rhodianus of Toulouse, Foebadus of Agen, and above all Hilary of Poitiers.

The Bishops of Trèves

Trèves was the political capital of the whole of Gaul; naturally its bishops played a fairly prominent part in affairs. Already at the end of the reign of Constantine, Maximin of Trèves³ was the first in Gaul to be well informed on oriental

¹ St. Jerome, *De viris*, lxxxii; *Epist.*, xxxvii, 3.

² On this ignorance, cf. *supra*, p. 170. On the Arian Councils, cf. *supra*, pp. 170, 172, 173, 201 *et seq.*

³ We know some bishops of Trèves before Maximin: Eucher, Valerius, Maternus and Agricius, who sat in the Council of Arles in 314 (cf. L. Duchesne, *Fastes épiscopaux*, Vol. III, pp. 34 *et seq.*). On Maximin, cf. Dom Chamard, *Saint Maximin de Trèves*, in *Revue des questions historiques*, Vol. II, 1867, pp. 66-96; Diel, *Der hl. Maximinus und der hl. Paulinus Bischöfe in*

affairs, thanks to the sojourn made in his episcopal city by the exiled Athanasius. At the Council of Sardica, where there were present thirty-four Gallic bishops, he occupied a prominent place at the side of Hosius. He had, moreover, the honour to be condemned by name by the Council of the dissidents.¹ On the return from Sardica, he collected episcopal signatures to the Council's decisions. According to one document, which however is suspect, he presided in 346 at a Council of Cologne which pronounced the deposition of the bishop of that city, Euphratas.² About that date Maximin was replaced by Paulinus, who showed himself at the Council of Arles (353) a fierce defender of the Nicene symbol, which led to his exile in Phrygia, where he died five years later. His successor, Bonosus, was to be equally orthodox.³

Rhodanius of Toulouse and Foebadus of Agen

Rhodanius of Toulouse displayed at the Council of Béziers (356) a like hostility to the policy of Constantius,

Trier, Trèves, 1875; V. Garenfeld, *Die Trierer Bischöfe des vierten Jahrhunderts*, Bonn, 1888, pp. 24-46 (gives a close criticism of the *Vitae* of these bishops); R. Aigrain, *Saint Maximin de Trèves*, in *Bulletin de la Société des Antiquaires de l'Ouest*, 3rd series, Vol. IV, 1916, pp. 69-93.

¹ Cf. *supra*, p. 149.

² On this Council of Cologne, cf. Hefelè-Leclercq, *Hist. des Conciles*, Vol. I, 2nd part, pp. 830-834 (note), who gives a complete bibliography and decides for its authenticity; C. Jullian, *Hist. de la Gaule*, Vol. VII, p. 149, n. 6. Our sole source is a document of the 10th century, according to which an assembly of fourteen bishops on the 12th of May 346 judged as contumacious Euphratas of Cologne, guilty of apostasy ("Christum Deum negavit"). But in spite of the endeavours made to save the historical character of this Council (Mgr. Monchamp, *Pour l'authenticité des actes du concile de Cologne de 346*, in *Bulletin de l'Académie royale de Belgique, cl. des lettres*, 1902, pp. 245-288; and *Deux réunions conciliaires en Gaule en 346*, *ibid.*, 1905, pp. 638-658; Dom Quentin, *Le concile de Cologne de 346 et les adhésions gauloises aux lettres synodales de Sardique*, in *Revue bénédictine*, Vol. XXIII, 1906, pp. 477-486), it seems preferable to follow Mgr. Duchesne, according to whom the whole story is based on forgeries intended to support the claims of Trèves in regard to Cologne in the eighth century (*Le faux concile de Cologne, 346*, in *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique*, Vol. III, 1902, pp. 16-29).

³ On Paulinus, cf. Garenfeld, *op. cit.*, pp. 46-60 (and *supra*, p. 170). On Bonosus, *ibid.*, pp. 61-63.

and was also sent into exile.¹ As for his neighbour, Foebadus, Bishop of Agen, if he was not disturbed by the imperial authority, he expressed formally his fidelity to Nicene orthodoxy in a little treatise *Contra arianos*.² This unoriginal work had the value of a formula, for after the publication of the Anomoean creed of Sirmium in 357, it was sent round to all the bishops of Gaul. We have seen that Foebadus's fidelity was displayed also at Rimini, where he signed the official formula only with protests and reservations.³ But he and his work were far less important in comparison with that of his illustrious contemporary, St. Hilary of Poitiers.

Hilary of Poitiers

It would be superfluous to repeat here the biography of the great Bishop of Poitiers or to analyse his works, for that has already been done when treating the Arian crisis,⁴ or will be said later on. Hilary, a "man of action and a fighter," was animated "by one single idea which filled his life and constituted its unity: the fight against Arianism."⁵ But some features must nevertheless be stressed: Hilary was a convert from a family in comfortable circumstances, and was carefully educated. This energetic inhabitant of Poitiers soon became the attentive and vigilant pastor of his native town, and shortly afterwards the intrepid champion of orthodoxy in face of the Arian Emperor, and "the Athanasius of the West" whom exile would fail to cow. He became a bishop about 350, and began to fight in 355, carrying it on at Milan and then at Béziers against the Arians. He was exiled to Phrygia in 356, but there showed himself so firm and

¹ Cf. *supra*, p. 173.

² Cf. Bardenhewer, *op. cit.*, pp. 395-396 (bibliography); P. de Labriolle, *op. cit.*, pp. 341-342; A. Durengues, *Le livre de saint Phébade contre les Ariens*, Agen, 1927. The last mentioned writer, who gives a careful edition of the text and a facsimile of the single manuscript, with a translation and notes, exaggerates perhaps the merits of this treatise and its author.

³ Cf. *supra*, p. 204.

⁴ Cf. *supra*, pp. 173, 190, 196, 208, and *infra*, p. 303. Cf. Bardenhewer, *op. cit.* pp. 365-393; P. de Labriolle, *op. cit.*, pp. 303 and 318-334; X. Le Bachelet, art. *Hilaire de Poitiers*, in *Dict. de Théol. cath.*, Vol. VI, col. 2388-2462 (with abundant bibliographies).

⁵ P. de Labriolle, *op. cit.*, p. 331.

immovable that he was sent back to Gaul in 360. From that time till his death in 367 he laboured successfully to restore orthodoxy there.

His writings are historical records, from his *De synodis* addressed to all the bishops of Gaul and Britain to his pamphlets against Constantius and Auxentius of Milan, besides the great historico-polemic work in which he doubtless intended to give a complete account of the Arian crisis.¹

One might say also that his poems were records. Just as Arius wrote popular songs, so also Hilary made use of the singing of verses in order to propagate his theology. He brought back this innovation from the East, where he gained his theological knowledge, and his hymns were the first to be written in Latin. It was not without difficulty that he succeeded in persuading the faithful to sing the new ecclesiastical chants. But the three of which he was certainly the author,² undoubtedly have the character "both liturgical and popular" required for this kind of production, which is essentially didactic in its purpose.³

Hilary constantly devoted himself to the work of instructing his people in the truths of faith and teaching them the revealed word. At the commencement of his episcopate he wrote a commentary on the *Gospel according to St. Matthew*⁴; after his return from exile he wrote a commentary on the *Psalms*⁵ and a *Liber mysteriorum*,⁶ which dealt with the explanation of the Pentateuch and the Prophets. These latter works were plainly influenced by Origen, from whom

¹ On these works, cf. *infra*, pp. 387-401.

² Known through a MS. of Arezzo, ed. Gamurrini, Rome, 1887; ed. Feder in the *Vienna Corpus*, Vol. LXV, pp. 208-244. Cf. A. Feder, *Studien zu Hilarius von Poitiers*, in the *Sitzungsberichte* of the Vienna Academy, Vol. CLXIX, 5, 1912, pp. 68-80; Bardenheuer, *op. cit.*, pp. 387-389.

³ P. de Labriolle, *op. cit.*, p. 331.

⁴ *Commentarii in Matthaeum* (Migne, *P.L.*, Vol. IX, 917-1078).

⁵ *Tractatus super Psalmos* (Migne, *P.L.*, Vol. IX, 231-908; ed. Zingerle in the *Vienna Corpus*, Vol. XXII, 1891). Cf. H. Jeanotte, *Le psautier de saint Hilaire de Poitiers, Texte précédé d'une introduction*, Paris, 1917.

⁶ According to the description of St. Jerome; *Tractatus de mysteriis* according to the Arezzo MS., ed. Gamurrini, Rome, 1887; ed. Feder in the *Vienna Corpus*, Vol. LXV, pp. 3-207.

Hilary borrowed his allegorical exegesis. Though strictly speaking he did not introduce this method into the West, for others had used it before him,¹ he was one of the first to develop the system of prefigurations, intended to show, according to his own statement, "that, in each personage and epoch and fact of the Old Testament we find as in a mirror an image of the coming, preaching, and resurrection of Our Lord Jesus Christ and of our Church."² But on the whole, Hilary excelled in theology rather than in exegesis. His chief work, which has won for him the title of "Doctor of the Church,"³ is his treatise against the Arians, written in the East during his exile. He himself entitled it *De fide*, but we usually call it the *De trinitate*.⁴ He had recently been initiated into subtle discussions to which he had previously been a complete stranger, and he now displayed a penetration and a dialectical skill of the first order. This work is "one of the monuments of high Christian speculation of the first centuries. Never had the problems of Christology been previously studied so deeply in the West, in such minute detail."⁵

§ 3. THE ITALO-ILLYRIAN CHURCHES

Gravity of the Arian Crisis in these Countries

The other countries in the West did not possess at this time a fighter or a thinker of the stamp of Hilary of Gaul. We do not find in any bishop of the Italian or Illyrian provinces that intellectual vigour and firmness of character combined with a practical liberalism which characterised the great Bishop of Poitiers. Yet there was certainly need for a vigorous resistance to Arianism in these countries which, since the exile of Arius and Eusebius of Nicomedia, had

¹ In particular, Tertullian and Novatian (cf. P. de Labriolle, in *Annales de philosophie chrétienne*, Vol. CLV, 1908, pp. 591-603).

² *Tract. myst.*, i.

³ Conferred by a Brief of Pius IX dated 4th of April 1851.

⁴ Migne, *P.L.*, Vol. X, 25-472; ed. Amelli, Rome, 1922. Cf. Bardenhewer, *op. cit.*, pp. 377-379 and 390-393; P. de Labriolle, *op. cit.*, pp. 320-321; A. Beck, *Die Trinitätslehre des hl. Hilarius von Poitiers*, 1907.

⁵ P. de Labriolle, *op. cit.*, p. 321.

become, as it were, a second fatherland of Arianism. To show this it suffices to mention the names of Ursacius of Singidunum, Valens of Mursa, and Germinius of Sirmium, who played such prominent parts between 340 and 360. Their influence was able to eclipse, if not always to eliminate, the champions of orthodoxy who are known to us through the signatures to Sardica. Furthermore, it seems that the latter did not try or succeed in spreading the Christian faith in these border countries: after the Constantinian epoch, the number of episcopal sees, already comparatively small, scarcely increased. The same must be said of Northern Italy, where Milan, with Auxentius the Cappadocian, was likewise a centre of Arianism.¹

The Converted Philosophers: Victorinus

Yet Catholicism did not lose all its influence, either in intellectual circles or among the masses. We know of several conversions of writers in Italy who, after abandoning paganism, remained faithful to Nicene orthodoxy. This was the case under Constans with the Sicilian Julius Firmicus Maternus. After publishing about 336 a veritable manual of astrology under the title *Mathesis*, he embraced the Christian faith, which he set out to defend by combating "the errors of profane religions."² Another example was provided a little later in the rhetorician Caius Marius Victorinus, an African dwelling in Rome who, when once converted (about 355),³ became straightway an exegete and a theologian. His commentaries on St. Paul, and his

¹ To the bishoprics of the third century, Milan, Ravenna, Aquileia, Brescia, Verona, Salona, Siscia, Poetovio, and Sirmium (cf. *History of the Primitive Church*, Vol. III, pp. 631, 640), we must add: in Upper Italy, Bologna and Imola; in Illyricum, some ten sees which appear in connection with the Arian crisis (Sardica, Naissus, Viminacium, Singidunum, Mursa, Sabaria, etc.), but which must have originated in the time of Constantine.

² *De errore profanorum religionum*, written between 346 and 350 (ed. Halm in the Vienna *Corpus*, Vol. II, 1867; ed. Ziegler, Leipzig, 1907). Cf. C. H. Moore, *Julius Firmicus Maternus, der Heide und der Christ*, Munich, 1897; Bardenhewer, *Geschichte der altkirchlichen Literatur*, Vol. III, pp. 456-460; P. de Labriolle, *Histoire de la littérature latine chrétienne*, 2nd edn., pp. 310-317; and *supra*, p. 224.

³ Cf. *supra*, p. 236, n. 3, for a bibliography on Victorinus.

opuscula on doctrinal polemics have been belittled by St. Jerome, who considered them obscure and suitable only for scholars.¹ But this severity seems unjustified to the best judges, who find in Victorinus "a real critical sense and a great independence of mind," and who consider that he was in his day "one of the principal champions of the Catholic faith, and perhaps the most vigorous and the best equipped."² Not versed in ecclesiastical controversies, but well informed on Scriptural matters,³ this professor of rhetoric was able to refute with great calmness, courtesy and a faultless logic the arguments of the Arians, who were defended by his friend Candidus. Between 358 and 360 he wrote three small treatises entitled *De generatione divini Verbi*, four books *Adversus Arium*, and *De homoousio recipiendo*,⁴ in which he discusses the matter as a philosopher rather than as a churchman—an unusual feature for that period which is worthy of note. "In these metaphysical discussions, which give full scope to his vigorous dialectic, he endeavours to support dogma by reason; if he appeals to Scripture texts, it is mainly in order to prove to others and to himself that in his adventurous speculations he does not stray from the true doctrine."⁵ Another original feature we find in him is the composition of prose hymns *On the Trinity*,⁶ inspired by the *Psalms*. These, again, are metaphysical works, very abstract in character, but at the same time very poetical, and noteworthy for their restrained lyricism and their mystical spirit. Here we have "a very new conception," which "anticipates the hymns of St. Ambrose and the Middle Ages, and even some pages of the *Imitation*."⁷ Lastly, one

¹ St. Jerome, *De viris illustr.*, ci: "... valde obscuros qui nisi ab eruditissimis non intelliguntur."

² P. Monceaux, *Histoire littéraire de l'Afrique chrétienne*, Vol. III, p. 405.

³ According to his friend Simplician, the future Bishop of Milan (St. Augustine, *Confess.*, VIII, ii, 4).

⁴ Migne, *P.L.*, Vol. VIII, 1013-1140. On their dates, cf. Monceaux, *op. cit.*, pp. 400-403.

⁵ Monceaux, *op. cit.*, p. 408.

⁶ There were three of these: *Adesto lumen*, *Miserere Domine*, and *O beata Trinitas* (Migne, *P.L.*, Vol. VIII, 1139-1146). His other Christian works were *Commentaries* on the *Epistle to the Galatians*, the *Epistle to the Ephesians*, and the *Epistle to the Philippians* (Migne, *P.L.*, Vol. VIII, 1145-1294).

⁷ Monceaux, *op. cit.*, p. 410.

of the chief titles of Victorinus to fame is that in some respects he inspired St. Augustine.¹

Catholic Witnesses in Pannonia

The intellectuals were not the only ones to maintain the Catholic faith at a time when such an attitude was not unmeritorious. Some men without culture had the courage to resist the Arian tyranny: such was in 356 Martin, in the Pannonian town of Sabaria, and ten years later, Heraclian at Sirmium with two companions.

Martin, the future Bishop of Tours, had then recently been converted, and Hilary of Poitiers had just admitted him into his clergy as an exorcist. Returning to his native town during the exile of St. Hilary, he there displayed such apostolic zeal that he succeeded in converting his mother and other persons. The success of this propaganda, and probably some imprudent words against the heresy, brought upon him the hostility of the bishop of the place, who was an Arian. St. Martin was arrested, beaten with rods, and expelled from the town.²

The episode at Sirmium in 366 is better known, thanks to an authentic document which gives us the dialogue between these courageous laymen and their Bishop, Germinius.³

Strangely enough, the Bishop of Poitiers is once more involved in this affair. Germinius said to Heraclian: "It is Eusebius⁴ and Hilary who have put these ideas into your head." Heraclian tried to defend himself, but the bishop considered him insolent: "What a fine talker! Will not someone break his teeth?" Two clerics, Jovinian and Marinus, rushed forward and struck him. But the discussion continued. Germinius appealed to St. Paul, while Heraclian quoted Isaias, both with small theological skill. After the divinity of the Son, that of the Holy Ghost was discussed,

¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 420-422.

² J. Zeiller, *op. cit.*, pp. 297-301. He defends successfully against Babut (*Saint Martin de Tours*, p. 182) the historicity of the account of Sulpicius Severus.

³ *Altercatio Heracliani laici cum Germinio episcopo Sirmiensi*, edited by Caspari, *Kirchenhistorische Anecdota*, I, Christiania, 1883, pp. 131-147.

⁴ Doubtless Eusebius of Vercelli.

but they could not come to an agreement on any point. This public controversy would seem to have been disastrous for the defenders of the Nicene Creed; the clergy and people demanded that Heraclian and his two companions, Aurelian and Firmian, should be denounced to the civil authorities in order to be put to death. The bishop refused to hand them over to the secular arm; and as they still refused to accept the Creed of Rimini, he dismissed them with his blessing. It is interesting to note this final indulgence on the part of the good-humoured Germinius, contrasted with the fanaticism of the Arian clergy and people, ready to proceed to the worst violence against the defenders of the Catholic faith.¹

Lucifer of Cagliari

At the other extreme of the Italo-Illyrian domain, the island of Sardinia produced the most thoroughgoing of the anti-Arians, extreme in his acts as in his writings, and who in fact did much harm: Lucifer of Cagliari. Deported to the East in 355, he passed his time of exile in fulminating against the heresy, and against the Emperor who upheld it. His pamphlets² are some of the most virulent, if not the best written of the polemical works of the time. Before his return from exile in 362, he did a very indiscreet and deplorable thing by proceeding irregularly to consecrate Paulinus as Bishop of Antioch,³ and thereby he was responsible for this local schism, which affected the history of the whole Church down to the end of the century. Once he had returned to the West, Lucifer refused to pardon those who had failed at Rimini and were now repentant, and by this fact he separated himself from the Roman communion. After his death about 370, Sardinia returned to Catholic unity; but the Luciferian schism still continued here and there for some twenty years.⁴

¹ J. Zeiller, *op. cit.*, pp. 293-297.

² Migne, *P.L.*, Vol. XIII, 767-1042; ed. Hartel in the Vienna *Corpus*, Vol. XIV, 1886. Cf. Bardenhewer, *op. cit.*, pp. 469-475; P. de Labriolle, *op. cit.*, pp. 334-338, and *supra*, pp. 171, 182.

³ Cf. *infra*, p. 304.

⁴ With Ephesius at Rome, Gregory of Elvira (cf. *supra*, pp. 276-277), the priests Faustinus and Marcellinus, authors of the *Libellus precum* addressed to Theodosius about 384 (*Collectio avellana*, ii).

Eusebius of Vercelli

Occupying a mediate position between the Arian error and Luciferian extremism, Italy produced a bishop whose zeal and literary output somewhat recall those of Hilary of Poitiers, at whose side he fought: Eusebius of Vercelli. Coming from Sardinia, where he was born, and from Rome, where he was a lector, he became about 345 the first Bishop of Vercelli. Exiled to the East with Dionysius of Milan and Lucifer, he returned with the latter in 362, and died at about the same time as Lucifer, about 370. Of his writings we have only three letters, one addressed to the Emperor Constantius on the eve of the Council of Milan, another to his faithful during his exile, and the third to Gregory of Elvira.¹ But Jerome tells us that he had translated the *Commentaries on the Psalms* written by Eusebius of Caesarea,² and we know that he was one of the first advocates of monasticism in the West.³

Zeno of Verona

We must also say something about a Bishop of Verona, Zeno, who has left his name in ecclesiastical literature.⁴ The authenticity of the sermons attributed to him⁵ and even the date of his episcopate remained uncertain for a long time. But it is now accepted that Zeno, an African by origin, governed the church of Verona from the 8th of December 362 to the 12th of April 371 or 372,⁶ and that he was probably the author of ninety-three sermons,⁷ of which we have about thirty in a fairly complete state. Their style is cultivated and even florid, with metaphors and poetic turns.

¹ Migne, *P.L.*, Vol. XII, 947-954; Vol. X, 713-714. Cf. Bardenhewer, *op. cit.*, pp. 486-487 (bibliography); P. de Labriolle, *op. cit.*, pp. 342-343.

² St. Jerome, *De viris illustr.*, xcvi; *Epist.*, lxi, 2; xcii, 20.

³ Cf. next volume.

⁴ Cf. A. Bigelmair, *Zeno von Verona*, Munster, 1904; P. Monceaux, *Histoire littéraire de l'Afrique chrétienne*, Vol. III, pp. 365-371; Bardenhewer, *op. cit.*, pp. 477-481; P. de Labriolle, *op. cit.*, pp. 400-402.

⁵ Migne, *P.L.*, Vol. XI, 253-529; ed. Giuliani, Verona, 1883 (re-edit. 1900).

⁶ These are the conclusions of Bigelmair, *op. cit.*, p. 53.

⁷ Eleven others, put under his name, are certainly apocryphal (five are by St. Hilary, two by Potamius of Lisbon, and four translated from St. Basil).

Their contents are especially interesting. "They are a mine of exact information on the state of dogma or worship in the fourth century: the Trinity, original sin, grace and free will, the immortality of the soul, the resurrection and the last judgement, the cultus of the Virgin and the saints. They are also an important source for the study of Christian archaeology, the development of the liturgy, and the material organisation and life of communities: they deal with the arrangements of basilicas, the chanting of the *Psalms*, the administration of the sacraments, the rites of baptism, eucharistic ceremonial, the Easter festival, exorcisms, fastings, agapes, the life of clergy and religious, the customs of the faithful, and pagan superstitions."¹ Lastly, it is worthy of note that, "while one can mention before his time a few isolated sermons, or treatises in the form of sermons, he was the first in the West who has left us a collection of real homilies: he remains for us the earliest preacher in the Latin tongue."²

§ 4. THE ROMAN CHURCH FROM SILVESTER TO DAMASUS

In the development of the Arian crisis, the part played by the Roman pontiffs was not a remarkably prominent one, though they did not remain idle. But Constantine's successors did not, any more than the first Christian Emperor, recognise in the Popes a jurisdiction over the whole Church, and it was seldom that the bishops in Eastern countries, in which the great conflict was centred, solicited Rome's intervention. Hence the Popes appear in the forefront of the scene only at intervals. Even so, certain episodes are all the more significant, and these call for further consideration.

Julius I (337-352)

In the reign of Constantine, the Papacy certainly remained somewhat outside the great matters which were then agitating Christendom. Silvester contented himself with sending to the Council of Nicaea two legates, who were

¹ Monceaux, *op. cit.*, p. 370.

² *Ibid.*, p. 371.

certainly treated with great honour, but did not play an active part, so far as we know.¹ After Silvester, Mark occupied the See of Peter, but only for a little while (18th of January 336 to 7th of October 336). On the other hand, we find in Julius I (6th of February 337-12th of April 352) a definite consciousness of the duties of his office, and also of the difficulties of his task. In the trial of Athanasius, which the Eusebians succeeded in reopening, and which continued more or less from 338 to 346, he "played a principal part."² For the rest, we must not measure its importance by the results obtained, for these, as we have seen, were certainly very unsatisfactory. The mission of the priests Elpidius and Philoxenus to the East, and the Roman Council of 340, could not persuade the Eusebians to accept the Roman arbitration³; the Council of Sardica, called in 343 on the initiative of the Emperor Constans, and which gave a high place to the two Roman legates, Archidamus and Philoxenus, was no more successful in imposing on the episcopate of Constantius the views of the West. The Westerns, after the departure of the Easterns, passed a certain number of disciplinary canons, but those which attribute to the Roman See a higher jurisdiction were neither recognised nor applied in the East, or even in the West.⁴ Nevertheless, the texts which remain of this period, and in particular the letter of Pope Julius to the Easterns in 341, and the synodal letter and canons of Sardica, are of great interest in the study of what some historians like to call "the formation of the Pontifical Monarchy."

The Letter to the Easterns

To begin with, by an imprudent initiative on the part of the Eusebians themselves, the question of the legitimacy of Athanasius's position had been taken to Rome, and the Papacy thus "entered on the scene."⁵ Then, when the

¹ Cf. *supra*, pp. 89, 91, n. 3.

² Caspar, *op. cit.*, p. 138: "The Roman Church played in the drama of Athanasius an essential part and one which was of capital importance for its own history."

³ Cf. *supra*, p. 140.

⁴ Cf. *supra*, pp. 152-154.

⁵ P. Batiffol, *La paix constantinienne*, p. 408.

Easterns decidedly rejected the judgement of Rome, Julius did not fail to condemn their withdrawal, and to restate the principles which justified his own intervention. True, his letter does not invoke the argument based on the *Tu es Petrus* familiar to the Popes of the third century—a fact which has led some to question the doctrinal bearing of this text, and to regard it as nothing more than a brilliant improvisation at a given moment—but if we consider the general tone of the letter, and its affirmations, at least implicit, there can be no question of the intention of Pope Julius here to act as supreme judge of the matter.¹

The Canons of Sardica and the Papacy

We know that his voice was not heard. But at least the letter had once more claimed, in terms which were moderate but firm, the traditional rights of the Roman See. Two years later, the bishops of all the West assembled in Council recognised in the Pope a higher authority. Among the canons of Sardica, which form, as it were, a Constitution *De Episcopis*,² some strict disciplinary rules were laid down which attributed a big part to the successor of “the most holy Apostle Peter.” Thus, it was provided that a bishop condemned by a provincial council could appeal to Rome, where it would be decided whether the first sentence should be reviewed or not. If confirmed by the Pope, it would be irrevocable; in the contrary event, the case was to be reopened before the bishops of a neighbouring province, to which might be joined legates from Rome.³ The Bishop of Rome is here not regarded as a veritable judge of appeal, and this seems to be a step backward and almost a disavowal in regard to sentences previously passed at Rome and as recently as 340. But to the Pope is attributed “a juris-

¹ Cf. *supra*, p. 142.

² The expression is Batiffol's, *op. cit.*, p. 440. On the Canons of Sardica and their authenticity, cf. *supra*, pp. 152 *et seq.*

³ Canons 3 and 7 (in the Latin; in the Greek version, nos. 3 and 5); Hefelè-Leclercq, *op. cit.*, pp. 762 and 769.

diction of cassation over the whole Catholic episcopate,"¹ and this constitutes a solemn affirmation of his primacy. That primacy is, moreover, expressed also in the synodal letter already mentioned, which the Fathers of Sardica addressed to Pope Julius: "It seems excellent and fitting that the bishops should refer from their respective provinces to the head (of the Church), that is, to the see of the Apostle Peter."² The importance of these declarations has been emphasised by historians writing from very different viewpoints. "It was at Sardica," writes J. Zeiller, "that the episcopate gathered together in Council gave for the first time to these rights (those of the Roman Pontiff) a juridical existence."³ And we read from the pen of Erich Caspar: "Until then, the position of the Bishop of Rome in the Church as a whole rested only on unwritten customs. The Canons of Sardica undertook for the first time in the history of the Church to give it a textual basis."⁴

These Canons, we must repeat, remained a dead letter. The East was averse to submitting to a Roman jurisdiction, whatever form it might take; and at Rome itself the Canons seem to have been ignored, for the Popes could not content themselves with a right to cause sentences to be revised by others: their jurisdiction over the West was displayed when necessary in a more active and positive manner. Thus, shortly after Sardica, the submission of the Illyrian bishops Ursacius and Valens, obtained at the Council of Milan in 347⁵ in presence of the Roman legates, was made at Rome itself: Pope Julius, surrounded by his *presbyterium*, received

¹ The expression comes from Babut, *L'authenticité des canons de Sardique*, in *Transactions of the First International Congress for the History of Religions*, Oxford, 1908, Vol. II, pp. 345-352. "A jurisdiction of quasi-appeal" (*Quasi-appellationsinstanz*), writes Caspar, *op. cit.*, p. 163. E. Stein (in *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, Vol. XXXII, 1932, p. 125) ingeniously compares this jurisdiction to the right of quasi-appeal which the Emperor possessed in regard to the prefects of the Praetorium, whose sentence could be sent back to the first judge for a new examination (*retractatio*).

² "Hoc enim optimum et valde congruentissimum videbitur si ad caput id est ad Petri apostoli sedem de singulis quibusque provinciis domini referant sacerdotes" (Hilary, *Fragm. histor.*, ii, 9).

³ J. Zeiller, *op. cit.*, p. 257.

⁴ E. Caspar, *op. cit.*, pp. 158-159.

⁵ Cf. *supra*, pp. 160-161.

their retraction, and welcomed them "into the communion of Athanasius," and abrogated by his own authority the sentence of deposition pronounced against them by the Council of Sardica.¹

Liberius (352-366)

Under Julius's successor, the Papacy suffered a veritable eclipse. There was no further manifestation then of a universal primacy, nor even of a "primatial" jurisdiction over the whole of the West. The personality of the new pontiff, Liberius (17th of May 352—24th of September 366) explains in part this collapse. He was a gentle and pious deacon, but does not seem to have been very intelligent, or always very capable. Not very energetic, and not given to initiative, he was, in fact, carried away by the events of the time. It must also be said that circumstances were not very favourable to the exercise of his authority. The Caesaro-papism of Constantius, which oppressed the West from 353 to 361, stifled all freedom in the Church. Moreover, as we have seen, the course of events was throughout directed by the will of the Emperor. Liberius contented himself with opposing this by a passive resistance unfortunately followed by a complete collapse.

For a long time the pontiff defended Athanasius. When his legates unfortunately signed the latter's condemnation at the Council of Arles, he disavowed their action, and protested to Constantius.² When the latter insisted, uttering alternate threats and promises, and finally made the Pope come to court, Liberius still refused to give way, and discussed the matter step by step in a famous interview with a placid dignity which demands our admiration and respect. This resistance led to his banishment to the interior of Thrace (end of 355).³

But the sufferings of his exile very soon deprived Liberius of the firmness which he had displayed at Rome and Milan. In order to obtain his liberation, he consented, as we have seen, to sign suspect formulae,⁴ and to disavow Athanasius.

¹ Cf. J. Zeiller, *op. cit.*, pp. 265-266.

² Cf. *supra*, p. 171.

³ Cf. *supra*, pp. 173-177.

⁴ Cf. *supra*, pp. 188-190.

The Emperor rewarded him by bringing him back, first to Sirmium (357) and then to Rome (358), where he was disturbed no further. These concessions deprived the Roman Church of the authority which it had enjoyed under Julius I. Athanasius and Hilary, who in their own exiles maintained their intractable resistance, expressed their view of Liberius in somewhat contemptuous terms¹; and in the years which follow there was scarcely any mention of him: at the Council of Rimini he was neither invited nor represented. It was a stroke of luck for the Papacy—so it has been said²—to be kept at a distance from this assembly, which was by constraint or intrigue to come to terms with the heresy by sanctioning Homoian formulae. But it is none the less significant to see the Papacy thus left on one side when all the West was meeting together in council.³

To complete this collapse, two bishops were at that moment laying claim to the see of Peter, and this see would be weakened for some time by schism: first under Liberius from 357 to 365 by the schism of Felix; then during the early years of Damasus by the schism of Ursinus.

The Anti-pope Felix (357-365)

The Felician Schism was the work of the Emperor Constantius, whose arbitrary authority even led to inconsistency on this occasion. When removing Liberius he had replaced him by the oldest of the deacons, Felix, whom he caused to be consecrated in his own palace by three bishops designated for the office.⁴ The Roman clergy nevertheless remained faithful to their bishop, and had solemnly sworn not to

¹ St. Athanasius, *Historia arianorum*, xli; St. Hilary, *Liber adv. Constantium*, xi. Cf. St. Jerome, *Chron.*, an. 2365.

² Duchesne, *Histoire ancienne de l'Eglise*, Vol. II, p. 455.

³ We must, however, mention Liberius's letter in 362 to the bishops of Italy, which is in line with the Athanasian programme of reconciliation (Jaffé-Wattenbach, 223), and his reply in 364 to the bishops of the Council of Lampsacus (Jaffé-Wattenbach, 228). Cf. *infra*, p. 318.

⁴ St. Athanasius, *Historia arianorum*, lxxv. Note the special treatment of the Roman Church. Everywhere else, at Alexandria or at Antioch as at Milan, a stranger was intruded by force. But the Emperor obviously wished to win over the opinion of the Eternal City, and visited it in person in 357.

recognise any other pastor but him. Constantius soon resigned himself to the inevitable, and with regret recalled Liberius. When the latter thus obtained his freedom, the Emperor did not wish to withdraw his act by sacrificing his own creature; he caused the bishops of the Council of Sirmium (358) to write to Rome "that the bishops were to occupy together the Apostolic See, and to perform sacerdotal functions by agreement; and that the unfortunate events which had taken place in connection with the consecration of Felix and the absence of Liberius were henceforth to be forgotten."¹ This division of the episcopate was indeed a singular innovation. The common sense of the populace refused to accept it. Liberius entered Rome once more, acclaimed by the crowd who cried out: "One God! One Christ! One bishop!" and bloody riots ensued.² Felix lost the day: he retained only a minority of sympathisers, who for their part refused to recognise the authority of his rival, and he had to leave the city for a place in the neighbourhood of Porto. He returned from thence once in order to occupy the basilica of Julius in the Trastevere, but he was unable to keep it, and returned to Porto, where he died on the 22nd of November 365.³

Damasus (366-384) and the Anti-pope Ursinus

Liberius soon followed him to the tomb: on the 24th of September of the following year he peacefully terminated a pontificate marked by so many calamities.⁴ But the unity thus re-established lasted only a short time: soon it was

¹ Sozomen, *Hist. eccles.*, IV, xv.

² Theodoret, *Hist. eccles.*, II, xiv.

³ Legend subsequently deformed the office of this "anti-pope." According to the *Liber Pontificalis*, Felix was raised from the priesthood to the episcopate by Liberius himself before the latter went into exile; he condemned Ursacius and Valens, Roman priests [*sic*] for Arianism, and these persuaded Constantius to send back Liberius. Felix, deposed by an Arian council, had to give place to Liberius, who greatly persecuted the clergy who remained faithful to his rival. According to another notice, Felix perished as a martyr for reproving the Emperor for his heresy. The formation of this legend has been analysed by Duchesne, *Liber pontificalis*, Vol. I, pp. lxxiv-lxxv and cxx-cxxv.

⁴ On the reputation of Liberius, cf. Batiffol, *La paix constantinienne*, pp. 519-521, and *Le siège apostolique*, pp. 7-8; Caspar, *op. cit.*, pp. 193-194.

broken by the intransigent anti-Felicians, who condemned the defunct pontiff for his conciliatory policy. Already, on the day after his death, his opponents assembled together at the basilica of Julius, under the direction of seven priests and three deacons, and acclaimed as bishop the deacon Ursinus, whom the Bishop of Tibur consecrated immediately. At the same time another assembly, meeting in a regular manner, was held in the basilica of Lucina, and this elected the deacon Damasus, a returned Felician and a member of the Roman aristocracy. The schism very soon turned to civil war: bands of Damasians proceeded to pillage the basilica of Julius, while the newly elect, safe in the Lateran, was being consecrated there by the Bishop of Ostia (1st of October). The prefect of the city, Viventius, decided to expel Ursinus and the two deacons Amantius and Lupus as disturbers of the peace. But the seven priests who comprised the Ursinian clergy continued to hold meetings, so that it became necessary to arrest them also. This measure led to a disturbance: their sympathisers set them free and shut themselves up with them in the basilica of Liberius; the Damasians went to attack them there (26th of October) and after a regular siege, captured the basilica by assault.¹

The following year, the Emperor, thinking that men's minds had been pacified, allowed Ursinus to return (15th of September 367). But disorders recommenced immediately, so that the new prefect of the city, the pagan Praetextatus, once more sent the anti-pope into exile (16th of November), expelled the Ursinian priests (12th of January 368), and restored to Damasus the Liberian basilica which he had not been able to regain.² The schismatics continued, though without priests, and occupied for a time the

¹ There were 137 killed, according to Ammianus, XXVII, iii, 12-14; 160 according to the anti-Damasian pamphlet inserted in the *Collectio avellana*, i, 7. On these troubles, cf. Duchesne, *Histoire ancienne de l'Eglise*, Vol. II, pp. 455-458; E. Caspar, *op. cit.*, pp. 197-198.

² Damasus reclaimed it through the *defensores ecclesiae romanae*. This is the first known intervention by these "defenders." On these personages, who apparently represented the ecclesiastical authority before the civil tribunals, cf. F. Martroye, *Les defensores ecclesiarum*, in *Bulletin de la Société nationale des antiquaires de France*, 1921, pp. 241-249; *Les defensores ecclesiae aux Ve et VIe siècles*, in *Revue historique de droit*, 4th ser., Vol. II, 1923, pp. 597-622.

church of St. Agnes on the Via Nomentana. On several further occasions, from 368 to 371, the imperial authority had to take measures against the Ursinians, who continued to hold meetings or foment troubles.¹

Other Difficulties of Damasus

Ursinus, interned in Gaul, appeared no more in Italy.² But Damasus still encountered resistance at Rome: a converted Jew who had apostatised accused him in 371 of murder; Maximin the *vicarius urbi* accepted the charge and began to put clergy to the torture. It became necessary to get the Emperor to take up the matter, possibly at the request of the priest Evagrius, in order to get the pontiff acquitted.³ Throughout all these difficulties, Damasus was obliged to count on the support of the State, and this Valentinian I, for the sake of public order, did not refuse him.

This did not increase his authority in the eyes of his colleagues and suffragans, if it be true that the Roman Council of 368, which condemned Auxentius of Milan, failed to give a decision against Ursinus, as it had been requested to do.⁴ In the city itself, various sects managed to escape the jurisdiction of the lawful bishop: Valentinians, Marcionites, Novatians, and especially more recent schismatics: Donatists, who had then for their bishop Macrobius, followed by Claudian, whose expulsion was decreed in 378, Luciferians, governed by Bishop Aurelius and the priest Macarius, who died at Ostia from a wound received in the course of a scuffle in Rome.⁵

¹ On the Ursinian Schism, we are given information by the anti-Damasian pamphlets (*Collectio avellana*, i and ii), and by several imperial letters to the prefect of the city (*ibid.*, v to xii).

² We find him again at Milan after 378 (cf. *infra*, p. 379).

³ Caspar, *op. cit.*, pp. 203-205.

⁴ According to the Ursinian pamphlet, *Collectio avellana*, i, 15. Cf. also the Council of Aquileia in 381, which did not hesitate to condemn Leontius of Salona, previously exculpated by Damasus (see next volume).

⁵ The Bishop of Ostia consented to bury Macarius in a basilica of a martyr. The Luciferian sect continued to have a bishop in Rome, and the next was Ephesius. Cf. the *Libellus precum* of Faustinus and Marcellinus, in *Collectio avellana*, ii, 77-85.

Organisation of the Roman Church

Throughout this singularly troubled history, the Roman Church nevertheless continued to develop its organisation. Already in the first half of the century it had reconstituted its archives,¹ on the model of those of the civil administration, in which a register was kept of letters received and sent. In the pontificate of Mark, in 336, there was drawn up an ecclesiastical calendar, containing a notification of the religious festivals, the dates of decease and a catalogue of all the popes, and the anniversaries of the principal martyrs. It is worthy of note that these lists have come down to us in a collection of civil documents constituting a sort of official almanac, usually called the "Chronograph of 354."²

The College of Deacons

This Church, already "departmentalised," as someone has said,³ possessed a considerable patrimony, which it owed above all to the generosity of Constantine.⁴ The revenues at its disposal enabled it to give extensive alms, to multiply places of worship, and also to display a magnificence at which contemporaries often took scandal.⁵ The administration of this wealth fell to the lot of the seven deacons, whose office became from this standpoint very important; their college represented a veritable oligarchy, conservative in tendency, which has been compared to the Senate of Republican Rome.⁶ From it came all the pontiffs of this period: Liberius as well as Felix, Damasus⁷ as well as Ursinus, and later still Siricius.

¹ These had been destroyed during the Diocletian persecution (cf. *History of the Primitive Church*, Vol. IV, p. 1070).

² We find there amongst other things a civil calendar, consular records, a list of prefects, imperial chronicles, and an account of the districts of Rome (ed. Mommsen, in *Monumenta Germaniae, Auctores antiquissimi*, Vol. IX). Cf. J. P. Kirsch, *Der stadtrömische christliche Festkalender in Altertum*, Freiburg in Bresgau, 1924. ³ Caspar, *op. cit.*, p. 134. ⁴ Cf. *supra*, pp. 28-29.

⁵ Cf. Ammianus, XXVII, iii, 14; St. Jerome, *Contra Joh. Hieros.*, viii, etc.

⁶ Caspar, *op. cit.*, p. 258.

⁷ He was therefore very probably Roman by origin, although the *Liber Pontificalis* describes him as *Spanus*. Recently this statement has been utilised in order to give Damasus an Iberian or, more precisely, a Catalan origin: Z. Garcia Villada, *Historia ecclesiastica de España*, Vol. I, ii, pp. 225-253; J. Vives, *Damasiana*, in *Spanische Forschungen der Goerresgesellschaft*, Vol. I, 1929, pp. 93-101, and *Sant Damas compatrici nostre*, in *Paraule cristiana*, Vol. XVIII, 1933, pp. 301-323.

Institution of New Churches

While the number of deacons remained limited to seven, that of priests was continually increasing. From forty-six in the middle of the third century¹ it went to about seventy at the end of the fourth.² This was because new places of worship had been opened since the Constantinian period: Optatus, who wrote about the time when Damasus was installed, mentions more than forty Roman "basilicas."³ Obviously this term includes all religious buildings, and in particular, the titular churches. We know that the term *tituli* signifies the parish churches, the origin of which goes back to the third century in the largest cities such as Rome, Carthage, and Alexandria⁴; after the troubles of the last persecutions there were about twenty in Rome,⁵ all in the outlying quarters. Some more came into existence in the fourth century: the *titulus Equitii*, attributed to Pope Silvester (=St. Martin on the Hills); the *titulus Marci*, founded by his ephemeral successor (=St. Mark); the *titulus Damasi* in the Campo Marzio (=St. Laurence in Damaso).⁶ The foundation of the *titulus Vestinae* under Innocent I at the beginning of the fifth century will bring the number up to twenty-five, which will henceforth remain constant and traditional. As to the basilicas properly so called their number also increased. To the four Constantinian basilicas⁷ were added the two founded by Pope Julius, one near Trajan's Forum (=the

¹ Cf. *History of the Primitive Church*, Vol. IV, p. 976.

² Harnack, *Mission und Ausbreitung*, Vol. II, 4th edn., pp. 832 *et seq.*

³ Optatus, II, 4.

⁴ Cf. *History of the Primitive Church*, Vol. IV, p. 979. The names given to the Roman *tituli* are usually those of the original owners who gave their houses to the Church to be used as places of worship. The names of saints attached to them were for the most part given later on, and in some cases in consequence of a confusion with a martyr of the same name. On the *tituli*, cf. L. Duchesne, *Notes sur la topographie de Rome au Moyen Age*, II: *Les titres presbytéraux et les diaconies*, in *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire* published by the French School in Rome, Vol. VII, 1887, pp. 217-243; J. P. Kirsch, *Die römischen Titelkirchen*, Paderborn, 1918; F. Lanzoni, *I titoli presbiterali di Roma antica nella storia e nella leggenda*, in *Rivista di archeologia cristiana*, Vol. II, 1925, pp. 195-257.

⁵ Caspar, *op. cit.*, pp. 53-56.

⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 132, 253.

⁷ The Lateran, St. Peter's on the Vatican, St. Paul's outside the Walls, and Holy Cross (cf. *supra*, p. 29).

Holy Apostles) and the other on the right bank of the Tiber (=S. Maria in Trastevere), and also that of Pope Liberius on the Esquilino (=St. Mary Major). Finally, we must not forget the cemetery chapels, which were so numerous on all the roads in the suburbs.

Damasus took special care of the religious buildings of the Eternal City: the works which he caused to be carried out at the Vatican led to the rediscovery of many tombs of martyrs¹: he also restored the catacombs of Callistus and St. Sebastian, which now began to become places of pilgrimage.²

The Personality of Damasus

This archæological bent is not surprising in Damasus. He was more intellectual than his predecessors: he particularly interested himself in the pontifical archives,³ and also in the exegetical labours of St. Jerome, whom he often consulted, and whom he encouraged to undertake the revision of the Latin text of the Bible.⁴ He indulged in poetry at times, and had carved in stone numerous metric epigrams which he composed.⁵ These are rather poor as verse, empty and obscure in the opinion of the best judges.⁶ But at least they show us the talent of his friend Furius Dionysius Filocalus,⁷ to whom we owe the fine illustrations which decorate the *Calendar* of Pope Liberius, and the no less splendid calligraphy of the Damasian inscriptions; they also testify to the devotion of the Roman populace and its pastor towards the martyrs of the early centuries.

¹ Cf. the testimony of his inscriptions (ed. Ihm, no. 4).

² Cf. the visits to the Catacombs of the young Jerome and his companions (*Comment. in Ezechiel*, xi, 5). These allusions take us back, it is true, to the very first years of the pontificate of Damasus (Cavallera, *Saint Jérôme*, Vol. I, pp. 15-16).

³ Cf. his own statements: ed. Ihm, no. 57.

⁴ Cf. Cavallera, *Saint Jérôme*, Vol. I, pp. 75-84.

⁵ Complete edition by M. Ihm, *Damasi Epigrammata*, Leipzig, 1895. Cf. Bardenhewer, *Geschichte der altkirchlichen Literatur*, Vol. III, pp. 563-567.

⁶ Duchesne, *Histoire ancienne de l'Eglise*, Vol. II, p. 483.

⁷ On Damasus and Filocalus, cf. J. Vives in *Analecta sacra Tarraconensia*, Barcelona, 1926, pp. 483-494.

In many respects, then, Damasus was a great pope. In spite of his unfortunate beginnings and the difficulties of a situation which was often delicate, he renewed the traditions previously defended by Miltiades and Julius. Later on we shall study the part he played in the conclusion of the Arian crisis, and the place which he secured in the West for the Apostolic See.¹

¹ Cf. *infra*, p. 341, and next volume. The expression "Sedes apostolica" is particularly Damasian (cf. Batiffol, *Le siège apostolique*, p. 39, n. 2, and *Papa, sedes apostolica, apostolatus*, in *Rivista d'archeologia cristiana*, Vol. II, 1925, pp. 99-116).

CHAPTER VI

THE DECLINE OF ARIANISM¹

§ I. THE ORTHODOX REACTION

After Rimini

ON the morrow of the Councils of Rimini and Seleucia, Arianism seemed everywhere victorious, and orthodoxy definitely rendered powerless. But things were not quite like that in reality. The faithful, whom no one had thought of consulting, knew little of the controversies which were taking place between the bishops; they continued to pray to the Lord Jesus Christ, and to regard Him as the true Son of God, without troubling themselves with the subtle distinctions advocated in the formularies. As for the bishops, they had managed to sign many Creeds, under the pressure of the civil authorities or the threats of exile or imprisonment: the majority of them nevertheless believed in the consubstantial Trinity as it had recently been defined by the great Council of Nicaea, and they only awaited the return of freedom to manifest their faith.

Council of Paris

It was Gaul which first enjoyed this blessing. As soon as Julian had been proclaimed Emperor, and the authority of Constantius was no longer felt, the bishops of Gaul assembled at Paris, doubtless in the course of the summer of 360, and they addressed to the Easterns a letter full of humility, in which they condemned Auxentius, Valens, Ursacius, and all the other intriguers of Rimini, together with the successors of the deposed bishops, and finally Saturninus of Arles, already excommunicated but constantly active in the evil cause. They admitted that they wrongly allowed themselves

¹ For Bibliography, see p. 404.

to be deceived by keeping silent about the term *ousia*, and they promised to show themselves stricter in the future.¹

The leading spirit in this Council was Hilary of Poitiers, who had just returned from exile. The intrepid bishop had gone to Constantinople with the delegates from Seleucia; he had witnessed their lamentable defection, and after vainly requesting an audience from the Emperor, he had written against him a scathing pamphlet, not published immediately, in which he did not hesitate to compare Constantius with Antichrist.² He had so often multiplied his protests and complaints, and to such good effect, that the government had in the end become uneasy and had decided that his presence in the East constituted a real danger. Accordingly, he had been sent back to Gaul, but without the decree of exile pronounced against him being withdrawn.³ Hilary did not trouble about that detail, and hastened to take up again the care of his faithful, and to send round to his colleagues in Gaul a letter from the Easterns. The Council of Paris was summoned in order to reply to this letter, and we have just seen the nature of that answer.

Council of Alexandria

The death of Constantius, and the recognition of Julian as his sole and legitimate successor, enabled the Eastern Catholics to regain in turn their freedom. Everywhere the deposed bishops took possession once more of their sees: Athanasius left the deserts which had sheltered him for six

¹ The letter of the Gallic bishops is given by St. Hilary, *Fragm. histor.*, xi; cf. A. L. Feder, *Studien zu Hilarius von Poitiers*, I, in the *Sitzungsberichte* of the Vienna Academy, 1910, pp. 62-64.

² St. Hilary, *Adversus Constantium*, vi-vii: "I will therefore say to you, O Constantius, what I would have said to Nero, and what Decius and Maximin would have heard from my mouth. You are fighting against God, you ravage the Church, you persecute the saints, you detest the preachers of Christ, you destroy religion, tyrannising not over human things but over divine. I have told you so far what crimes you have committed in common with those persecutors: learn now of those which are peculiar to yourself. You falsely pretend to be a Christian, and you are a new enemy of Christ; a forerunner of Antichrist, you carry out his dark works. . . ."

³ Sulpicius Severus, *Chronic.*, II, xlv: "Postremo quasi discordiae seminarium et perturbator Orientis redire ad Gallias jubetur, absque exilii indulgentia."

years, and reappeared at Alexandria; Meletius returned to Antioch.

In the spring of 362, a certain number of bishops recalled from exile by Julian assembled together at Alexandria. Most of them were Egyptians, but there were also there a Palestinian bishop, Asterius of Petra; an Italian, Eusebius of Vercelli; and representatives of Lucifer of Cagliari and Apollinaris of Laodicea, and a priest named Paulinus, head of the Eustathian community of Antioch. The presence of these strangers is not difficult to explain, and it gave the Council its chief importance.

Asterius of Petra had been interned in Egypt. He was on his way home when he passed through Alexandria; it was natural that he should stop there to confer with Athanasius and his Egyptian colleagues. Eusebius of Vercelli had at first been exiled in Palestine: he had been put in the care of the Arian bishop Patrophilus of Scythopolis, who had done everything possible to bring him to enter into communion with him, but in vain.¹ He had been sent on to Cappadocia, possibly after the death of Patrophilus, and then into the Thebaid; when he returned, Athanasius had asked him to take part in the Council assembled at Alexandria, to add the light of his experience.

A similar invitation had been addressed to Lucifer, Bishop of Cagliari. He also had had many domiciles during his years of exile; he had been in turn at Germanicia, Eleutheropolis in Palestine, and finally down in the Thebaid. He had, as we know, an indomitable character; he had spent his exile in multiplying pamphlets against Constantius, and he had taken steps to see that these duly reached the Emperor. It had proved impossible to reduce him to silence, and his misfortunes had only increased his audacity. When invited to the assembly at Alexandria, he excused himself on the ground that he had to hasten to Antioch, where urgent matters awaited him, and accordingly he appointed two deacons to represent him.² Vain efforts were made to retain him, for in fact it was feared that he might be imprudent, but

¹ We still possess a letter of Eusebius, addressed to his diocesans of Vercelli during his stay at Scythopolis.

² Theodoret, *Hist. eccles.*, III, ii; Socrates, *Hist. eccles.*, V, xii.

they were all to no purpose. It was known that the situation of the church at Antioch was particularly delicate. Not only were there two rival bishops at its head, the aged Arian Euzoius, installed by the orders of Constantius, and Meletius, legitimately elected by his colleagues, but, moreover, a small group of orthodox people, faithful after the lapse of so many years to the memory of Eustathius, had openly separated from the two bishops and had organised an autonomous community under the direction of a priest named Paulinus. This Paulinus had also sent two deacons to Alexandria, with the evident intention of getting his authority recognised there.¹

As for Apollinaris, whose legates were also present at the Council, his situation was a rather peculiar one. For many years he had been at Laodicea in Syria, where his father, also named Apollinaris, was a priest, while he himself functioned there as a lector. The two Apollinarii were very learned, and fond of pagan literature, but this did not prevent them from adhering with all their force to Nicene orthodoxy, and these facts had led them into difficulties under the two episcopates of Theodotus and George, both Arians and not at all well disposed towards literature. They had been excommunicated a first time by Theodotus, for having listened to a pagan sophist named Epiphanes while he was declaiming a hymn in honour of Bacchus; George had excommunicated them a second time before they had received Athanasius in 346 when he was passing through Laodicea. Thereupon an Athanasian party had been organised at Laodicea under their leadership. Further, it seems that after the death of George, when Pelagius was regularly elected to replace him, Apollinaris the younger had managed to get himself nominated in opposition to him, and had thus become a bishop.²

¹ The secession of the Paulinians took place after the departure of Meletius into exile: while the majority of Christians remained faithful to the exiled bishop, a small group of intransigent people definitely refused to rally to him: Socrates, *Hist. eccles.*, II, xlv; Sozomen, *Hist. eccles.*, IV, xxviii; Theodoret, *Hist. eccles.*, III, ii. Cf. F. Cavallera, *Le schisme d'Antioche*, pp. 89-90. The Meletians had as their leaders Flavian and Diodorus.

² We know little of the circumstances in which Apollinaris was raised to the episcopate. There is no further mention of George of Laodicea after the Council of Seleucia (359), and he probably died about that time. Philostorgus

As we see, the bishops present or represented at the Council of Alexandria were all Nicene men who had suffered for the faith, and these very sufferings were not calculated to make them ready for concessions. On the other hand, they had to remember that they formed only a very small minority in the Church. Though they themselves had not failed but had courageously accepted exile as an accompaniment of their ministry, almost all their colleagues in the whole world had subscribed, willingly or unwillingly, to the Homoian formula of Rimini. They faced up to this fact, and did their best to act in accordance with the requirements of the situation. Thus the Council decided that those who had been the leaders and defenders of heresy could obtain pardon by penance, but would be reduced to the lay state; as for those who had been subjected to violence, these would be retained in their positions, provided they subscribed to the formula of Nicaea.¹

This decision, in point of fact, was in line with that which the Council of Paris had already taken in regard to the Gallic episcopate. It was sufficient in regions in which the bishops had yielded only to force or to fear, and had at the bottom of their hearts remained faithful to orthodoxy. Such was, in the East, the position in Egypt; such was also that of many bishops in Palestine, Cyprus, Lycia, Pamphylia, and Isauria. But it was otherwise in Syria, Asia Minor, and Thrace where, immediately after the Council of Nicaea, the majority of the bishops had taken up a position against that venerable assembly, though they repudiated strictly Arian formulae. In all these countries, the bishops were not formally heretical, but equally they were not Nicæan, and much less were they Athanasian. For the most part they held to the formula of Seleucia, which itself reproduced the formula of Antioch in 341, i.e. they proclaimed their belief

(*Hist. eccles.*, V, 1) tells us that Acacius of Caesarea, on his return from the Council of Constantinople, consecrated bishops in the vacant churches; among these he mentions Pelagius for Laodicea. We shall encounter this Pelagius again in 363, in the reign of Jovian: doubtless it was against him that Apollinaris made his schism, as Paulinus did against Meletius.

¹ St. Athanasius, *Epist. ad Rufinian.*, quoted in the *Acts* of the Second Council of Nicaea.

in the divinity of the Son of God, but were averse to the term "consubstantial." We may wonder whether the Council of Alexandria quite understood all the niceties of so complicated a situation.

The Synodal Letter

In practice, the Council confined itself to a consideration of just one of the local problems which called for attention. True, this was the most important and characteristic of all: it was the problem of the Church of Antioch. We have the synodal letter addressed by the Council to the Nicene bishops who were then at Antioch or who were going there: Eusebius, Lucifer, Asterius, Cymatius, and Anatolius.¹ This letter is an admirable manifestation of charity, but we could perhaps wish that it was not merely that, and that it had shown a more complete understanding:

As to those who desire to be in peace with us, and especially those who meet at the Palea and those who are hastening to abandon the Arians, call these to yourselves and receive them as fathers receive their children. Welcome them as do masters and guardians; unite them to our dear Paulinians, and do not ask more from them than to anathematise the Arian heresy, to recognise the faith approved by our Fathers at Nicaea, and to anathematise those who say that the Holy Spirit is a creature and of a substance different from that of Christ. That is indeed to separate oneself from the abominable heresy of Arius, and not to divide the holy Trinity in order to proclaim one part of It a creature. . .

That herein consists our own faith, and that of all those who are in communion with us, neither you nor

¹ Cymatius was Bishop of Paltus, a small port on the Syrian coast. For many years he had been deprived of his see by the Arians (Athanasius, *De fuga*, iii; *Hist. Arian.*, v). As for Anatolius, he is described at the end of the *Tome to the Antiochenes* as Bishop of Eubea. In 363, the Bishop of Berea in Syria, Anatolius, signed, together with Meletius, Acacius and some others, a letter to Jovian. Tillemont (*Mémoires*, Vol. VIII, p. 209) has suggested an identification of these two persons, but that is not very probable, for Anatolius of Eubea seems to have been a determined Nicæan, whereas his namesake of Berea belonged to the party of Acacius.

anyone else, we think, is ignorant. As we rejoice with those who desire to join themselves to us, and especially with those who are meeting at the Palea, and as we have indeed glorified God for all, and especially for the dispositions of the last mentioned, we recommend to you that concord should be established on these conditions, and that nothing more be asked. As we have already said, demand nothing more from those who are meeting at the Palea, and let the Paulinians propose nothing else and nothing more than the decrees of Nicaea.¹

We cannot read these lines without some surprise. Doubtless the Council of Alexandria showed its wisdom in contenting itself with subscription to the Creed of Nicaea; it was right to set aside as altogether inopportune any discussions concerning either the divine Unity or the Trinity of the divine hypostases²; it was right, again, to decline to take sides in the controversies which were arising in connection with the Incarnation, provided all admitted that the Incarnation is quite different from the indwelling of the Word in the souls of the prophets, and that, on the other hand, the Saviour possessed a living body, endowed with sensibility and intelligence.³ But we cannot fail to be surprised at the

¹ St. Athanasius, *Tom. ad Antioch.*, iii *et seq.* We must note the special mention of the heresy which made the Holy Spirit a creature. This was a new doctrine at that time, but it was already making disquieting progress in the East.

² The Paulinians of Antioch, true to the terminology of Nicaea which had affirmed the perfect synonymy of the words *ousia* and *hypostasis*, refused to accept the formula "three hypostases in the Trinity." The Meletians, on the other hand, accepted this expression which, in their eyes, had the advantage of removing all suspicion of Sabellianism. The Council of Alexandria, after investigation, decided that the two terminologies were acceptable, and that there was no need to break with unity because of them.

³ The *Tome to the Antiochenes* puts us in presence of the first murmurings of a controversy just beginning on the subject of the Incarnation. No name is mentioned, but the letter refers to Christians who divide Christ in such a way as to allow only a moral union between His humanity and His divinity. It also mentions others who mutilate His humanity, affirming that in him the Word of God took the place of the mind (*νοῦς*). The former were the disciples of Diodorus, the latter were inspired by Apollinaris. The Council declined to decide between the two parties, or rather it emphasised the points on which all were agreed, adding that the faith of Nicaea ought to be the sole rule of orthodoxy.

way in which the Council treats the different parties at Antioch. It does not deal with Euzoius and those who follow him: that was only natural, for these were pure Arians who rejected the divinity of Christ. On the other hand, the Council speaks with affection of the "dear Paulinians," and with condescension of those who met in the Palea, i.e. the Old Church.¹ Now, the latter were the followers of Meletius, the real and lawful bishop, and yet his name is not even mentioned. They constituted the majority of believers, whereas the Paulinians, the disciples of Paulinus, were only a little group which had recently seceded. The Council of Alexandria seems to ignore all this. True, Meletius had been installed by Acacius, but it is nevertheless true that he had been exiled for the faith, and that if he was not present in Antioch when the bishops sent their letter thither, it was because he had not yet returned from exile. He was the one who should have been addressed, and the Council seems precisely to have ignored him.

Paulinus, Bishop of Antioch

Possibly, when they arrived at Antioch, the Council's representatives, Eusebius and Asterius, would have been able to ascertain the exact situation, and arrange things accordingly, if in the meantime Lucifer had not made mischief there. Without waiting for anyone, and with his usual precipitation, he had begun by entering into communion with Paulinus and then, assisted by two confessors, he had consecrated him bishop.² Obviously he had no right to do so, but people of his calibre did not trouble much about canons. When, after the conclusion of the Council, Eusebius

¹ The Great Church of Antioch, which had been dedicated on the occasion of the Council of 341, was naturally in the hands of Euzoius and his party. The followers of Meletius were installed in the Old Church, the "Palea," the construction of which went back to the Apostolic period, according to tradition.

² St. Jerome, *Chron.*, a. 362: "Eusebius et Lucifer de exilio regrediuntur, e quibus Lucifer, adscitis duobus aliis confessoribus, Paulinum, Eustathii episcopi presbyterum, qui se nunquam haereticorum communione polluerat, in parte catholica Antiochiae episcopum facit." We may wonder whether the two confessors who are said to have assisted Lucifer were not invented by St. Jerome.

and Asterius arrived in their turn, the harm had been done and was henceforth incurable: Eusebius did not dare openly to condemn the act of his Western colleague,¹ but, without recognising the consecration of Paulinus, he speedily returned to Italy, accompanied by a young man who belonged to one of the best families of Antioch, Evagrius.² As for Lucifer, he was very angry at the tacit disapproval of Eusebius, and embarrassed by the signature which his two deacons had attached on his behalf to the synodal letter of Alexandria. He made it plain to the Antiochenes that he was against the concessions made by the Council to the language of the Easterns, and thus prepared the way for the formation of a small group of excited persons who were to separate from Paulinus himself when the latter signed the Tome of Alexandria.³

The Reign of Julian

For a few months, the severities of the Emperor Julian in regard to Christianity gave the bishops and the faithful something else to think about. The East especially suffered from the presence of the prince; not till his death on the 26th of June 363⁴ was it possible to make fresh efforts to re-establish peace.

Letter from Meletius to Jovian

The new Emperor Jovian was a Christian, and orthodox.

¹ Socrates, *Hist. eccles.*, III, ix; Sozomen, *Hist. eccles.*, V, xiii; Theodoret, *Hist. eccles.*, III, ii.

² St. Basil, *Epist.*, cxxxviii.

³ Paulinus signed the Tome of Alexandria only after a certain delay, and waited for the arrival of Athanasius at Antioch in 363 in order to do so. Moreover, he added to his signature some lengthy explanations which seem to amount to reservations: "I, Paulinus, believe as I have learnt from the Fathers, in the perfect Father, existing and subsisting, the perfect Son subsisting, the perfect Holy Spirit also subsisting. That is why I accept the interpretation of the letter (of Alexandria) concerning the three hypostases and the one *hypostasis* or *ousia*. I communicate with those who think the same. For it is pious to believe and confess the Holy Trinity in one single Divinity" (*Tom. ad Antioch.*, xi). Cf. T. de Régnon, *Etudes de théologie positive sur la sainte Trinité*, Paris, 1892, Vol. I, pp. 181-182. Some further signatures were given to the Tome; but we have only that of Carterius, Bishop of Antaradus, who had for a long time been deposed by the Arians (Athanasius, *De fuga*, iii; *Hist. Arian.*, v).

⁴ Cf. *supra*, pp. 229-238.

As soon as he succeeded to the throne he made it plain what would be the direction of his religious policy, by recalling St. Athanasius and inviting him to visit him at Antioch.¹ Even before the Bishop of Alexandria had been able to come in response to this invitation, a Council of bishops from Syria and Asia Minor assembled around Meletius. It included amongst others Eusebius of Samosata, Pelagius of Laodicea, Ouranius of Apamea, Titus of Bostra, Acacius of Caesarea, Anatolius of Berea, and Isaac, primate of the Armenians. These all represented the portion of the Eastern episcopate which had previously proposed the formula of Constantinople in order to please Constantius, but in face of the new circumstances experienced no great difficulty in rallying to the formula of Nicaea.² They address to Jovian a letter which contained the following passage:

Peace and concord have been the first aim of Your Piety, as we know, O Emperor most beloved of God. You have well understood that the principle of this unity is the character of the true and orthodox faith: that also we know. In order that we may not be counted amongst those who falsify the doctrine of truth, we make known to Your Piety that we accept and keep the faith of the holy Council which formerly met at Nicaea. Even the word which seemed strange to some, namely *homoousios*, has received a satisfactory interpretation from the Fathers, indicating that the Son has been generated from the substance of the Father, and that He is like to the Father in substance. We are not called upon to think of any passion in connection with the ineffable generation, or to understand the word "substance" employed in the Fathers according to Greek usage. It was used in order to destroy the expression "from nothing," which Arius had dared to pronounce so wickedly in connection with Christ—an expression which the Anomoeans who have recently appeared also dare shamelessly to affirm, with even

¹ The text of Jovian's decree is still extant: cf. Migne, *P.G.*, Vol. XXVI, 813.

² Socrates, *Hist. eccles.*, III, xxiv; Sozomen, *Hist. eccles.*, VI, iv.

more audacity and effrontery to the ruin of ecclesiastical concord. Accordingly, we have annexed to our report a copy of the Creed of Nicaea, which the assembled bishops have laid down, and which we embrace.¹

The tone of this letter is satisfactory. The Council of Meletius thinks it its duty to explain the term "consubstantial," and to make it clear that the word does not imply any Sabellian error. This explanation was necessary in order to dispel any doubt as to the meaning. For the rest, the formula of Nicaea is accepted without any hesitation.

Letter of the Homoiousians

About the same time, Basil of Ancyra and a few of his followers, Silvanus of Tarsus, Sophronius of Pompeiopolis, Pasinicus of Zela, Leontius of Comana, Callicrates of Claudiopolis, and Theophilus of Castabala, also wrote to Jovian. They asked him to uphold what had been done at Seleucia, to cancel what had been done through the power of some others, and to expel the Anomoeans from the churches they were still occupying, and return them to themselves. But if it was not thought good to restore peace by this means, they suggested the calling of a universal Council, in which the bishops would meet alone, without any civil official representing the Emperor, and whose decisions would have force of law. Lastly they added that if they had not come personally to make their request, this was in order not to be importunate, but that if it were permitted them, they would be very happy to come to Antioch at their own expense.²

¹ Socrates, *Hist. eccles.*, III, xxiv; Sozomen, *Hist. eccles.*, VI, iv; St. Jerome (*Chronicon*, a. 363) does not correctly describe this Council when he writes: "Synodus Antiochiaë a Meletio et suis facta in quo omousio anomoeoque rejecto medium inter hæc omoeusion, Macedonianum dogma vindicarunt." The Paulinians questioned the sincerity of Meletius and his Council. From the Paulinian party there emanated a document entitled *Refutation of the Hypocrisy of Meletius and Eusebius of Samosata*, which is found among the apocryphal works attributed to St. Athanasius (Migne, P.G., Vol. XXVIII, 85). Cf. F. Cavallera, *Le schisme d'Antioche*, pp. 125-126.

² Socrates, *Hist. eccles.*, III, xxv; Sozomen, *Hist. eccles.*, VI, iv. Sozomen gives a detailed analysis of the letter of the Homoiousians, from the Sabinos collection. This is the last reference to Basil of Ancyra. He must have died shortly after this Council.

Athanasius at Antioch

The action taken by the Homoiousians was not so open and frank as that of Acacius and Meletius: nevertheless it showed a real good will, and a wholehearted desire for agreement. Everybody at that time wanted peace, and Jovian more than anyone else. He replied to Basil, affirming his hatred of discord, and his deep love of unity of hearts and minds.¹ Thus, practically everybody showed themselves disposed to accept the Nicene formula, which Athanasius did not cease to recommend.² Once more, however, personal questions prevented these excellent desires from being realised. When Athanasius went to Antioch in October 363, he took the first step towards peace and asked Meletius to enter into communion with him. We do not know exactly what took place then. Meletius made an evasive reply, and Athanasius had to depart from the city and leave to Paulinus, whom he had not yet recognised as bishop, and who then signed the synodal letter of Alexandria, a certificate that he admitted him to his communion.³

§ 2. THE BEGINNINGS OF THE REIGN OF VALENS

Valentinian and Valens Succeed Jovian

The reign of Jovian was of short duration. This Emperor, from whom so much might have been hoped, died on the 17th of February 364. He was immediately (26th of February) replaced by an officer of his guard, Valentinian,

¹ Socrates, *Hist. eccles.*, III, xxv; Sozomen, *Hist. eccles.*, VI, iv. The Arians of Alexandria also tried to persuade Jovian to listen to them. Some of them, headed by a certain Lucius, went to the Emperor and tried to arouse him against Athanasius. They had no success, and were indeed sent away ignominiously. A verbatim account of their interviews with the Emperor has been preserved; it is annexed to the letter from Athanasius to Jovian (Migne, *P.G.*, Vol. XXVI, 820).

² St. Athanasius, *Epist. ad Jovian.*

³ St. Basil, *Epist.*, lxxxix; *Epist.*, ccxiv; *Epist.*, cclviii. St. Basil alludes in these three texts to the attempts at reconciliation between St. Athanasius and St. Meletius, and he seems to throw the responsibility for their failure on the advisers of Meletius, but he gives no details as to the conditions which led to the suspension of the conversations. On the recognition of Paulinus by Athanasius, cf. Epiphanius, *Haeres.*, lxxvii, 20.

who had likewise been in trouble because of his religious opinions. Valentinian's very first step was to associate with himself his brother Valens, and to entrust to him the government of the East, reserving the West for himself.¹

For himself, Valentinian was attached to the faith of Nicaea, and he did not dream for a moment of abandoning it. He considered, however, that an emperor ought not to occupy himself with theological controversies, but that he ought to confine himself to maintaining peace between his subjects. Accordingly when, after his departure from Constantinople, several Macedonian bishops, belonging mainly to the provinces of Hellespont and Bithynia, went to him and through their spokesman, Hypatius of Heraclea, set forth the state of parties and tried to win his favour, he merely replied that, being himself in the ranks of the laity, he was not allowed to interfere in matters of faith, and that the bishops, to whom such things belonged, had only to meet together wherever it should please them.² He made this maxim the principle of his government: he agreed without difficulty that the bishops of Italy, Gaul, Spain, and Illyria should return to the faith of Nicaea, and that Pope Liberius should allow them to retain their sees³; but he did not disturb Ursacius, Valens and Germinius,⁴ and when St. Hilary caused trouble at Milan with the object of bringing about the departure of Auxentius, the Emperor ordered the

¹ On Valentinian, cf. H. Heering, *Kaiser Valentinian I (364-375)*, Jena, 1927.

² Sozomen, *Hist. eccles.*, VI, vii.

³ St. Siricius in 385 mentions an act of Liberius annulling the Council of Rimini, and sending to the provinces a decree intended to regulate the return of the Arians to the Catholic Church: this act might belong to 362. A letter from Liberius to the Catholic bishops of Italy which seems to belong to the years 362-363 has been conserved by St. Hilary, *Fragm. histor.*, xii. Cf. P. Batiffol, *Le siège apostolique*, p. 8.

⁴ We are particularly well informed on the case of Germinius. We possess, in fact, besides the account of a discussion he had with one of his flock named Heraclian, the *Altercatio Heracliani laici cum Germinio episcopo Sirmiensi*, published by C. P. Caspari, *Kirchenhistorische Anecdota*, Christiania, 1883, p. 133, a formula of faith which he brought forward shortly after the affair of Heraclian (Hilary, *Fragm. histor.*, xiii), and a letter he addressed to several Illyrian bishops to explain his own belief (Hilary, *Fragm. histor.*, xv). On all this, cf. *supra*, p. 286.

intrepid Bishop of Poitiers himself to depart from the town immediately.¹

Council of Lampsacus

Valens was very different from his brother: while the latter more or less returned to the policy of Constans, he himself continued that of Constantius. Under his reign, the orthodox party in the East passed through a bad time. The first who had reason to complain of him were the Homoiousians. Strengthened by an authorisation they had received from Valentinian,² these had, apparently, already assembled in Council at Lampsacus on the Hellespont in the autumn of 364.³ The Council had deliberated for two months, and finally it had quashed and annulled all that had been done at Constantinople by the authority of Eudoxius and Acacius; it had anathematised the formula of Rimini, and once more proclaimed the second of the Creeds of the Dedication, already adopted by the Council of Seleucia.⁴ Lastly the Fathers had declared that the Son is similar in substance to the Father, the word "homoiousios" being necessary, they said, in order to mark the distinction between the divine persons. Having thus decided questions of faith, the Council had gone on to decree that the bishops deposed by the Anomoeans in 360 should be restored to their sees, and it had summoned Eudoxius and the members of his party to appear before it.⁵

Naturally, Eudoxius did not go, in spite of the sentence of deposition with which the Council had threatened him. He

¹ The details of the affair of Auxentius are known through the *Contra Auxentium* of St. Hilary.

² It is probable that the Council of Lampsacus was the result of the mission of Hypatius of Heraclea to Valentinian. Tillemont (*Mémoires*, Vol. VI, pp. 532-533) holds on the authority of Socrates (*Hist. eccles.*, IV, ii) that the Macedonians sought from Valens, and obtained, a fresh authorisation.

³ The date of the Council of Lampsacus is disputed. Tillemont (*Mémoires*, Vol. VI, pp. 788-789) puts it in 365. H. M. Gwatkin (*Studies of Arianism*, 2nd ed., pp. 275-276) gives solid arguments for 364, the date also accepted by Duchesne (*Histoire ancienne de l'Eglise*, Vol. II, p. 367, n. 2).

⁴ Sozomen, *Hist. eccles.*, VI, vii. Cf. G. Bardy, *Recherches sur saint Lucien d'Antioche et ses disciples*, Paris, 1936, pp. 108-109.

⁵ Sozomen, *Hist. eccles.*, VI, vii; Socrates, *Hist. eccles.*, IV, ii.

was already aware that he could count upon the support of Valens, and when the delegates of the assembly of Lamp-sacus arrived at Constantinople they met in fact with a hostile reception from the Emperor, who after vainly recommending them to come to an understanding with Eudoxius, became angry and sent them away into exile.¹

Attitude of Valens

This action of Valens might appear strange, and we do not properly understand his attitude. But, as Duchesne remarks, in the Eastern Empire "the division of parties had given rise in many places to local schisms, where several bishops disputed the possession of the same see. Valens may have thought that good order required that he should side with and adopt one of the conflicting confessions. That of Nicaea had hitherto had only the Egyptians on its side. Under Jovian, it is true, a certain number of bishops from Syria or Asia Minor had signed the Nicene formula. But these remained hostile towards Athanasius and his followers. In Asia Minor, all the opponents of Anomoeanism had certainly come together against Eudoxius, but the members of this party still mistrusted the 'homoeousios.' As an instrument of peace between so many disagreements, the Nicene Creed was scarcely the one to choose. Valens decided that it would be better to decide for that of Rimini, the official approval of which was still quite recent, and whose holders occupied the great sees of Constantinople and Antioch, not to mention many others."² Once fixed in his faith, Valens became its fearless defender: down to his death he remained the champion of the formula of Rimini.

After the Homoiousians, the upholders of Nicaea had to experience his severity. In the spring of 365 there appeared

¹ Sozomen, *Hist. eccles.*, VI, vii.

² L. Duchesne, *Histoire ancienne de l'Eglise*, Vol. II, pp. 363-364. Still other reasons may have explained the policy of Valens. In particular we ought not to forget the personal influences which were brought to bear on him. Eudoxius was a prudent and experienced man: he knew how to bring Valens rapidly round to his point of view (Philostorgus, *Hist. eccles.*, IV, iv). Moreover, the Empress Dominica was a zealous Arian, and the same was true of the great personages of the court. Cf. H. M. Gwatkin, *Studies of Arianism*, p. 238.

an edict ordering cities under severe penalties to send away the bishops deposed by Constantius and restored under the reign of Julian. The edict affected a great number of persons. Meletius had once more to take the road to exile¹; at Alexandria, the situation of Athanasius was peculiar, for the author of his last expulsion was Julian, and the decree restoring him had been signed by Jovian. Discussions had been begun and were dragging on when riots broke out. Athanasius spontaneously departed on the 9th of October, but not for long. On the 1st of February 366, by order of Valens, an imperial notary, Brasidas, solemnly restored him in the church of Dionysius. The aged fighter was to experience no further difficulties, and was able to spend the last years of his life in peace.²

Embassy of the Homoiousians to Rome

Rejected by Valens, the Homoiousians conceived the idea of soliciting the protection of Valentinian, and of telling the bishops of the West about their situation.³ Three of them, Eustathius of Sebaste, Silvanus of Tarsus, and Theophilus of Castabala, provided with full powers by councils held at Smyrna, in Lycia, Pamphylia and Isauria, they made their

¹ Socrates, *Hist. eccles.*, IV, ii; Sozomen, *Hist. eccles.*, VI, vii. The chronology of the life of Meletius at this time is difficult to establish with certainty. We know through St. Gregory of Nyssa (*Orat. in Melet.*) that Meletius was thrice expelled from Antioch. The first exile was that which followed immediately after his election in 361 (cf. *supra*, pp. 214 *et seq.*); the last was that which continued until the death of Valens. We do not quite know where to put the second: it may have been under Julian, or under Valens. Cf. F. Cavallera, *Le schisme d'Antioche*, pp. 133 and 139. Paulinus was not disturbed: indeed he was not affected by the decree of Valens, for he had not been consecrated until the reign of Julian. But it is probable that his little church was not of a nature to cause concern to the Emperor. Socrates, *Hist. eccles.*, IV, ii, and Sozomen, *Hist. eccles.*, VI, vii; VII, iii, state, moreover, that Euzoius entertained a certain sentiment of veneration for Paulinus.

² Sozomen, *Hist. eccles.*, VI, xii. Lucius, whom we have already mentioned as the leader of the Arians of Alexandria, and who may already have received episcopal consecration by this time, tried to appear in public in 367. The people rose up, and the imperial police had very great difficulty in protecting him. He did not appear again at Alexandria during the lifetime of Athanasius.

³ Socrates, *Hist. eccles.*, IV, xii; Sozomen, *Hist. eccles.*, VI, x-xi.

way to the West, perhaps in the summer of 365,¹ carrying letters addressed to the Emperor Valentinian and Pope Liberius. Their mission was not quite so successful as they expected, for they were unable to reach the Emperor Valentinian, who had set out for Gaul when they arrived in Italy²; in any case he would probably have done nothing for them. They were more fortunate with Liberius. The Pope requested them to profess the Nicene faith, and to anathematise the formula of Rimini, and all the heresies contrary to the holy faith exposed in such a religious and Catholic way by the Fathers at Nicaea. The three legates accepted these conditions, whereupon Liberius gave them letters addressed to the sixty-four bishops whose names appeared in the papers presented to him, and to all the orthodox bishops of the East.³ In addition, they signed a declaration in virtue of which any accusation directed against themselves or those who sent them was to be passed on to the orthodox bishops whom the Pope had, somewhat contradictorily, designated

¹ This date is not certain. It is not impossible that the journey of the three bishops took place only in 366, as suggested by P. Batiffol (*Le siège apostolique*, p. 9, n. 1). It was certainly prior to the death of Liberius, which took place on the 24th of Sept. 366. But, as L. Duchesne has written (*Histoire ancienne de l'Eglise*, Vol. II, p. 367, n. 2): "It is difficult to think that such a step should have been attempted at or immediately after the time of the rivalry of Procopius (28th of Sept. 365 to 27th of May 366)." It therefore seems likely that the bishops set out before the uprising of the agitator just mentioned. We would have more certain information if we knew just when Valentinian left Milan for Gaul. But the dates furnished by the Theodosian Code are not certain. According to H. M. Gwatkin (*Studies of Arianism*, p. 240, n. 2), Valentinian did not leave Milan before June, or perhaps before August 365. Cf. O. Seeck, *Regesten*, p. 226. The latter even puts the departure of Valentinian in September.

² Sozomen, *Hist. eccles.*, VI, x.

³ Socrates, *Hist. eccles.*, IV, xii; Sozomen, *Hist. eccles.*, VI, xi. The three legates agreed to condemn, besides the Arians, the Sabellians, Patripassians, Marcellians and Photinians. In the letter of Liberius, the Sabellians and Patripassians are expressly mentioned "with all the other heresies," but the Marcellians and Photinians are not named. The bishops whose names appear at the head of the letter of Liberius are not very well known: Cyril was perhaps the Bishop of Jerusalem of that name, or else a bishop in Lesser Armenia. Elpidius was doubtless the Bishop of Satales, Eortasius that of Sardis, Neon that of Seleucia. Macedonius was Bishop of Apollonias in Lydia. He was a great ascetic, and he had had to suffer much at the hands of the Anomoeans.

to decide the matter. This last document placed the Easterns under the protection of Rome. Doubtless it was inapplicable in practice, but it had the value of a recognition of the pontifical rights by those who had signed it, and that was indeed important.¹

Council of Tyana

On their return, the legates stopped in Sicily, where the bishops of the country assembled in Council greeted them fraternally, and gave them letters of communion. They likewise received letters from bishops of Italy, Africa and Gaul.² Then they communicated all these documents to a Council which met at Tyana in Cappadocia, and which included among its members all the celebrities of the party: Eusebius of Caesarea in Cappadocia,³ Athanasius of Ancyra, Pelagius of Laodicea, Zeno of Tyre, Paul of Emesa, Otreus of Melitene, and Gregory the elder of Nazianzum. Many of these bishops had already taken part in the Council of Antioch in 363, and had accepted the term "consubstantial." They had no difficulty in approving all that had been done by the legates; they even desired that the letters these had brought back from the West should at once be communicated to all their Eastern colleagues, and they decided that a great Council should be held at Tarsus in the following spring in order to complete the work of pacification.⁴ This Council could not be held: Eudoxius of Constantinople, who felt himself menaced, made representations to Valens, and the latter forbade the bishops to assemble.

That constituted a first setback for the bishops. Many other obstacles presented themselves in the course of the following years. As in the case of a mirage, each time religious peace appeared on the horizon, new difficulties arose to retard it, so that in fact the ecclesiastical history of

¹ Socrates, *Hist. eccles.*, IV, xii; Sozomen, *Hist. eccles.*, VI, xi. On the bearing of this declaration, cf. P. Batiffol, *Le siège apostolique*, pp. 10-11.

² Sozomen, *Hist. eccles.*, VI, xii.

³ Eusebius had succeeded to the see of Caesarea, in place of the aged Dianius, who had died in 362, after declaring that, in spite of his signature to the Creed of Constantinople, he remained interiorly faithful to the Nicene doctrine. At the time of his election, Eusebius was still only a catechumen.

⁴ Sozomen, *Hist. eccles.*, VI, xii.

the reign of Valens consists in a series of efforts which constantly failed, but were unceasingly renewed.

Campaigns of Valens

The first difficulties did not come from the Emperor, as might have been feared, in consequence of the edict of 365. For several years Valens scarcely had the time to trouble with ecclesiastical policy, and he left the bishops free to arrange matters as they wished. He had in the first place to fight against the usurper Procopius who, at the end of September 365, proclaimed himself Emperor, and took possession of Constantinople. In spite of the support of some of the best legions, and in spite of his alliance with the Goths,¹ Procopius was completely defeated in May 366 at Nacolia in Phrygia, and Valens was able to inflict upon his followers the punishments which were called for by their rebellion.² In the year following (367), the Gothic war broke out. For three years the Emperor, who, before beginning his campaign, had had himself baptised by Eudoxius, and had thus given valuable guarantees to the Homoian party,³ was held on the Danube. It was not till the end of 369 that he returned to Constantinople, after defeating the Goths and compelling Athanaric to sue for peace.⁴ Down to that date the Catholics, like the Homoiousians, were practically left alone by the civil power.

Council of Antioch in Caria

But neither party was able to profit by this respite and complete the work of union. On the contrary, the Homoiousians began to split up into rival parties, and that

¹ Ammianus Marcellinus, XXVI, x, 3.

² The prefect Phronemius was exiled; the philosopher Maximus and the renegade Elpidius were imprisoned. The rising of Procopius also had its repercussions on ecclesiastical personages. Previously Procopius had been received by Eunomius at Chalcedon. When the usurper triumphed at Constantinople, Eunomius undertook the defence of his friends, and particularly of Aëtius (Philostorgus, *Hist. eccles.*, IX, vi). The return of Valens put the leaders of the Anomoeans in a very difficult position.

³ Theodoret, *Hist. eccles.*, IV, xii; St. Jerome, *Chron.*, a. 367.

⁴ Themistios, *Orat.*, x: Zosimus, iv, 11; Ammianus Marcellinus, XXVII, v, 9.

was a great misfortune. First of all, on the return of the legates sent to the West, and while preparations were still being made for the Council of Tarsus, some thirty bishops from Asia, disliking the concessions made to Liberius, separated from their colleagues and held at Antioch in Caria an assembly which expressly rejected the term "consubstantial," and once more proclaimed the faith of the Council of the Dedication as it had been renewed at Seleucia.¹

The Question of the Holy Ghost

The question of the Holy Ghost, which now began to be discussed, led to other secessions. The Council of Nicaea, it will be remembered, had set out to determine the exact relation between the Son of God and the Father, but it had been content to affirm the faith of the Church in the Holy Spirit without making any more precise statement on that matter. For many years things had rested there. But one fine day this peace had been upset by the same people who agreed that the Son is like to the Father in all things, and who were even prepared to recognise the similitude of essence between Father and Son. They had begun by asking in various places whether the Holy Ghost is consubstantial with the Father and the Son, or only like to them, or else a creature. They also discussed from whom He proceeds, and how this procession takes place—all questions on which Tradition did not give clear answers. In the last years of the reign of Constantius, St. Athanasius had tried to solve at least some of these problems in several letters addressed to Serapion of Thmuis.² Then, in 362, the Council of

¹ Sozomen, *Hist. eccles.*, VI, xii; cf. G. Bardy, *Recherches sur saint Lucien d'Antioche et ses disciples*, pp. 110-111.

² Cf. St. Athanasius, *Epist. ad Serap.*, i, 1-2: "You have written to me in great sorrow that some who had left the Arians because of blasphemy against the Son of God have a doctrine opposed to the Holy Spirit, and say not only that He is a creature, but also that He is one of the spirits who serve, and differs only in degree from the angels. We can only be astonished at their thoughtlessness. They will not hold that the Son is a creature, and they are right in that: how then have they been prepared to hear it said that the Spirit of the Son is a creature?" St. Athanasius gives the name of "tropici" to the opponents of the Holy Ghost.

Alexandria had affirmed the true divinity of the Holy Spirit.¹ These efforts, however, were made in vain: they had not prevented at any rate the enemies of the Holy Spirit, the "Pneumatomachi" as they were called, from winning some important positions, especially in the provinces of Thrace, Bithynia and the Hellespont.

True, it was only about 380 that the Pneumatomachi, also called the Semi-Arians, came to form officially a distinct party, but they did not wait till then to cause division in the Church.² Their position was indeed all the stronger among the faithful in that they were fortunate enough to possess leaders who were really virtuous, pious, charitable and zealous, and who very soon won a following. Three of these in particular ought to be mentioned here and now, Eustathius of Sebaste, Eleusius of Cyzicus, and Marathionius of Nicomedia.

Eustathius of Sebaste

Eustathius was indeed a strange person. We have already encountered him on several occasions.³ In his youth he had stayed in Alexandria, where he had attended the lectures of Arius⁴; above all, he had there been introduced to asceticism, and when he returned to his own country he had professed the monastic life. In Asia Minor this was then a novelty. His religious habit and his way of life had scandalised the faithful of Sebaste, so much so that his father Eulalius, then Bishop of that city, had been compelled to send him away.⁵ Eustathius had then begun to lead a wandering existence

¹ St. Athanasius, *Tom. ad Antioch.*, iii: "We must also anathematise those who say that the Holy Spirit is a creature and is divided from the substance of Christ. The detestable heresy of Arius is truly abandoned only if the Trinity is not divided and if we realise that there is in it nothing created."

² Cf. G. Bardy, art. *Macédonius, Macédoniens*, in *Dict. de théologie cath.*, Vol. IX, col. 1464 *et seq.*

³ Cf. F. Loofs, *Eustathius von Sebaste und die Chronologie der Basilienbriefe*. This work has a very marked apologetic tendency.

⁴ Basil, *Epist.*, cxxx, 1; ccxxiii, 3; ccxlv, 3; cclxiii, 3. Cf. Athanasius, *Hist. Arian.*, iv.

⁵ Socrates (*Hist. eccles.*, II, xliii) and Sozomen (*Hist. eccles.*, IV, xxiv) say that Eulalius had been Bishop of Caesarea in Cappadocia. That is a manifest error. The name of Eulalius, as Bishop of Sebaste, appears among the signatures to the Councils of Nicaea and Gangres.

full of incident. He had lived at Caesarea in Cappadocia, where Hermogenes the Bishop, doubtful about his orthodoxy, had made him sign a profession of faith. Then he lived at Nicomedia, where the great Eusebius had found it impossible to agree with him. The unusual character of his life had caused him to be condemned by a Council of Neocaesarea, and again about 340 by another Council assembled at Gangres in Paphlagonia.¹ Eustathius had nevertheless continued to practise all kinds of austerities and to preach asceticism at Constantinople, where he had finally settled. In the end, about 356, he had become Bishop of Sebaste,² and he had very soon come to occupy a prominent place in the Homoiousian episcopate.

In company with Basil of Ancyra and Eleusius of Cyzicus, he headed his party in the fight against Aëtius and the Anomoeans.³ For some reason unknown to us, a synod held in 358 at Melitene deposed him and replaced him by Meletius.⁴ The people of Sebaste did not agree to this. They held to their bishop; Eustathius refused to move, declared that those who had condemned him were heretics, and that accordingly their sentence was null and void. At the beginning of 360 he, like all his colleagues, had to go

¹ Socrates, *Hist. eccles.*, II, xliii; Sozomen, *Hist. eccles.*, III, xiv; IV, xxiv. On the date of the Council of Gangres, cf. H. M. Gwatkin, *Studies of Arianism*, pp. 189-192. We still have the letter which the Council of Gangres addressed to the bishops of Lesser Armenia concerning Eustathius, and twenty canons promulgated by this synod. The ascetics condemned by the Council of Gangres claimed that it is impossible to be saved in the state of marriage and, following their advice, several homes were broken up and lamentable falls had resulted from these separations. They despised assemblies in church, and preferred private meetings. They also wore strange costumes, both in the case of men and women. They fasted on Sundays, and ate on fast-days. They persuaded the faithful not to make offerings to the church, and asked them to reserve their generosity for themselves. They further declared that the rich cannot be saved unless they distribute all their goods to the poor. It seems difficult to believe that these exaggerated ideas were upheld by Eustathius himself. The Council of Gangres seems to have profited by the occasion to condemn all together the abuses of asceticism, and to restate the attitude of the Church in this matter. Cf. next volume.

² St. Athanasius, *Histor. Arian. ad monach.*, iv; *Epist. ad episcopos Aegypti et Libyae*, vii; St. Basil, *Epist.*, lxxiv.

³ Epiphanius, *Haeres.*, lxxiii, 11.

⁴ St. Basil, *Epist.*, lxxiv; Sozomen, *Hist. eccles.*, IV, xxiv.

through some very severe trials: by compulsion and force he signed the formula of Constantinople. But this did not prevent him from being deposed once more, and this time he was exiled to Dardania.¹ The advent of Julian to power enabled him to return to his faithful people, and to renew contact with his Homoiousian colleagues. He played a prominent part in the Council of Lampsacus, was one of the three legates sent to the West to discuss matters with Liberius, and presented to the Council of Tyana the letters from the Pope and the other Western bishops.

Then, in spite of the Edict of Valens, he remained at Sebaste, where he made many charitable foundations. He had established near the city a large hospice, in the care of his monks. This work, which was a source of some trouble to him,² helped to increase his popularity. Moreover, his flock did not experience any anxiety at his preaching. This was for the most part orthodox, except that it was rather too reserved when the Holy Spirit was dealt with. Eustathius did not go so far as to teach that the Holy Spirit is a creature, but equally he did not say that He is God. But there came a time when the other bishops became anxious in this respect, and asked their colleague for precisions which he refused to give.

Eleusius of Cyzicus

Eleusius belonged to the clergy of Constantinople when he was named Bishop of Cyzicus through the favour of Macedonius of Constantinople, about the year 356.³ He at once sided with Basil of Ancyra, and was present in 358

¹ Socrates, *Hist. eccles.*, II, xliii.

² Eustathius had placed at the head of his charitable foundations a certain Aërius, who was one of his companions in asceticism. Aërius, it is said, nevertheless retained some hostility for Eustathius because he had been preferred for the episcopate. In the end, he quarrelled completely with his bishop, and started a schism with some of his followers. He taught that priests are in no wise inferior to bishops, that the feast of Easter is a survival from Judaism, that there should be no fixed times for fasting, and that it is useless to pray for the dead. We know of these peculiarities only through St. Epiphanius, who has devoted a whole chapter to them (*Haeres.*, lxxiv). The Aërians cannot have been very numerous, and never spread beyond their land of origin.

³ Sozomen, *Hist. eccles.*, IV, xx.

at the Council of Ancyra, which included him in the deputation to Constantius; then he was present at the Council of Seleucia, where he played an important part. In 360 the Council of Constantinople deposed him, on the excuse that he had imprudently conferred baptism and the diaconate on an old priest of Hercules. He was replaced by Eunomius who, like Aëtius, was a great theologian of radical Anomoeanism. Eunomius was not well received by the people of Cyzicus; in spite of the prudence of his first discourse, he was not able to conceal from them his real thought,¹ and in 361 he was obliged to leave the place. He may even have been deposed by a Council without naming a successor. Eleusius was accordingly able to resume his functions without any difficulty when Julian recalled the exiles. His diocesans gave him a great welcome, and resolved not to separate from him for the future. It is said that, when Valens managed to extract from him an unfortunate signature by pressure and threats, Eleusius, returning to Cyzicus, protested before his people that he had suffered violence, but that, as he had renounced his own belief, he did not think himself worthy to be bishop any longer, that he was quite ready to disappear, and that a successor ought to be appointed. But the faithful would not hear of any such thing; they affirmed that they desired no other bishop than himself. And in point of fact, Eleusius governed his church for many more years.²

Marathonius

Marathonius likewise belonged to the clergy of Constantinople before he was called to the episcopate.³ He had for a long time carried out civil functions in the office of the

¹ Socrates, *Hist. eccles.*, IV, vii; Theodoret, *Hist. eccles.*, II, xxv.

² Socrates, *Hist. eccles.*, IV, vi; Philostorgus, *Hist. eccles.*, IX, xiii.

³ The history of Marathonius is rather obscure. Socrates (*Hist. eccles.*, II, xxxviii) and Sozomen (*Hist. eccles.*, IV, xx) assert that Marathonius was named Bishop of Nicomedia through the influence of Macedonius, but it is difficult to know where to put him. Cecropius was Bishop of Nicomedia from 351 to 358; he then perished in the great earthquake of the 24th of August which destroyed the town. In 360, Acacius appointed a successor to him, named Onesimus (Philostorgus, *Hist. eccles.*, V, 1). Tillemont (*Mémoires*,

Praetorian prefect, and had amassed wealth there. But he had left the world in order to look after the sick and poor and, on the advice of Eustathius of Sebaste, he had finally embraced the ascetic life, and had founded a monastery at Constantinople. Macedonius made him Bishop of Nicomedia but he nevertheless continued to carry on his charitable work in the capital. It was also there, apparently, that he took the opportunity to preach against the Holy Ghost: several ancient authors give to the Pneumatomachi the name of "Marathonians," and they doubtless had good reasons for doing so.¹

It is easy to realise that with such leaders the enemies of the Holy Spirit had been able to become very influential, and considerably to hinder the work of peace. On their side, the Arians constituted no less an obstacle. The end of the reign of Constantius had been unfortunate for the Anomoeans, at least for those who had not been prudent enough to conceal their real opinions. Aëtius, as we have seen, had been exiled to Mopsuestia, and then transferred to Amblada; Eunomius, after his resounding defeat at Cyzicus, had been the subject of an investigation which seemed likely to lead to a decision against him, when Constantius died.²

Vol. VI, pp. 397 and 770) suggests that he should be put under Julian, as a bishop opposed to Onesimus. In any case, the influence of Macedonius was exerted in Constantinople rather than in Nicomedia, and it was at Constantinople that his name remained famous.

¹ Didymus, *De Trinit.*, ii, 10. From about 380, the Pneumatomachi usually were known as Macedonians. St. Jerome (*Chronicon.*, a. 342) notes that Macedonius was regarded as the namesake of a new heresy. About the same time, St. Damasus devoted the fourth of the twenty-four anathemas quoted by Theodoret (*Hist. eccles.*, V, 1) to the Macedonians. Didymus, in *De Trinitate* (II, viii, 10 *et passim*), speaks currently of "the Macedonians."

Macedonius himself was not accused during his lifetime of teaching the pneumatomachic heresy. His episcopate had been a very disturbed one, and we know little about it. But we must note that in 358 he had sided with Basil of Ancyra, and that after assisting at the Council of Seleucia, he had been in 360 deposed at the Council of Constantinople (Socrates, *Hist. eccles.*, II, xliii). After his deposition, Macedonius disappears from history; Sozomen (*Hist. eccles.*, IV, xxvi) says only that he withdrew a short distance from Constantinople and died there. It is difficult to know exactly why his name was chosen to designate the enemies of the Holy Spirit.

² Theodoret, *Hist. eccles.*, II, xxv; Philostorgus, *Hist. eccles.*, VI, 1.

Attitude of the Anomoeans

The advent of Julian had restored freedom to the sectaries, and these had profited by it. Julian was more benevolently disposed towards them than towards the orthodox, or even to the Homoiousians, and had heaped favours upon them. He called Aëtius to him, and gave him some property in the island of Lesbos¹; he either allowed or caused to be rehabilitated by Euzoius those Anomoeans who had been condemned by the Council of Constantinople²; in the end he even permitted the episcopal consecration of Aëtius, which was carried out by Leontius of Tripoli, Theodulus of Cheretapes, Seras, Theophilus the Indian, and some others.³ In this way a new schism began. While Eudoxius at Constantinople and Euzoius at Antioch continued to preside officially over the destinies of the Church, Aëtius and his followers organised a separate hierarchy. They despatched the thaumaturge Theophilus to Antioch, ordering him to put himself at the head of the Anomoeans of that city, if he could not arrange matters with Euzoius. They also nominated to Constantinople a certain Poemenius, who died shortly afterwards, and was replaced at once by Florentius. Other bishops were named for Lydia and Ionia, Palestine, Galatia and Cappadocia, and Cilicia.⁴ Certainly this hierarchy was not at first a large one, and the death of Julian put a damper on all this enthusiasm. Nevertheless the Anomoean bishops continued their work of disunion.

Aëtius very soon died at Constantinople, where he had retired,⁵ but Eunomius lived for many years afterwards, ever active and zealous, discussing, writing, and taking no rest. It was not until the reigns of Gratian and Theodosius that the Anomoeans lost their rights to assemble together:

¹ Julian, *Epist.*, xlvi (ed. Bidez, p. 65).

² Philostorgus, *Hist. eccles.*, VII, v-vi. Eudoxius and Euzoius, in view of the favour enjoyed by the Anomoeans, thought it prudent to become reconciled with them, but neither was willing to take the first step. In the end, Euzoius assembled a Council at Antioch, and caused all the sentences passed at Constantinople against the Anomoeans to be cancelled.

³ Philostorgus, *Hist. eccles.*, VII, vi; Epiphanius, *Haeres.*, lxxvi.

⁴ Philostorgus, *Hist. eccles.*, VIII, ii.

⁵ Philostorgus, *Hist. eccles.*, IX, vi.

Eunomius, still in this world, lived to see the ruin of his party; he was exiled for the last time to Halmyris on the lower Danube, and then to Caesarea in Cappadocia. In the end he died, not far from the latter place, at Dacora where he had some property.¹ After his death he was interred at Tyana, the metropolis of the second Cappadocia. His memory long survived him, thanks to his works and the refutations of them written by the most illustrious of the orthodox doctors.

The Orthodox

As long as Valens was occupied with the war against the Goths, he left on one side the problems of religious policy: he had quite enough to do with outside enemies. The various parties, as we have just seen, profited by the respite thus allowed them to organise themselves. Whereas the Homoiousians were divided on the question of the Holy Spirit, the orthodox were able to strengthen their position throughout the East. In Cappadocia in particular, the land from which so many well-known Arian adventurers had come—Asterius the Sophist, Gregory and George of Alexandria, Auxentius of Milan, and Eunomius, the last theologian of the sect—the chief episcopal sees came into their hands. Athanasius of Ancyra, successor to Basil, was throughout faithful to the Nicene Creed.² Eusebius, who replaced Dianius in the metropolitan see of Caesarea, did likewise, and chose for his adviser a man of very great merit, destined to become later an illustrious bishop, namely Basil.³ Gregory of Nazianzum, the father of the Theologian, who had like all the rest begun by signing the Creed of Constantinople, returned to orthodoxy.⁴ These examples could be multiplied, and we may say that similar events took

¹ Philostorgus, *Hist. eccles.*, IX, viii ; X, vi ; XI, v. The details of the life of Eunomius are well known to us, thanks to Philostorgus, his enthusiastic panegyrist. Of course the account of his historian, born at Verissos of Arian parents, and himself a convinced Arian, must be read with caution. But it is nevertheless of great value.

² Philostorgus, *Hist. eccles.*, V, 1.

³ Cf. Tillemont, *Mémoires*, Vol. IX, pp. 63 *et seq.*

⁴ St. Gregory of Nazianzum, *Orat.*, xix.

place in the neighbouring provinces of Pontus and Lesser Armenia. Moreover, in these regions, where Basil of Ancyra had previously found his first disciples and had done much to prepare the way for a return to the faith of Nicaea, people did not allow matters to be upset by too rigid a terminology, and they freely spoke of three hypostases, employing in this way an expression authorised by the Council of Alexandria, and explaining it by affirming that there is only one divine *ousia*. These formulae, which had their corresponding enunciations in the documents of the oldest Western tradition, were calculated to do much to pacify men's minds, and they favoured, as we shall see, the great work of union.

§ 3. THE PERSECUTION BY VALENS

Demophilus at Constantinople

Towards the end of 369 Valens returned to Constantinople; he passed some months there, and then went on to Nicomedia. It was in the latter city that he heard the news of the death of Eudoxius. In a certain sense this death was a misfortune for the Church, for Eudoxius had grown wiser in his old age, and his moderation might have been able occasionally to lessen the Emperor's violence. The Catholics tried to profit by the vacancy of the see and to take possession of it by nominating a certain Evagrius, concerning whom little is known, and who was at once exiled together with his consecrator Eustathius.¹ The Arians on their side decided to replace Eudoxius by Demophilus, Bishop of Berea in Thrace, who had a few years before been charged with watching over Pope Liberius.² This selection, due to the Bishop of Heraclea, Dorotheus, did not pass without some protests. When it was announced to the faithful of the capital, many people cried out: "Unworthy," instead of the traditional acclamation, "Worthy."³ Those who thus protested were

¹ Socrates, *Hist. eccles.*, IV, xiv; Sozomen, *Hist. eccles.*, VI, xiii.

² Socrates, *Hist. eccles.*, IV, xiv; Theodoret, *Hist. eccles.*, V, xxxix; Philostorgus, *Hist. eccles.*, IX, viii and xix.

³ On the election of Demophilus, cf. Tillemont, *Mémoires*, Vol. VI, pp. 793-794.

treated with the utmost rigour. They tried in vain to have recourse to the Emperor, choosing for the purpose twenty-four ecclesiastics respected for their piety. The leaders of the delegation were Urban, Theodore and Menedemus. Valens received this embassy coldly, and ordered that its members should be made to disappear. They were, apparently, put on a boat, which was set on fire by the sailors as soon as it reached the open sea. The sailors escaped by means of the boats, and the twenty-four clerics were burnt to death.¹

The Persecution

That was only a beginning. Once begun, the persecution continued in a pitiless manner through all the provinces: "Valens," writes Gregory of Nazianzum, "began then to distinguish himself by banishments, expulsions, confiscations, snares visible and hidden, speeches full of gentleness when the occasion seemed suitable, and open violence when there was no place for gentleness. Those who professed the Catholic doctrine were expelled from the churches, and these were handed over to those who followed the pernicious and poisonous doctrine of the Emperor, who called for impious signatures, and themselves signed the worst impieties. Orders were given to impious generals, not to go to fight the Persians, or to repress the Scythians or some other barbarous nation, but to make churches the scenes of their carnage, to profane altars, to soil them with the blood of men and victims, and to violate the chastity of virgins."² Everywhere the same rigid method was put into operation: the bishops were presented with the Creed of Rimini-Constantinople; those who refused to sign were exiled, and their churches handed over to more docile prelates. Clergy and monks were also called upon to sign: sanctions were prepared in order to constrain them: the suppression of fiscal privileges, confinement in barracks, deportation if necessary, and even death.

¹ The history of the twenty-four martyrs of Constantinople is narrated by Socrates, *Hist. eccles.*, IV, xvi, and by Sozomen, *Hist. eccles.*, VI, xiv. Cf. Theodoret, *Hist. eccles.*, IV, xxiv. Its historicity is not above all suspicion, especially as Gregory of Nazianzum (*Orat.*, xxv, 10) speaks only of a single priest burnt at sea. Cf. H. M. Gwatkin, *Studies of Arianism*, pp. 276 *et seq.*

² St. Gregory of Nazianzum, *Orat.*, xx; cf. *Orat.*, xxv.

St. Basil

But the provinces did not all experience the rigours of the persecution at the same time. Cappadocia, where Valens passed the winter of 371-372, was one of the first provinces to suffer. It had at that time as Metropolitan a man of eminent sanctity and a no less remarkable wisdom, St. Basil.¹

Basil was born in 329, of a Christian family which came originally from Neocaesarea in Pontus. His grandmother Macrina had seen the Diocletian persecution, during which she had had to flee to the woods with her husband. Her recollections, which she loved to recount, made Basil's youth happy with tales and stories: did they not go back as far as Gregory Thaumaturgus, and did not the miracles of the aged bishop live again in the stories told by the old lady?

The son of a well-known rhetorician, Basil had been well educated, first in the schools of Caesarea and then in those of Athens. When he returned to his own country about 357, he had entered into close relations with Eustathius of Sebaste, and on his advice he had undertaken a long voyage which had taken him to the best-known monasteries in Egypt, Syria and Mesopotamia. The examples of the monks, the exhortations of his pious sister Macrina, and the advice of Eustathius, had soon won him over to a love of the ascetic life. He had installed himself in the valley of the Iris, not far from Neocaesarea, with several companions; and for some years he had enjoyed there the austere charm of solitude, prayer and work.

But a man of his temperament could not long remain far away from the world. Already in 360 his bishop, Dianius, had taken him with him to Constantinople, and had raised him to the order of lector. In 362, on the death of Dianius, Eusebius, who succeeded to the see, had kept Basil near him and had conferred upon him the priesthood. Doubtless for a certain time some mischievous people had succeeded in embroiling the bishop and his adviser, and the latter had to retire. But peace was soon restored between them, and Basil had taken part in the delicate negotiations which were to

¹ On his literary work, see next volume.

result in the reconciliation between the Homoiousians and Pope Liberius. Finally in 370, Eusebius had been called to his reward, and Basil, in spite of many refusals, had been elected in his place.

"It was impossible to make a better choice. Basil had all the qualities desired: personal sanctity widely recognised, a highly cultivated mind, eloquence, a profound knowledge of the Christian religion, and a diplomatic spirit. From the standpoint of orthodoxy, he was absolutely pure, for he had never compromised himself with parties and signatures. He represented the old and simple faith of the Pontus, transmitted and practised in a pious Christian family."¹

The circumstances were such as called for a man like Basil. The persecution already menaced Cappadocia when he was called to the episcopate. It broke out in earnest as soon as Valens installed himself there. But, whereas in other places the orthodox bishops were expelled from their sees and condemned to exile, Basil so much impressed the Emperor that he managed to retain the government of his church, and possibly also to win peace for his suffragans: at least it seems that the latter were not disturbed at that particular time.²

It was, indeed, not without difficulty that the Bishop of Caesarea managed to secure these results. St. Gregory of Nazianzum has given us his recollection of the interview Basil had one day with the prefect of the East, Modestus, charged to obtain his signature, which Basil absolutely refused to give:

"What: do you not fear my power?"

"What could happen to me? What might I suffer?"

"Any one of the numerous torments which are in my power."

"What are these? Tell me about them."

"Confiscation, exile, torture, death."

"If you have any other, you can threaten me with it, for there is nothing so far which affects me."

¹ L. Duchesne, *Histoire ancienne de l'Eglise*, Vol. II, p. 387.

² Tillemont, *Mémoires*, Vol. VI, p. 561.

“Why, what do you mean?”

“Well, in truth confiscation means nothing to a man who has nothing, unless you covet these wretched rags, and a few books: that is all I possess. As to exile, that means nothing to me, for I am attached to no particular place. That wherein I live is not mine, and I shall feel at home in any place to which I am sent. Or rather, I regard the whole earth as belonging to God, and I consider myself as a stranger or sojourner wherever I may be. As for torture, how will you apply this? I have not a body capable of bearing it, unless you are thinking of the first blow that you give me, for that will be the only one in your power. As for death, this will be a benefit to me, for it will take me the sooner to the God for whom I live, for whom I act, and for whom I am more than half dead, and whom I have desired long since.”

These words stupefied the prefect, who then said:

“Until this day no one has ever addressed such words to me, or with such freedom.”

“Perhaps that is because you have never had to deal with a bishop, for he would have used the same language to you, if he had had the same cause to defend. For the rest, we are accommodating, O prefect, and more humble than anyone else, for the law prescribes this. And it is not only towards such high authority that we are careful not to exalt ourselves: we adopt the same attitude even towards the first comer. But when God is in question, we count the rest as nothing, and we consider Him only. Fire, the sword, wild beasts, the nails which tear the flesh delight us rather than cause us fear. After that, injuries, threats—do whatever you will, and use your power. The Emperor must know that you will never make us adhere to impiety, either by violence or by persuasion.¹”

Even though this account may have been to some extent “written up,” it nevertheless conveys the profound impression

¹ St. Gregory of Nazianzum, *Orat.*, xx, 49-50.

which Basil made upon the imperial officials. Valens himself, when he came into contact with the great bishop, received the same impression. It is recorded that, on the feast of the Epiphany 372, when he had gone to the church to take part in the service, he was so struck by the majesty of the ceremonies and of the one who presided over them that he could not present his offering at the altar without trembling.¹ It is said that miracles confirmed the authority of the saint: the only son of Valens died from a mysterious illness, after his father had refused to allow him to be baptised in the Catholic faith²; again, the pen with which the Emperor was preparing to sign the sentence of exile against Basil came to pieces three times between his hands.³ What is perfectly certain is that Valens in the end bowed to the inevitable: he left Basil at the head of his church, without imposing any formula on him or any communication with the suspect bishops. Indeed, he went further, and conferred on him large tracts of land for the great hospital he had founded,⁴ and in 372 he officially commissioned him to arrange the religious affairs of the kingdom of Armenia and to consecrate bishops there.⁵

In Syria

Syria, where Valens arrived in the spring of 372, and spent most of his time down to the end of his reign, suffered very much more than Cappadocia. The Bishop of Antioch, Meletius, was exiled for the third time⁶; the two priests

¹ St. Gregory of Nazianzum, *Orat.*, xx, 52; Theodoret, *Hist. eccles.*, IV, xvi.

² St. Gregory of Nazianzum, *Orat.*, xx, 54; Theodoret, *Hist. eccles.*, IV, xvi; Sozomen, *Hist. eccles.*, VI, xvi; Socrates, *Hist. eccles.*, IV, xvi.

³ Theodoret, *Hist. eccles.*, IV, xvi.

⁴ Theodoret, *Hist. eccles.*, IV, xvi.

⁵ The tolerant attitude of Valens in regard to St. Basil cannot be doubted. But the motives of this tolerance are difficult to discern. Valens may merely have been guided by considerations of what was opportune. Basil was practically irreplaceable at Caesarea. But we must also bear in mind Valens's superstitious temperament, and the alarm which he must have experienced at the prodigies attributed to the Bishop of Caesarea. Cf. O. Seeck, *Geschichte des Untergangs der antiken Welts*, Vol. V, pp. 80-81.

⁶ St. Basil, *Epist.*, lxviii.

Diodorus and Flavian who, already in the reign of Constantius, while still laymen, had been the centre of an orthodox group, took up once more the direction of the Church with renewed activity¹; they were supported in their task by the solitary Aphraates,² John the future Bishop of Apamea, Stephen, who was later on to rule the church of Germanicia, and by others. The Catholics were expelled from the churches, and these, after the departure of Meletius, were all put once more in the hands of Euzoius and his clergy. The Catholics were obliged to meet in the country districts outside the city—whence the name “Campenses” given them by St. Jerome³—and were everywhere hindered by the imperial police. Theodoret assures us that there were numerous martyrs there, and that the drownings in the Orontes were multiplied by the Emperor’s orders.⁴

The other Syrian churches were almost as harshly treated as that of the metropolis. Pelagius of Laodicea was sent into exile⁵; Barses of Edessa, who had long been famous for the practice of the highest virtues in solitude before being raised to the episcopate, was sent first to the island of Arad off the coast of Phoenicia, then to Oxyrhynchus and finally to Phaeno, where he died.⁶ The priests Eulogius and Protogenes, who headed the Catholic community after his condemnation, were also exiled and sent to Antinous in the Thebaid.⁷ Abraham, Bishop of Batna in Osrhoene, had to abandon his church for some time.⁸ Eusebius of Samosata was condemned to dismissal.⁹ Everywhere there was great desolation: the letters addressed by St. Basil to the churches of Berea and Chalcis give us amongst other things some

¹ Theodoret, *Hist. eccles.*, IV, xxii.

² Theodoret, *Hist. eccles.*, V, iv.

³ St. Jerome, *Epist.*, xv and xvi.

⁴ Theodoret, *Hist. eccles.*, IV, xxiii; Socrates, *Hist. eccles.*, IV, xvii; Sozomen, *Hist. eccles.*, VI, xviii.

⁵ Theodoret, *Hist. eccles.*, IV, xii.

⁶ Theodoret, *Hist. eccles.*, IV, xii. Cf. Tillemont, *Mémoires*, Vol. VI, pp. 572-574.

⁷ Theodoret, *Hist. eccles.*, IV, xv.

⁸ St. Basil, *Epist.*, cxxxii.

⁹ Theodoret, *Hist. eccles.*, IV, xii. Eusebius was at first replaced by a gentle and peaceable man, Eunomius, who, however, soon had to withdraw in view of the hostility of his people. Then came a fanatical Arian, Lucius, who severely persecuted the Catholics of Samosata.

eloquent and sad accounts of the trials which these communities then passed through.¹

In Egypt

In Egypt, Valens waited for the death of Athanasius (2nd of May 373) before persecuting the Catholics. Since his last return from exile, the great bishop had been, as it were, immune from attack. His faithful, his clergy, all the bishops of Egypt, all the solitaries of the Thebaid and elsewhere constituted a protection in view of which it would have been rash to take any hostile measures. His death, however, was the signal for an aggressive revival of the heresy. Certainly, the Catholics hastened to elect in his place his brother Peter, whom he had indeed chosen to succeed him.² But the authorities did not ratify this choice: their candidate was Lucius, who had already been chosen some years before by the Arians. The prefect Palladius made use of force in order to install him. The police, "accompanied by the dregs of the people, invaded once more the church of Theonas. The sacred virgins were insulted, assassinated, violated, led naked through the town. A young man, painted and dressed as a woman, mounted the altar, and there executed some dances in character, while another, sitting quite naked in the chair in which Athanasius had sat, proceeded to deliver obscene homilies. Thus profaned, the venerable basilica received the candidate chosen by Valens. Lucius made his entry, escorted by the count of the purse, Magnus, and the aged Euzoius. The latter had come in haste from Antioch in order to make this last attack upon the church of Alexandria. This constituted his revenge for the sentence by which, fifty years earlier, Bishop Alexander had expelled him together with Arius. On the days which followed, proceedings were taken against the clergy. Some twenty priests and deacons, many of them over eighty years of age, were imprisoned and then embarked for Syria, where they were interned in the pagan city of Heliopolis (Baalbek). The

¹ St. Basil, *Epist.*, cxxxii.

² Theodoret, *Hist. eccles.*, IV, xvii; Sozomen, *Hist. eccles.*, VI, xix; Socrates, *Hist. eccles.*, IV, xx; Rufinus, *Hist. eccles.*, XI, iii.

population protested, especially the monks: the most ardent of these, to the number of twenty-three, were arrested and sent to the mines of Phaeno and Proconnesa. Amongst those who thus went to Phaeno was a Roman deacon, sent by Pope Damasus to salute Peter on his arrival."¹

The persecution extended to the whole of Egypt. Furnished with an imperial edict, Count Magnus began to go through the province in order to obtain the signatures of the orthodox bishops. Those who refused were cruelly punished. Eleven of them, Eulogius, Adelphus, Alexander, Ammonius, Harpocraton, Isaac, Isidore, Anubian, Pitimus, Euphraton and Aaron, were sentenced to exile, at Diocaesarea in Palestine. A hundred and twenty-six priests or other ecclesiastics or anchorites were also despatched to the same locality, where there were only Jews.² Executions took place everywhere. Some protestors went to Antioch to ask for justice from Valens, but as a result heard an order exiling them to Neocaesarea, in the distant province of Pontus.³ The Bishop of Alexandria, Peter, had begun by hiding himself in the neighbourhood of his episcopal city, in order to carry out the duties of his office as well as he could. But he very soon had to leave Egypt, and went to Rome, where he received from Pope Damasus the same fraternal welcome which, several years earlier in 339, Pope Julius had extended to Athanasius in similar circumstances.⁴

§ 4. THE WORK OF ST. BASIL

The Events in Cappadocia

While the Catholics were thus going through severe trials

¹ L. Duchesne, *Histoire ancienne de l'Eglise*, Vol. II, pp. 389-390. These events are well known through the encyclical letter which Peter of Alexandria wrote to the Catholic episcopate denouncing the violence which he had suffered. This letter is given in great part by Theodoret, *Hist. eccles.*, IV, xix. Cf. Socrates, *Hist. eccles.*, IV, xx.

From his accession, Peter had been recognised officially by St. Basil, who had sent him a letter (*Epist.*, cxxxiii) and by Pope St. Damasus, who had likewise replied by sending him a deacon.

² Theodoret, *Hist. eccles.*, IV, xviii-xix.

³ Theodoret, *Hist. eccles.*, IV, xix.

⁴ Theodoret, *Hist. eccles.*, IV, xix; Socrates, *Hist. eccles.*, IV, xxi-xxii; Sozomen, *Hist. eccles.*, VI, xix.

all through the East in consequence of the intolerance of Valens, they still had to experience the difficulties and cares of daily life. Thanks to the letters of St. Basil, who then occupied in the Eastern Church the prominent place held for so many years by St. Athanasius, we are well informed on the difficulties with which he had to cope in Cappadocia. All of these are not of equal interest for general history, but at least some of them had profound repercussions.

Such was, for instance, the creation, at the expense of Cappadocia, of a new province of Second Cappadocia, comprising the western and southern parts of the old province, with the cities of Tyana, Colonia (Archelais), Cybistra, Faustinopolis, and to the north of the Halys, the districts of Mokissos and Doara. This was a purely civil measure, doubtless abundantly justified by governmental considerations. But it had important ecclesiastical repercussions. Now that it had become a civil metropolis, Tyana wished also to become an ecclesiastical one, and its bishop, Anthimus, arrogated to himself without delay all the prerogatives of a metropolitan, claiming to consecrate the bishops of his province, and complete independence in respect to Basil.

Basil protested in vain. To increase his authority, he decided to create, in the part of Cappadocia which still depended on Caesarea, and also elsewhere, some new bishoprics. At Nyssa, a small town situated to the west of Caesarea, he installed his brother Gregory; at Sasima, on the road to Cilicia, he compelled his friend Gregory (of Nazianzum) to allow himself to be consecrated bishop.¹ Sasima was only a tiny postal station, consisting of a few houses around a relay post, without water, or vegetation, with nothing but dust and the perpetual noise of vehicles, and for inhabitants, only vagabonds, strangers, or executioners with their victims, who could be heard groaning and clanking their chains.²

But it was of great importance to Basil that he should show his authority over this sad place. The Church of Caesarea had in the Taurus some large properties, the products of

¹ St. Gregory of Nazianzum, *Orat.*, ix-xi.

² St. Gregory of Nazianzum, *Carmen de vita sua*, 439-446.

which passed through Sasima. Now, Sasima formed part of Cappadocia Secunda, so that Anthimus was able to intercept the convoys. To safeguard transport, Basil had to have on the spot someone he could trust, and for this purpose he chose Gregory, ever his friend. "Everyone," writes Tillemont, "blamed this choice,"¹ and rightly, for no one was less suitable to be Bishop of Sasima than the gentle and peaceful Gregory. In point of fact, Gregory never appeared in his episcopal town; he never celebrated divine service there; he ordained no clergy for it; after taking refuge in solitude, where he remained for some time, he finally returned to Nazianzum, and there assisted his aged father, who had for many years governed that church, to carry out the duties of his office. Nothing could persuade him to take possession of his own see, and this was a bitter disappointment for Basil.

Eustathius and St. Basil

Other difficulties arose for Basil from Eustathius of Sebaste. For a long time these two men had been on excellent terms: it was Eustathius who had earlier on guided Basil in the paths of asceticism and who, a little later, had taken him with him on various negotiations concerning the faith.² When Basil made up his mind to found his great hospice at Caesarea, he was inspired by the similar work of Eustathius at Sebaste; he had even asked his former master in asceticism to give him some of his own monks to help him in running it. But in the event, the monks of Eustathius displayed an indiscreet zeal, and seemed to be trying to spy on Basil. Some imprudent words were exchanged, in consequence of which relations became strained.

On the other hand, the question of the Holy Spirit, which was then agitating the Christians of Cappadocia, had one day to be put categorically to the Bishop of Sebaste by the Bishop of Caesarea. In the spring of 372, St. Basil made the journey

¹ Tillemont, *Mémoires*, Vol. IX, p. 178.

² St. Basil had followed Eustathius to Constantinople in 360 after the Council of Seleucia; later on he had accompanied him to Silvanus of Tarsus to arrange matters concerning the Council of Lampsacus; again he was with him at the Council of Tyana.

to Sebaste expressly in order to ask his old master for some explanations concerning his doctrine. Eustathius, as we know, was not disposed to recognise the divinity of the Holy Ghost. Nevertheless he began by a favourable reception of his visitor, and promised to sign a satisfactory formula. But he then allowed himself to be influenced by his friends, and in the end he wrote to Basil a very frigid letter informing him that he renounced his communion.¹

The excuse for this rupture was a letter which Basil had sent some twenty years earlier to Apollinaris, in which, however, there had been no question of doctrine.² Eustathius pretended to be angry about this, and treated Basil as a heretic. In other letters he accused him of ambition and intrigues. This was the beginning of a long and painful controversy, which took up a great deal of time, and divided men's minds in circumstances in which there could not have been too close a union between all men of good will, in order to deal with grave and urgent difficulties such as those presented by the situation of the church at Antioch and its bishop, Meletius.

The Schism of Antioch

To tell the truth, Antioch and Meletius were symbols and watchwords before all else. Antioch, one of the greatest

¹ "The affair of Eustathius . . . is one of the most important events in the history of our saint (Basil), but it is surrounded by great difficulties" (Tillemont, *Mémoires*, Vol. IX, p. 183). We cannot here enter into the details of this story, which is indeed a very complicated one. Cf. besides Tillemont, *loc. cit.*, who deals with the matter at length, the book of F. Loofs, *Eustathius von Sebaste. Letter cxxv* of St. Basil gives the text of the formula of faith which Eustathius at first agreed to sign and which subsequently he unexpectedly refused to accept.

² Cf. St. Basil, *Epist.*, ccxlv, 5. Some forged letters from Basil to Apollinaris were put in circulation by Eustathius and his friends. The most compromising for Basil's orthodoxy was *Letter cxxix*, published in Rome in 1796 by L. Sebastiani, *Epistola ad Apollinarem Laodicenum celeberrima de divina essentia, divi Basilii nomine . . . vulgata*, reproduced by F. Loofs, *op. cit.*, p. 72. But it is certainly not authentic. The remainder of the correspondence between Basil and Apollinaris as we possess it, namely two letters from Basil and two replies from Apollinaris (*Epist.*, ccclxi-ccclxiv), is equally apocryphal, although J. Draeseke (*Apollinarios von Laodicea*, pp. 100-121) and N. Bonwetsch, in *Theolog. Studien und Kritiken*, Vol. LXXXII, 1909, pp. 623-628, have tried to defend it.

communities of the East, and indeed the mother of the Eastern churches,¹ had been deprived of its bishop through a decision of the Emperor, who had sent him into exile—a bishop, moreover, who in his own church found against him not only an Arian bishop, but far graver still, another Catholic, Paulinus, who was in communion with the great Athanasius. Could one imagine a more painful or difficult situation? Persecuted by Valens, and only too often divided amongst themselves by doctrinal controversies and by personal rivalries, the Easterns were powerless to put an end to this dispute. Indeed, no one among them had sufficient authority to bring about a decision. They conceived the idea of writing to the West, and asking Rome for a solution of their difficulties. Some years before, Athanasius, when expelled from Alexandria, had found a warm welcome from Pope Julius, and the latter had rehabilitated him in virtue of his apostolic authority. Might not this example be copied, and recourse once more be had to the one who alone was the head of the universal Church?

Correspondence between Basil and Athanasius

Such was, at the beginning of his episcopate, the great idea entertained by St. Basil, and it was destined to inspire to the end his efforts for peace and unity. It was to Athanasius that the Bishop of Caesarea wrote in the first place. No one could be more suitable to act as a mediator between East and West. Athanasius was on excellent terms with Pope Damasus,² and it could not be doubted that good results would follow if one could succeed in interesting him in the

¹ St. Basil, *Epist.*, lxvii. St. Basil goes so far as to write: "What is more important than Antioch among the churches of the world?" And again: "If she could return to concord, as the head would thus be healthy, there would be nothing to prevent her procuring health for the others" (*Epist.*, lxvi, 27). The "world" which Basil has in mind is obviously the East.

² As Duchesne has pointed out (*Histoire ancienne de l'Eglise*, Vol. II, p. 399), relations between St. Athanasius and Pope Liberius must have been rather strained after 358; the welcome extended by Liberius to the deputation from the Council of Lampsacus was not calculated to please the Bishop of Alexandria. On the other hand, Athanasius was on excellent terms with Damasus, whom he asked in 371 to condemn Ursacius, Valens and Auxentius of Milan.

affairs of Antioch. The letters sent to Alexandria made plain the desires of Basil and Meletius. They wished to obtain from Rome the sending of "delegates able to support the fatigues of travel, men of gentleness and of character, capable of bringing back those who have gone astray, and knowing how to speak with moderation and to the purpose. These legates would bring to the East all the decisions taken since the Council of Rimini, and which had cancelled what violence had then accomplished."¹ Basil added naturally that the Westerns ought to recognise Meletius as the legitimate Bishop of Antioch, and that they would be wise to condemn explicitly Marcellus of Ancyra, which they had wrongly refused or neglected to do hitherto.²

First Journey of Dorotheus

Athanasius favourably received the first approaches by Basil, to whom he sent one of his priests named Peter.³ Thus

¹ St. Basil, *Epist.*, lxix, 1. The details of the negotiations undertaken by Basil and carried on by him for several years with indefatigable zeal are extremely difficult to follow. Our chief source of information is, of course, the correspondence of Basil himself, but the chronology of the letters is uncertain. Among the attempts made to determine it, we must mention, besides the labours of the Maurists and Tillemont, which remain most important, V. Ernst, *Basilus des Grossen Verkehr mit den Okzidentalern*, in *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*, Vol. XVI, 1896, pp. 626-664; F. Loofs, *Eustathius von Sebaste und die Chronologie der Basiliusbriege*; F. Cavallera, *Le schisme d'Antioche*; E. Schwartz, *Zur Geschichte des Athanasius*, II, in the *Göttingen Nachrichten*, 1904, pp. 362-377; J. Wittig, *Die Friedenspolitik des Papstes Damasus I*; E. Caspar, *Geschichte des Papsttums*, Vol. I, pp. 220-232. We can give here only the essential outline of these negotiations. We know of at least five letters from Basil to Athanasius, *Letters lxxvi, lxxvii, lxix, lxxx, lxxxii*; it is possible that *Letter lxix* was despatched before *Letter lxxvii*. Both must belong to the year 371. *Letters lxxx* and *lxxxii* may have been written somewhat later. We get the impression that Basil tried hard to get a decisive reply, and that he considered that this did not arrive sufficiently soon, and hence he multiplied his efforts to get it.

² Such requests were quite natural on the part of St. Basil, but it was easy to foresee that they would not be well received in Rome, where Marcellus had previously been rehabilitated. Cf. St. Basil, *Epist.*, lxix, 2.

³ St. Basil, *Epist.*, lxix. We have no other information concerning the messenger of Athanasius. Basil's messenger, Dorotheus, was constantly travelling during these lengthy negotiations between Caesarea, Antioch, Alexandria, Rome and other places besides. He was one of Meletius's deacons, and seems to have been an excellent and devoted man.

encouraged, the Bishop of Caesarea, after discussing matters with Meletius, decided to send to Rome the Antiochene deacon Dorotheus, with a peaceful message for Damasus:

The wonder of your charity has always comforted us in the past. The mere rumour spread abroad that you were thinking of us (to come to our aid) has strengthened us. This hope, however, has not been realised, and hence we no longer abstain from writing to you, to ask you for your protection, urging you to succour us and to send some of those who agree with you, to rally the dissident and reconstitute the friendship between the churches of God, or else to show us who is responsible for the present disorders, so that you may know henceforth with whom you ought to be in communion.¹

Embassy of Sabinus

This letter, it seems, did not reach Rome. It was communicated by the deacon Dorotheus in the first place to St. Athanasius, who thought it useless to let the envoy of Meletius and Basil continue his journey and present to Damasus conditions which the latter could not accept.² At the same time, in order to show his own good will, he tried to establish relations between the West and the Bishop of Caesarea. Just at that moment there arrived at Alexandria a deacon from Milan, Sabinus, bearing the synodal letter of a Council which had met in Rome consisting of ninety-two bishops under the presidency of Damasus.³ This Council

¹ St. Basil, *Epist.*, lxx.

² F. Cavallera (*Le schisme d'Antioche*, pp. 147 *et seq.*) thinks that Dorotheus really went to Rome. On the other hand, most recent historians, such as Ernst, Loofs, Schwartz and Duchesne, think that he was kept at Alexandria by St. Athanasius, who did not think it necessary to let him go to Italy. This second hypothesis remains the most likely one.

³ The Council of Rome must have taken place in 368. We still have, in the collection of the deacon Theodosius, the Latin text of the synodal letter, from the copy carried by Sabinus. This text has the subscription: "Ego Sabinus, diaconus mediolanensis, legatus de authentico dedi." The Roman synod had also sent the synodal letter to the Illyrians: a translation of this letter sent to the Illyrians is given by Theodoret, *Hist. eccles.*, II, xxii, and Sozomen, *Hist. eccles.*, VI, xxiii. The date of the Roman Council is much discussed.

had condemned Auxentius of Milan, and had once more recommended fidelity to the Creed of Nicaea. Athanasius thought it good to send Sabinus on to Caesarea with his document, and Basil warmly welcomed the envoy from Rome.¹ He did not let him depart before he had given him several letters addressed to the Westerns in general,² to Valerian of Aquileia,³ to the bishops of Italy and Gaul.⁴ This last letter, written in the names of Meletius, Eusebius of Samosata, Basil, Gregory the elder of Nazianzum, Anthimus of Tyana, Pelagius of Laodicea, Eustathius of Sebaste, Theodotus of Nicopolis and some other Eastern bishops, is a particularly moving document.⁵ It gives a very sad description of the situation of the churches. Heresy is rife everywhere; as to the shepherds, some are hypocrites and others ambitious, and do very great harm to the flock of Christ. The episcopate acquired through favour makes slaves of those who have thus obtained it, to the scorn of pagans and the great scandal of the weak. The faithful avoid the houses of prayer like schools of impiety, and take refuge in solitude in order to address their supplications to God. Only the West can provide a remedy for so desperate a situation. There is no question here of theology or of formulae: all that is asked is the speedy sending of legates capable of realising the situation and of procuring peace.

E. Caspar (*op. cit.*, Vol. I, pp. 199 and 593) adopts the year 368; F. Cavallera (*Le schisme d'Antioche*, pp. 147-148) gives arguments in favour of 372. Cf. G. Bardy, *Le concile d'Antioche* (379), in *Revue bénédictine*, Vol. XLV, 1933, pp. 197-201.

¹ The Roman synodal letter *Confidimus* was not calculated to please Basil, for we read there that the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit are of one single divinity, one single power, one single figure, one single substance. The Latin word *substantia* is equivalent to the Greek *ὁπόστασις*. Rome still used the terminology of Nicaea, whereas for St. Basil and his friends, the term *ὁπόστασις* had come to mean "person."

² St. Basil, *Epist.*, xc. It is to be noted that St. Basil does not address himself only to Damasus, but to the whole episcopate of the West.

³ St. Basil, *Epist.*, xci.

⁴ St. Basil, *Epist.*, xcii.

⁵ *Letter xcii* bears the names of thirty-two bishops. It was very likely composed by Meletius, and the signatures collected afterwards one by one. St. Basil would have preferred Meletius to send someone to the West (*Epist.*, lxxxix); Meletius sent nobody, and so the collective letter was joined to the personal letters of Basil.

Sabinus departed towards the end of 372 or in the spring of 373.¹ At that very moment Athanasius died, and was replaced on the see of Alexandria by his brother Peter. We have already described the sad events of which the whole of Egypt was then the scene. When Peter was at last able to embark for Rome, he had many other troubles besides those of the Church of Antioch to set before the Pope. Moreover, he had neither the experience nor the wisdom of Athanasius. In his eyes, Paulinus alone ought to be regarded as the real Bishop of Antioch; Meletius was only a heretic and a usurper. Peter's arrival in Rome, far from furthering the cause of peace, made a reconciliation still more difficult.

Evagrius at Antioch

The West, indeed, showed no tendency to side with Basil and Meletius. This was very evident when in the summer of 374 there arrived at Caesarea a priest from Antioch, the same Evagrius who in 362 had left his own country to follow Eusebius of Vercelli to Italy, and who was now returning after eleven years of absence. Evagrius brought back from Rome a rather severe letter, containing a formula which Basil and his friends were to sign without changing a single word, and expressing the desire that an embassy should be sent to the West consisting of important men furnished with full powers from the Eastern episcopate.²

The Bishop of Caesarea naturally could not satisfy this double demand. He said so to Evagrius, explaining the situation clearly. Had Evagrius already made up his mind, or did he fail to understand Basil's reasons? In any case, as soon as he arrived in Antioch, he accepted the communion of

¹ E. Schwartz (*Zur Geschichte des Athanasius*, II, in the *Göttingen Nachrichten*, 1904, p. 366) accepts the date 373. According to this same writer, the Roman Council was held in 372. The departure of Sabinus is put in 372 by Duchesne, *Histoire ancienne de l'Eglise*, Vol. II, p. 402; Batiffol, *Le siège apostolique*, p. 99; E. Caspar, *op. cit.*, p. 223.

² St. Basil, *Epist.*, cxxxviii, 2. We no longer have the letter brought by Evagrius. We know its contents only through St. Basil; cf. *Epist.*, cxi and clvi. The date of Evagrius's return is equally uncertain. The choice seems to be between 373 and 374.

Paulinus and rejected that of Meletius, thus giving valuable support to the cause of the little Eustathian church.¹

Difficulties of Basil

Others besides St. Basil were discouraged by the turn of events. Never perhaps had the desired end seemed so far off as it did in this year 374. Not only were the Westerns avoiding the issue, but also in the East the authority of the intrepid bishop was questioned more than ever, and in addition, persecution now reached Cappadocia, which had hitherto been spared its horrors. The Bishop of Samosata, Eusebius, Basil's friend and counsellor, was deposed and sent into exile in Thrace²; the Bishop of Parnassos, Hypsis, was expelled in turn and replaced by the Arian Ecdicius; the Bishop of Nyssa, Gregory, Basil's own brother, was accused by a private person, arrested, and summoned to appear before the vicar of Pontus, Demosthenes. He managed to escape, but a council assembled at Nyssa itself deposed him and appointed a successor in his place. The Bishop of Doura was likewise deposed and replaced. At Nicopolis, the bishop Theodotus was dead; the Arians turned out Basil's candidate, Euphronius of Colonia, and installed instead a priest named Fronton, supported by Eustathius of Sebaste. Thus on all sides at once Basil felt himself abandoned.³

Second Journey of Dorotheus

But he had a masterly mind. His exquisite sensibility felt the blows keenly, but his will remained stronger than ever. In 375, the storm abating somewhat, he wrote once again to the bishops of Italy and Gaul. It was a touching letter, in which he recalled once more all that the East had suffered through the Arian tyranny; he declared that it would have been desirable that several Eastern bishops should have gone to the West to give an account of their trials. But as such a journey was not possible, the bearer of his letter would

¹ St. Basil, *Epist.*, clvi.

² Theodoret, *Hist. eccles.*, IV, xiv-xv.

³ On these events, cf. St. Basil, *Epist.*, ccxxv, ccxxxvii-ccxl, ccxliv, cccli, and the long account given by Tillemont, *Mémoires*, Vol. IX, pp. 247 *et seq.*

instead explain the situation verbally.¹ This letter was entrusted to the same Dorotheus who had already been charged on a previous occasion with a mission to the Westerns.² Together with him, there set out for Italy a priest named Sanctissimus. We do not know his country of origin, but he had with an admirable zeal recently travelled through Lesser Armenia and Syria to plead the cause of peace and to gather signatures.³

For his part, Basil had little hope as to the success of his envoys. A letter written about this time to Eusebius of Samosata sets forth in severe language his opinion of Pope Damasus:

In truth, I would willingly adopt the words of Diomedes: 'Cease to entreat him, he is a proud man.' Certainly, the more one flatters these exalted people, the more insolent they become. If God is propitious to us, what other support do we need? If His anger remains, what help can we expect from the pomp and circumstance of the Westerns? They do not know the truth, and are not willing to demean themselves to the extent of learning it.⁴

Recognition of Paulinus by Pope Damasus

This letter reveals a state of profound discouragement, and we can understand without difficulty the state of mind of its author. At the very moment when the Bishop of

¹ St. Basil, *Epist.*, ccxliiii. This letter was certainly written before the death of Valentinian on the 19th of Nov. 375. For its date we can choose between 374 and 375. E. Schwartz (*loc. cit.*, p. 368) prefers 374; Duchesne (*op. cit.*, p. 407) prefers 375, and it would seem that he is right.

² Dorotheus, the bearer of *Letter ccxliiii*, was a priest. It is very probable that his promotion to the priesthood was then quite recent, and that he is the same as the old deacon of Meletius mentioned previously.

³ The name Sanctissimus seems to indicate a Western origin. Nevertheless, Sanctissimus was not sent by the bishops of the West, and, moreover, the latter would have had no authority to charge him with collecting signatures in the East. E. Schwartz thinks with great probability that Sanctissimus was an emissary from Eusebius of Samosata who had come to know him during the latter's exile in the Danubian country. On the mission of Sanctissimus in the East, cf. St. Basil, *Epist.*, cxx, cxxi, cxxxii, ccliii, cclvi.

⁴ St. Basil, *Epist.*, ccxxxix.

Caesarea was begging the Westerns to come to the assistance of the East, he learnt that Pope Damasus, abandoning the reserved attitude he had hitherto observed, had just given official recognition to Paulinus as Bishop of Antioch, and had entered into communion with him. Such news was all the more disconcerting in that the Pope's attitude had been at least in part the result of the intrigues of a Meletian priest, Vitalis, who, after abandoning his bishop in order to adopt Apollinarist ideas, had gone to Rome and had succeeded there in winning the confidence of Damasus. Vitalis was not at all an attractive character, and the ideas he professed on the Incarnation ought to have made him suspect of Rome¹; but he had covered them up with explanations and presented his doctrine in a way which had removed all suspicion. When he returned to Antioch, he brought the letters from Damasus to Paulinus, and naturally the latter hastened to make full use of them.²

It is possible that Dorotheus and Sanctissimus informed the Pope on the precise point of Vitalis's heterodoxy. In any case we know that Damasus hastened to write to Paulinus, first through the priest Petronius³ and a second time through some unknown intermediary. This second letter has come down to us, and it makes plain the conditions on which Vitalis might be admitted to communion:

If my son Vitalis and those who are with him wish to join with you, they must subscribe to the exposition of faith confirmed by the pious will of the Fathers at Nicaea. Then, as no one can provide a remedy for

¹ We know very little of the reasons why Vitalis was led to leave the communion of Meletius. Cf. *Chronicon paschale*, a. 362; Sozomen, *Hist. eccles.*, VI, xxv. For several years Apollinaris and his followers were able to conceal their heresy under ambiguous formulae; St. Gregory of Nazianzum in his *Letter cii* to Cledonius, explains that many were deceived by false declarations of orthodoxy, including amongst others himself and Damasus. The profession of faith signed by Vitalis at Rome has been recognised in the fragment entitled *Ὁ ἰταλίου ἐπισκόπου ἐκ τοῦ περὶ πίστεως λόγος*, quoted by Cyril of Alexandria, *De recta fide ad reginas*. Cf. Voisin, *L'apollinarisme*, pp. 229-233; H. Lietzmann, *Apollinaris von Laodicea*, p. 273.

² The letter sent to Paulinus through the intermediary of Vitalis is lost, but it is mentioned in a later letter, *Per filium meum Vitalem*.

³ This letter is lost, but it is also mentioned in the letter *Per filium meum*.

future ills, it is necessary completely to eradicate the heresy which apparently has since then sprung up in the East. In other words, it must be admitted that the Son of God, Wisdom and Word, took body, soul and feeling, in other words, the whole Adam, or to speak more clearly, all our old man, with the exception of sin. . . . If anyone affirms that the Word took the place of human sense in the incarnate Lord, the Catholic Church anathematises him. She also anathematises those who recognise two Sons in the person of the Saviour, namely one before the Incarnation and the other after He was made flesh from the Virgin, and who do not admit that He was the same Son of God before and after.¹

Reply of Damasus to St. Basil

Apart from that, the mission of Dorotheus and Sanctissimus in Rome did not and could not meet with success. Nevertheless, Dorotheus took back to Basil a letter which, though not altogether encouraging, seemed to open the way to further negotiations. In it, Damasus condemned the errors of Marcellus and Apollinaris, though without naming these;

¹ Damasus, *Epist.*, iii. On the manuscript tradition of this letter, cf. Maassen, *Geschichte der Quellen des kanonischen Rechts*, Vol. I, p. 232. Following the letter of Damasus, some canonical collections give a document also addressed to Paulinus of Antioch: *Post concilium Nicaenum*; other collections put the same document after the Council of Nicaea; Theodoret, *Hist. eccles.*, V, xi, reproduces it separately in a Greek translation. This text comprises two series of anathemas: the first expressly condemns Sabellius, Arius, Eunomius, the Macedonians and Photinus. Without naming Eustathius, Apollinaris or Marcellus, it condemns their principal errors, and ends with a condemnation of those who wander from one church to another—which seems to refer to Meletius. The second part of the document, *Si quis non dixerit*, deals almost exclusively with the Holy Spirit. It would seem that we have here two documents of different origin and date, combined later on without any regard for chronology. Canons 10-24 might go back to the time when St. Athanasius wrote his letter to Epictetus (about 371), for the errors on the Incarnation therein mentioned are more closely connected with those refuted in that letter than to Apollinarianism strictly so called. A critical text of the document has been published by C. H. Turner, *Ecclesiae occidentalis monumenta juris antiquissimi*, Vol. I, fasc. 2, Cambridge, 1913, pp. 279 et seq.

he set forth the faith which should be held, but abstained from speaking of one single substance in God, since the Easterns translated "substance" by "hypostasis," and used instead the Greek expression "one *ousia*." That was a decided concession. Then Damasus added:

Such is, dearly beloved brethren, our faith: whosoever accepts it belongs to us. One body of various colours makes the members ugly. We give our communion to all those who wholly approve our doctrine. Take care not to tint the pure faith with divers colours. For the rest, we exhort you to take care that canonical order is not neglected in the ordinations of bishops and clerics, and that communion is not given too easily to those who offend against it. That would be encouraging sin in all the others.¹

Third Journey of Dorotheus

In spite of its reserve, the Roman letter gave to Basil a modicum of satisfaction. The Bishop of Caesarea hastened to make it known to Bithos of Carrhes,² Pelagius of Laodicea,³ and to the priests of Antioch.⁴ Then he sent to the Westerns a fresh letter, which he once more sent to Rome through Dorotheus and another priest, possibly Sanctissimus (spring of 377). In this he expressed his thanks and those of his brethren for the sympathy which had been shown towards the misfortunes of the churches of the East, and he once more asked the Westerns to come and visit these churches, or at least to console them by letters capable of reassuring the afflicted and of upholding those who were wavering. He added that, as there was no need now to fear the Arians, there was no longer any need to condemn them again. On the other hand, there were in the East some wolves transformed into shepherds, who were ruining the churches: these ought to be denounced by name. Basil went

¹ Damasus, *Epist.*, *Ea gratia*. The concluding words of the passage we have cited evidently apply to Meletius, and are far from favouring him. Rome did not forget the conditions in which Meletius was raised to the see of Antioch. Cf. G. Bardy, *Le Concile d'Antioche* (379), in *Revue bénédictine*, Vol. XLV, 1933, p. 203.

² St. Basil, *Epist.*, cclv. ³ St. Basil, *Epist.*, cclvi. ⁴ St. Basil, *Epist.*, ccllii.

on to ask his correspondents to condemn also Eustathius of Sebaste, who rejected the term "consubstantial," and had put himself at the head of those who blasphemed the Holy Spirit, together with Apollinaris of Laodicea, who was setting forth new doctrines on the Incarnation. Even Paulinus ought to be condemned: "If his election was in any way reprehensible, you will say so yourselves. Paulinus has offended us by his leanings to the doctrines of Marcellus, and because he admits people indiscriminately to his communion." Lastly the letter concludes by saying that a Council of East and West would have been required to deal suitably with all these matters, but that, as circumstances did not permit such a synod, they counted at least on a favourable answer from the Westerns.¹

The letter of St. Basil was received in Rome by a Council which met there towards the end of 377. Peter of Alexandria, who took part in this, distinguished himself by his impatience, and went so far as to regard Meletius of Antioch and Eusebius of Samosata as Arians, so that the priest Dorotheus felt himself obliged to defend them with some heat. Peter was irritated, and complained about this to Basil. The latter thought it his duty to remark that Meletius and Eusebius, both confessors of the faith who had been exiled by the Arians, certainly deserved some respect from all their colleagues.²

The Reply from Rome

It is hardly necessary to say that the requests made to Rome by the Easterns had no chance of being agreed to, and they met with no success. The Roman Council replied to St. Basil in a letter of which we have a fragment, *Non nobis*. This fragment repeats the affirmation of the divinity of the Holy Spirit, in conformity, as it says, with the faith of the Council of Nicaea, which ought to be kept inviolate. No name is mentioned. If Rome is unable to give the Easterns

¹ St. Basil, *Epist.*, cclxiii. This letter was written in the names of the Easterns, but Basil was its author. Once again the Westerns are addressed collectively. Cf. E. Schwartz, *Zur Geschichte des Athanasius*, in the *Göttingen Nachrichten*, 1904, pp. 373-374.

² St. Basil, *Epist.*, cclxvi.

the *refrigerium* they desire, at least it will, says the Council, be a comfort for them "to know the integrity of our faith, if you glory in having no other doctrine than ours, and if you appreciate the solicitude which we feel for you."¹

Difficulties of an Agreement

The situation was a hopelessly complicated one. As Mgr. Duchesne justly remarks, "the good will of contemporaries was burdened by the results of the long war in which Eusebius of Nicomedia had involved the Easterns, first against Alexandria, and then against the Roman Church."² Between East and West an *entente* had never been easy; it was now more difficult than ever. The two halves of the Church did not speak the same language; they did not employ the same expressions; they had not the same aims; and there is no clearer indication of the importance of this fact than the letters addressed to Pope Damasus by St. Jerome at the beginning of the latter's stay in Antioch. The Western doctor writes in an indignant tone:

Now, unhappily, after the faith of Nicaea, after the decree of Alexandria, accepted by the West, the acceptance of three hypostases is required from me, a

¹ P. Batiffol, *Le siège apostolique*, pp. 105-106. It is likely that the anathemas attached to the letter *Per filium meum* emanate from this Council; in the Greek translation they are addressed to Paulinus, doubtless the one who was Bishop of Antioch. Meletius is directly aimed at in the phrase: "Eos quoque qui de ecclesiis ad ecclesias migraverunt, tamdiu a communione nostra habemus alienos, quamdiu ad eas redierint civitates in quibus primum sunt constituti. Quod si alius alio transmigrante in locum viventis ordinatus est, tamdiu vacet sacerdotii dignitate qui suam deseruit civitatem, quamdiu successor ejus quiescat in domino." This is tantamount to requesting that Meletius shall return to Sebaste and there await the death of Eustathius before exercising the episcopate there. Cf. E. Schwartz, *Zur Geschichte des Athanasius*, in the *Göttingen Nachrichten*, 1904, pp. 373-375. Naturally, St. Basil and his friends could not accept this condition.

Another Roman document, of which we possess a fragment, begins with the words *Illud sane*; it is difficult to date it exactly. It may be contemporary with the Council of 377, and it may even have emanated from it. But it contents itself with refuting the Apollinarian errors in a somewhat ironical way, as though Basil himself had fallen into them. This document, however, does not settle the matter.

² L. Duchesne, *Histoire ancienne de l'Eglise*, Vol. II, p. 413.

Roman, by the Arian progeny of peasants. . . . Decide the question, I beg of you, if it pleases you, and I will no longer hesitate to speak of three hypostases. If you order it, let a new faith be drawn up after that of Nicaea. We orthodox profess our faith in the same terms as the Arians. The whole school of profane letters knows no other hypostasis than *ousia*. And who, I ask you, will speak openly with a sacrilegious mouth, of three substances? There is only one divine matter which truly exists.¹

St. Jerome is going too far, and the Roman Church will show itself to be more prudent, and will henceforth avoid the use of disputed terms. But Jerome's insistence is characteristic: if educated men feel such mistrust in face of the Eastern vocabulary, what will be thought and said by the multitude of the faithful in the West?

Moreover, personal questions continued to divide East and West. Marcellus of Ancyra, who had so long been the scapegoat of the Easterns, and with whom Rome could not bring herself to break officially, eventually died about 375. But before his death he had succeeded in obtaining for himself and for the community grouped around him letters of communion from St. Athanasius, and his followers had at once made these letters known to Egyptian bishops exiled at Diocaesarea in Palestine, who had accepted them without difficulty.² Thus, from this standpoint the whole problem

¹ St. Jerome, *Epist.*, xv. The reply of St. Damasus was not forthcoming, and Jerome repeated his questions in *Letter xvi*. We do not know if this second attempt had more success than the first. It is probable that the Roman Church preferred to keep silence. This instance shows the great difficulties caused by the fact that the Westerns still accepted to a great extent the synonymous character of the words *ousia* and *hypostasis*.

² We know little of the last years of Marcellus of Ancyra. Officially his see was occupied by Athanasius, and the latter had in 363 given his adhesion to the Council of Nicaea. Marcellus, who had been able to return to Ancyra in the reign of Julian, must have lived there somewhat obscurely. The date of the mission of the deacon Eugenius to Alexandria is controverted. Duchesne (*Histoire ancienne de l'Eglise*, Vol. II, pp. 415-416) favours 362 and the time of the Council of Alexandria. The present writer thinks that it took place later, and should be put after 370. Since the Council of Sardica, St. Athanasius was not on good terms with Marcellus; the latter could have had recourse to

remained intact: whatever condemnations may have been pronounced against the Sabellianism attributed to Marcellus, Marcellus himself had not been excommunicated by Rome. On the other hand, Meletius of Antioch, who after his election had given so many proofs of his attachment to the faith of Nicaea, and who had been sent into exile because of his fidelity, and who enjoyed the confidence of almost all the orthodox in the East under the lead of Basil, remained suspect at Rome, which continued to prefer Paulinus, who had been irregularly elected and consecrated under the auspices of Lucifer of Cagliari, and who had been deprived at Antioch itself of all influence. The Arians, more and more split up into rival sects, were kept in existence only through the protection of the Emperor Valens, whose religious policy was far from meeting with the same success as that of Constantius. To ensure peace, all that was needed was a close union between the two halves of the Church, which were separated from each other by misunderstandings rather than for solid reasons. But this union seemed to defy all efforts to bring it about.

The Gothic Invasion

But in the meantime, the political situation of the Eastern Empire underwent a profound change, and this had its repercussion upon religious events. The Goths, established beyond the Danube, had been attacked by the Huns from the region of the Urals. Trodden under foot by these savage hordes, they had sought refuge in the territory of the Empire, and permission had been given to them to establish themselves in Thrace under certain conditions, which included

the Bishop of Alexandria only as a last resource. The profession of faith taken by Eugenius is comparatively harmless, or rather, it waters down the former teaching of Marcellus, but it does not go so far as to proclaim three hypostases.

The death of Marcellus must have taken place not very long after that of Athanasius. We know that Marcellus was already a bishop in 314, at the time of the Council of Ancyra. The profession of faith presented in the name of his followers to the Egyptian confessors is conserved by St. Epiphanius (*Haeres.*, lxxii, 11). St. Basil (*Epist.*, cclxi) could not help thinking that the exiles had too easily satisfied the desires of the people of Ancyra, and Peter of Alexandria apparently shared the same opinion.

an undertaking to provide them with subsistence. The administration of Valens organised this assistance with so little conscience and humanity that the immigrants revolted (376). The rebellion speedily developed into a veritable war, and events turned out so badly for Rome that the Emperor Valens found it necessary to intervene in person. Before leaving Antioch, he decided to give the Catholics, whom he had so severely persecuted, a mark of favour, and he recalled all the sentences of exile pronounced against ecclesiastics: Meletius reappeared at Antioch, and Peter returned to Alexandria.¹

When he arrived at Constantinople on the 30th of May 378, the Emperor remained there only a few days, and then departed in the direction of Thrace, there to take command of the army. The decisive battle was fought near Adrianople on the 9th of August. The Romans there met with a great disaster, in which Valens disappeared. A rumour was spread abroad that he had been wounded in the course of the fight, and taken to a cottage, which was set on fire by the Goths, so that he perished in the flames, and it was impossible to find his corpse.

Coming of Theodosius

His nephew Gratian who, since the death of Valentinian (375), had governed the West in concert with his young brother Valentinian II, inherited power in the East, and for some months he reigned alone. But in the month of January 379, he felt the need to hand over Eastern affairs to a man who was more vigorous and more accustomed to these things. He chose one of his generals, Theodosius, who was proclaimed Augustus at Sirmium. Gratian was orthodox:

¹ The *Chronicle* of St. Jerome and the *Ecclesiastical History* of Rufinus agree in putting the measure of clemency taken by Valens in regard to the exiles before his departure from Antioch. Sozomen (*Hist. eccles.*, VI, xi) says that a monk of Constantinople, Isaac, asked Valens in vain to restore the churches to the orthodox. This account is somewhat suspect. In any case, it is possible that the recall of the exiles was not accompanied by measures of reparation which seemed indeed to be called for. Peter of Alexandria was one of the first to profit by the indulgence of the Emperor: he returned to his episcopal city even before the death of Valens.

one of his first acts was to ratify the measures taken by Valens recalling the exiled bishops.¹ Theodosius also was orthodox: at the beginning of his reign, he fell gravely ill at Thessalonica, and asked for baptism; but before receiving it, he had taken steps to make sure that the Bishop of Thessalonica really professed the faith of Nicaea.² The prosperity of Arianism was definitely at an end.

Death of St. Basil

Basil of Caesarea, who had done so much for the peace and unity of the Church, did not live to see the triumph for which he had paved the way. He died on the 1st of January 379, before he had completed his fiftieth year, worn out by the austerities of asceticism and the incessant worries of the episcopate. During his lifetime none of the undertakings he began had been carried to a conclusion: his story is one of constantly repeated contradictions and checks. Hampered by a delicate state of health, and deprived of collaborators capable of entering into his mind and helping to realise his projects, the great Bishop of Caesarea had met only with ill will and opposition. Some found him too calm, others too warlike. In other circumstances, he might have seen victory smiling upon him. But he had to be content to work without hope. The peace which he had laboured so well to bring about was restored in fact only after his death.

¹ Theodoret, *Hist. eccles.*, V, ii; Socrates, *Hist. eccles.*, V, ii; Sozomen, *Hist. eccles.*, VII, 1.

² Socrates, *Hist. eccles.*, V, vi.

THE VICTORY OF ORTHODOXY¹

SINCE the time of Jovian's death, the imperial policy had had a predominant influence upon the destinies of Arianism. In the West, the neutrality of Valentinian, and after his death that of his son Gratian, had enabled orthodoxy to reassert itself, though not to complete its success, for the Arians had been able to remain the masters of Illyricum and even to retain the episcopal see of Milan.² In the East, on the other hand, the decidedly favourable attitude of Valens towards the heresy had resulted in a severe persecution of the orthodox, who had passed through very painful times.

The persecution by the Eastern Emperor and the neutrality of the Emperor of the West were both destined to cease when the Gothic invasion fell upon the Roman provinces. In the East, Valens, before leaving to face the Barbarians in Thrace, ordered from Antioch the revocation of the sentences of exile (end of 377)³; in the West, Gratian, coming from Pannonia to help the threatened empire (spring of 378), abandoned the passive policy which he had inherited from his father and had observed for some three years. This abandonment of the anti-Nicene manœuvres, and the appearance on the scene of an Eastern emperor animated with the same sentiments, completely changed the situation of the Church. But it was not until 381 that this new policy produced its full fruits. In spite of their favourable dispositions, Gratian and Theodosius were at first wholly occupied with the barbarian invasion. Only at the end of 380 did external difficulties seem to be solved. It was then that decisive interventions assured the triumph of

¹ For Bibliography, see p. 407.

² Cf. *supra*, p. 314.

³ The return of the exiles from Edessa took place on the 27th of Dec. 377; cf. Rauschen, *op. cit.*, p. 29. Peter of Alexandria regained possession of his see before the death of Valens.

orthodoxy, and the settlement of ecclesiastical disputes. Even so, some first results, by no means negligible, were obtained in the course of the troubled period extending from 378 to 380.

§ I. GRATIAN AND THEODOSIUS: THE NEW
ECCLESIASTICAL POLICY (378-380)

The Decline of Arianism in the West prior to 378

Five years earlier, Western Arianism had suffered two serious defeats. The desire of Valentinian I had maintained in their sees all the existing bishops, and only their deaths could modify the position. The disappearance of Auxentius of Milan in 373 and that of Germinius of Sirmium about 376 deprived the Arians of the possession of these two metropolises, whose influence was paramount in the neighbouring provinces of Upper Italy and Illyricum. At the death of Auxentius, Valentinian I was still reigning. When the people of Milan and the bishops, in spite of their divergence in faith, unanimously chose the consul Ambrose, the fierce Emperor who approved of their choice may have imagined that this would ensure the maintenance of his policy of neutrality. He was certainly mistaken, for this provincial governor, doubtless a Christian at heart and in outlook, though not yet baptised, and still a stranger to ecclesiastical disputes, was to become a fearless champion of orthodoxy.¹ At the beginning, however, Ambrose seems to have temporised. But after the death of Valentinian I, he intervened in Illyricum in connection with the succession to Germinius, and absolutely insisted on the election of the Nicene Anemius.² From the two metropolises thus reconquered, orthodoxy would be able to spread over the Italo-Illyrian provinces, as the heresy had previously.

But Arianism did not allow itself to be dispossessed without resistance. In Upper Italy, it still had some followers in

¹ On the election of Ambrose, cf. J. R. Palanque, *Saint Ambroise et l'Empire romain*, pp. 1-3 (for the date, see pp. 484-487); on his relations with Valentinian I, *ibid.*, pp. 27-38.

² J. Zeiller, *Les origines chrétiennes dans les provinces danubiennes*, pp. 309-310; J. R. Palanque, *op. cit.*, pp. 48-49 (on the date, see p. 496).

the episcopate, as among the people of Milan, but it very soon disappeared, though we do not know how or why. We hear from time to time of some disturbances: about 376 we have the intrigues of the priest Julian Valens of Poetovio in league with the anti-pope Ursinus¹: in 378 we have the arrival of the Illyrian refugees, including some Arians, beginning with the Empress Justina and the entourage of the young Valentinian II, compelled to leave Sirmium because of the invasion.² In Illyricum, Arianism had some still stronger roots. Even before Julian, Valens had supplanted the venerable Mark of Poetovio in his see,³ several Illyrian prelates continued to be faithful to the Homoian formulae; and as long as Justina resided at Sirmium, she must have supported her co-religionists, just as she had endeavoured to prevent the installation of Anemius.⁴

The Council of Sirmium (July 378)

The arrival and stay of Gratian at Sirmium and then at Milan changed the atmosphere. Hitherto indifferent to religious questions and impervious to ecclesiastical influences, the Emperor now began to turn his mind to dogmatic problems, and to consult Ambrose, whose advice he willingly followed.⁵ The first result of this "conversion" was the holding of the Council of Sirmium in July 378. The chief interest of this assembly—the date and very existence of which have been much discussed⁶—consists not so much

¹ J. R. Palanque, *op. cit.*, pp. 43-44 and 496.

² The Arians of the Court then demanded from Ambrose one of his basilicas. Gratian, without settling the quarrel, ordered the church in question to be sequestered (J. R. Palanque, *op. cit.*, pp. 60-63; on the date, see p. 501).

³ J. R. Palanque, *op. cit.*, p. 63.

⁴ Cf. the story related in the *Vita Ambrosii*, xi (*ibid.*, p. 49).

⁵ On Gratian prior to 378, cf. J. R. Palanque, *op. cit.*, pp. 40-43; on his "conversion" in 378, *ibid.*, pp. 49 *et seq.* It was at this time that Ambrose wrote for him the first three books of his *De fide*—*ibid.*, pp. 55-59.

⁶ On the controversies concerning this Council, cf. J. Zeiller, *op. cit.*, pp. 310-327; we here adopt his conclusions. In the contrary sense, see G. Bardy, *Sur un synode de l'Illyricum*, 375, in *Bulletin d'ancienne littérature et d'archéologie chrétiennes*, Vol. II, 1912, pp. 259-274; H. v. Campenhausen, *Ambrosius von Mailand als Kirchenpolitiker*, pp. 33 and 93-95. Lastly, see J. R. Palanque, *op. cit.*, pp. 51-55 and 497.

in the attempts to negotiate with the Eastern bishops on the subject of the Macedonian heresy and the schism of Antioch—attempts which were at once frustrated by the Barbarian invasion—as in the deposition of six Arian bishops of Illyricum, and the close collaboration between the Emperor Gratian and the Fathers of the Council. The ideas and style of Ambrose have been detected in the text of the imperial letter to the bishops of Asia and Phrygia; and the intervention of the secular arm was certainly required in order to remove the condemned prelates from their sees. Two other Homoian bishops, Palladius of Ratiaria and Secundian of Singidunum, prudently abstained from attending this assembly. Their cases had to be dealt with later on, but circumstances will long delay the new Council which the Emperor promised (end of 378).

The Legislation of Gratian

When he returned to Gaul in the summer of 379, while remaining always in contact with Ambrose, whose faithful disciple he had become,¹ Gratian did not intervene directly in the affairs of the Italo-Illyrian churches (except to restore to Ambrose the basilica which the Arians had claimed, and which he had at first sequestered),² but he now began to take a close interest in religious affairs. To the requests of a Roman Council, he replied in an explicit rescript approving the new rules laid down for ecclesiastical jurisdiction³; and very soon, two successive laws, signed at Milan under the influence of Ambrose (3rd of August 379 and 22nd of April 380), enacted in categorical terms the proscription of

¹ After the first victories of Ambrose in the summer of 378, we notice what seems like a reaction on the part of Gratian (J. R. Palanque, *op. cit.*, pp. 59-63). In July 379, Ambrose regained his influence (*ibid.*, pp. 64 *et seq.*), and it was consolidated in the spring of 380 through an exchange of letters (*Epist.*, i, in reply to a letter from Gratian, conserved with that of Ambrose) and a third interview (*ibid.*, pp. 68 *et seq.*, and 501-502). The bishop then wrote for the Emperor his *De spiritu sancto*, and added two more books to his *De fide* (*ibid.*, pp. 72-76).

² St. Ambrose, *De spiritu sancto*, I, 20; *Epist.*, i, 2 (on the date of this episode, cf. J. R. Palanque, *op. cit.*, p. 501).

³ Cf. next volume.

the heresy.¹ The first of these did not specify any penal sanction; and though the second mentions the confiscation of places of worship, we do not know if this was applied in practice. But we must call attention to this complete change of attitude in the Western Emperor: henceforth he is the protector of the orthodox Church, and the declared enemy of heresy.

The Decline of Arianism in the East in 378

In the East, however, the toleration ordered by Valens and confirmed by Gratian in the autumn of 378² had borne its fruits. Deprived of official protection, Homoianism could not escape the collapse which was already threatening it. In addition, the support which Theodosius, who became emperor at the beginning of 379, was to give to orthodoxy enabled this easily to regain the positions which had been lost; and while the death of Basil of Caesarea, which took place precisely at this time,³ deprived it of a respected leader, his successors were at least able to act in a way in which he himself might well have hesitated to do.

The return of the exiles⁴ was a first victory for those faithful to Nicaea who had been deprived of pastors. Peter of Alexandria was one of the first to profit by the newly conferred liberty, in the spring of 378, and the intruded Lucius had to depart and take refuge in Constantinople. Next it was the turn of Meletius of Antioch; but he found there not only his own faithful flock but also the schismatic

¹ *Cod. Theod.*, XVI, v, 5, and 4 (the latter, dated 377, should be transferred to 380; cf. J. R. Palanque, *Sur la date d'une loi de Gratien contre l'hérésie*, in *Revue historique*, Vol. CLXVIII, 1931, pp. 87-90). On the significance of the first of these laws, cf. Seeck, *Geschichte des Untergangs der antiken Welt*, Vol. V, pp. 137-138; H. v. Campenhausen, *op. cit.*, p. 45; J. R. Palanque, *Saint Ambroise*, pp. 64-66. On the second law, cf. J. R. Palanque, *op. cit.*, p. 71.

² Socrates, *Hist. eccles.*, V, ii; Sozomen, *Hist. eccles.*, VII, 1. Cf. Rauschen, *op. cit.*, p. 30.

³ 1st of January 379 (Rauschen, *op. cit.*, pp. 476-477).

⁴ On Peter, see Sozomen, *Hist. eccles.*, VI, xxxix; on Meletius, see Socrates, *Hist. eccles.*, V, i. Others returned at the same time, including Cyril of Jerusalem, Eusebius of Samosata, Eulalius of Amasia in Pontus: Socrates, *Hist. eccles.*, V, iii; Sozomen, *Hist. eccles.*, VII, ii; Theodoret, *Hist. eccles.*, V, iv (cf. Rauschen, *op. cit.*, pp. 34-36).

communities of the Arian Dorotheus, the Apollinarist Vitalis, and the orthodox Paulinus.¹ He seems to have endeavoured to come to an understanding with Paulinus, in order to bring to an end the schism which was dividing the orthodox. According to the narratives, which unfortunately all display a legendary appearance, he proposed that they should sit together, with the book of the Gospels between them, to testify to their common faith, or again it is said that he suggested that whoever died first should not have a successor.² There is nothing improbable in these stories, but in any case the suggestions, if made, met with no success. Paulinus, who was isolated in the East, and at Antioch itself had around him only a small minority of orthodox, was too proud of the support given him by Rome and Alexandria to accept the suggestions of Meletius. Hence there was no change in the unfortunate position of the Church at Antioch.

Gregory of Nazianzum at Constantinople

At Constantinople, on the other hand, the Arian bishop Demophiles as yet had no rival. When religious liberty was

¹ Dorotheus, formerly Bishop of Heraclea in Thrace, succeeded Euzoius at Antioch in 376; Socrates, *Hist. eccles.*, VII, iii (cf. Tillemont, *Mémoires*, Vol. VI, pp. 603 and 794). It must be noted that Paulinus was not disturbed under Valens.

² The conversations between Meletius and Paulinus are known to us through the accounts of Socrates, *Hist. eccles.*, V, v; Sozomen, *Hist. eccles.*, VII, iii; Theodoret, *Hist. eccles.*, V, ii-iii. F. Cavallera (*Le schisme d'Antioche*, pp. 232-243) has made a lengthy study of these accounts, and concludes in favour of that of Theodoret. The accounts of Socrates and Sozomen he regards as the transformation of a legend, centred around the simple fact that there were conversations in view of an agreement and the possession of the churches. But the legendary element is not thereby excluded from Theodoret himself. How can one seriously believe that Meletius could really have suggested to Paulinus a division of the episcopal power? Obviously there could only be one bishop for one city. The idea of a division might have been entertained by the Emperor Constantius: the story of Liberius and Felix may be remembered in this connection. But it could hardly have been entertained by Meletius. For the rest, the date of these attempts at reconciliation is uncertain. Theodoret puts them at the time of the Council of Antioch, which would be the most natural date. Socrates and Sozomen put them immediately before the Council of Constantinople, and Cavallera (*op. cit.*, p. 213, n. 2, and pp. 215-216) accepts this date, but his arguments are not decisive.

restored, the Nicaean party in the capital wished to choose a pastor: they selected a disciple and friend of Basil of Caesarea, Gregory of Nazianzum, then living in solitude in Asia Minor. From the canonical standpoint, the position of Gregory of Nazianzum was far from clear. It will be remembered that previously Gregory had been consecrated by Basil for the see of Sasima, but that he had never taken possession of that distant little church, and that he had chosen to remain at Nazianzum to assist his aged father in the work of the ministry. After the death of the latter in 375, he had, however, left Nazianzum, and yielding to his desire for solitude, had taken refuge in the monastery of St. Thecla, at Seleucia in Isauria. It was to this place that the faithful of Constantinople sent to find him, but we do not know what gave them this idea, or why he accepted their offer.¹ Perhaps the thought of the good which could thus be done was sufficient for him, and in his ideas made it unnecessary to worry about the strict legality of his action. It is certain in any case that he went to Constantinople, and that under his leadership the orthodox there regained confidence. His zeal, his charity and eloquence worked wonders; the chapel of the Resurrection, where his hearers assembled together, very soon became too small to hold all who wished to come.²

Such success could only arouse jealousy. One Easter night, the Arians invaded the chapel of the Resurrection,

¹ One of the most difficult problems in this complicated history is certainly the coming of Gregory of Nazianzum to Constantinople. In his *Carmen de vita sua*, 595-598, Gregory asserts that he was called there by a number of shepherds and sheep. Tillemont (*Mémoires*, Vol. IX, p. 410) takes this to mean the orthodox of the capital and the bishops of the neighbourhood. P. Batiffol (*Le siège apostolique*, pp. 112-113) writes: "It does not seem unlikely that he was sent for by Meletius, Bishop of Antioch, or even by St. Basil in his last days." In any hypothesis, it certainly seems that the canonical rules were not observed in the matter, for Gregory was, according to the letter of the law, bound to his church of Sasima. On the date of his arrival at Constantinople, cf. Rauschen, *op. cit.*, p. 51, n. 1.

² Among the discourses pronounced by Gregory at the Anastasis, we must especially mention the five theological discourses on the Trinity, which are at once fine specimens of eloquence and also magnificent theological expositions. On the preaching of Gregory, cf. Tillemont, *Mémoires*, Vol. IX, pp. 414 *et seq.*; A. Puech, *Histoire de la littérature grecque chrétienne*, Vol. III, pp. 336-364.

where Gregory was celebrating the sacred mysteries, and expelled the faithful with showers of stones, which, however, did not prevent the Arians from accusing the bishop of provocation, and taking him before the courts.¹ But nothing further happened.

Much more serious was the attempt made by a certain Maximus, protected by the Bishop of Alexandria, to get possession of the see of Constantinople. This Maximus had been a professor of philosophy, a fact which gave him a great reputation among simple souls, and even won praise from Gregory himself.² But in reality he was only an underground intriguer, whose sole ambition was to become bishop of the capital. Peter of Alexandria, partly to cause embarrassment to Gregory, whom he disliked, and partly in order to have some influence on the religious affairs of the capital, sent one day to Constantinople some Egyptian bishops charged with giving Maximus the episcopal consecration he so much desired.³ But the matter turned out badly: Maximus, who had gone to Thessalonica in order to get himself recognised by Theodosius, was dismissed by the Emperor⁴; moreover, Pope Damasus for his part protested vigorously against a consecration carried out in contempt of ecclesiastical rules.⁵

The Council of Antioch (Autumn of 379)

In addition to these local difficulties, the restoration of the

¹ The details of this attack are narrated in *Oratio xxxv*; cf. *Epist.*, lxxvii; *Carmen de vita sua*, 652-678.

² Athanasius had corresponded with him, Gregory on his side had pronounced publicly in church a panegyric of Maximus, who was present for the occasion. This is *Oratio XXV*, entitled *Laus Heronis philosophi*, but we know through Jerome (*De viris illustr.*, cxvii) that the name of Hero here stands for Maximus. Sajdak (*Quaestiones nazianzenicae*, pars. 1, in *Eos*, Vol. XV, 1909, pp. 18-48) asserts that Hero was a different person from Maximus, but he is certainly mistaken.

³ The scandalous consecration of Maximus is narrated by Gregory, *Carmen de vita sua*, 990. The intervention of Peter of Alexandria in this sad affair seems beyond question.

⁴ Gregory of Nazianzum, *Carmen de vita sua*, 1005-1009.

⁵ He wrote on this matter to Acholius of Thessalonica: "Recte igitur factum est ut id quod male coeptum erat auctoritate publica destrueretur"; and he explains that Maximus was consecrated "contra regulam ecclesiasticae disciplinae."

general peace of the Church required a renewal of contacts with the West. Meletius was wise enough to realise this. In the autumn of 379, he assembled the Eastern bishops in his episcopal city to the number of a hundred and fifty-three, and he persuaded them to sign the formularies which had been brought from Rome during the preceding years. Of the members of the Council besides Meletius we know only Eusebius of Samosata, Pelagius of Laodicea, Zeno of Tyre, Eulogius of Edessa, Bematius of Malle, and Diodorus of Tarsis. The *Acts* of the Council are in great part lost; but we know the most important fact, and that is that the Easterns agreed to adhere to the teaching of Damasus and the Western bishops. The texts thus approved by the Council were sent to Rome.¹

¹ The interpretation adopted here is the one accepted also by Duchesne, *Hist. anc. de l'Eglise*, Vol. II, p. 421, and Batiffol, *Le siège apostolique*, p. 109. But the testimony of the documents themselves is not clear. In the collection of the deacon Theodosius, which tells us about this Council, we find, after a group consisting of the letter of Damasus and of the Roman Council *Confidimus*, and three Damasian fragments, *Ea gratia*, *Illud sane*, and *Non nobis*, a note by the copyist or person making the extracts: "Explicit haec epistola vel expositio synodi romanae habitae sub Damaso papa et transmissa ad Orientem"; then, without any interruption: "in qua omnis orientalis ecclesia facta synodo apud Antiochiam consona fide credentes et omnes ita consentientes eidem super expositae fidei singuli sua subscriptione confirmant." There follow the signatures of Meletius, Eusebius, Pelagius, Zeno, Eulogius, Bematius and Diodorus. The text ends with the following note: "Similiter et alii CXLVI orientales episcopi subscripserunt quorum subscriptio in authentico hodie in archivio romanae ecclesiae tenetur." But this collection of documents is a very confused one. The letters of Damasus are obviously earlier than 379 (cf. *supra*, p. 343); moreover, they do not constitute a profession of faith, although they deal with questions concerning the faith, and their language could hardly have been accepted by the Easterns. The letter *Confidimus* in particular uses, in connection with the Trinity, the expression *una substantia*, against which the Easterns had never ceased to protest. True, in the fragment *Ea gratia*, the Pope speaks of *una usia*, which might be regarded as an interpretation or a concession. In any case, the Council of Antioch could not have contented itself with signing the Roman documents without any explanation: but the precise character of this explanation is unknown to us.

On the other hand, as Schwartz points out (*Zur Geschichte des Athanasius*, in the Göttingen *Nachrichten*, 1904, p. 375), the phrase "in qua omnis orientalis ecclesia" has the appearance of having been interrupted: instead of the verb in the singular which one would expect, we find a new subject in the plural: "consona fide credentes et omnes ita consentientes." There

The Legislation of Theodosius

While Meletius was thus at this moment assuming the position of leader of the Eastern episcopate, Theodosius at first did nothing in support of his action. On the contrary, his first intervention in religious matters might well seem favourable to the claims of Paulinus. When he received baptism during a serious illness at Thessalonica at the hands of the bishop Acholius,¹ he took the occasion to declare to his subjects in what paths they were to tread. His edict

would therefore seem to be an omission here. The bishops assembled at Antioch, moreover, signed a Creed referred to in the fifth canon of the Council of Constantinople in 382, and it is this Creed which the Western copyist has neglected to transcribe.

Does this mean, as Schwartz thinks, that the Council of Antioch constituted an imposing demonstration against Rome and Alexandria? Such a conclusion is difficult to accept. In the course of the preceding years, there had been so many efforts made by Meletius and his friends to renew relations with the West that this first great collective manifestation could not possibly have been directed in an opposite sense. Moreover, Theodosius regarded union with Rome as the essential condition of orthodoxy. In these circumstances, it is difficult to believe that the Council of Antioch did not proclaim its attachment to the Roman faith. We do not know the details of this proclamation, but its real existence seems beyond doubt.

We are equally ignorant as to whether Damasus replied to the communication from the Council of Antioch. Theodoret (*Hist. eccles.*, V, x) gives a translation of a letter addressed by Damasus to the Easterns—a letter of which we also have the Latin text (Migne, *P.L.*, Vol. XIII, 370-371). This letter, written after the Roman Council of 377 and before the death of Peter of Alexandria, is a reply to a request which the Easterns had made to Damasus, asking for the condemnation of the Apollinarian Bishop of Berytes, Timothy: the Pope replies that Timothy, a disciple of Apollinaris, has already been deposed, at the same time as his master. Schwartz, in the *Göttingen Nachrichten*, 1904, p. 374, and Cavallera (*Le Schisme d'Antioche*, pp. 213-214) date the letter 380; but the former thinks that the Eastern request emanated from the Paulinians, while the latter thinks it emanated from the Meletian council. Wittig (*Die Friedenspolitik Damasus*, I, pp. 154 *et seq.*) even sees in the letter of Damasus a formal recognition of the Meletian party. Caspar (*Geschichte des Papsttums*, Vol. I, pp. 241 and 597) minimises the importance of this correspondence, and does not determine either the date (it may, in his view, be subsequent to the death of Peter of Alexandria) or the position of the petitioners. Batiffol (*Le siège apostolique*, pp. 106-109) thinks it most likely that it emanated from the orthodox priests of Berytus, perhaps very soon after the Council of 377. On all this, see G. Bardy, *Le concile d'Antioche* (379), in *Revue bénédictine*, Vol. XLV, 1933, pp. 196-213.

¹ Sozomen, *Hist. eccles.*, VII, iv.

of the 28th of February 380, though not pronouncing formal sanctions against delinquents, enjoined all to profess "the religion which the Apostle Peter long ago taught the Romans, and which is now followed by the pontiff Damasus, and Peter Bishop of Alexandria, a man of apostolic sanctity." This religion, in conformity with the apostolic discipline and the evangelical doctrine, consists essentially in belief in the divinity of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, three who are equal in majesty in their Trinity.¹ Theodosius was silent on the term "consubstantial," and he did not mention the Council of Nicaea, but he clearly made known his will by indicating Damasus and Peter as the standards of orthodoxy: in this he expressed himself as a Western, ignoring the controversies in the East. At the same time, without openly siding with either of the two heads of the orthodox communities of Antioch, he seemed to favour Paulinus by his praise of those who supported him.²

At Constantinople, on the other hand, the new Emperor did not hesitate to make a decision. He refused to recognise Maximus, and then had him expelled from Alexandria, where he had fled. On his arrival in the capital he expelled Demophilus, who refused to accept the faith of Nicaea, and solemnly installed Gregory in the basilica of the Apostles.³ This was merely the recognition of an accomplished fact: a general council would have to settle finally the question of the right to the see, and at the same time to determine the other ecclesiastical disputes.

§ 2. THE COUNCIL OF CONSTANTINOPLE (381)

The Idea of a Council

The first idea of a general council goes back, as we have

¹ *Cod. Theod.*, XVI, i, 2 (several authors give it the date 27th of Feb., but 380 being a bissextile year, III kal. mart. corresponds to the 28th). On the bearing of this law, cf. Vol. II.

² Harnack, *Dogmengeschichte*, Vol. II, 4th edn., p. 272; Rade, *Damasus*, p. 71.

³ Theodosius made his entry into Constantinople on the 24th of Nov., according to Socrates, *Hist. eccles.*, V, vi; he expelled Demophilus, and together with him Lucius of Alexandria on the 26th, and installed Gregory on the 27th (Rauschen, *op. cit.*, pp. 75-76). The installation took place at the Holy Apostles, and not at the church of Holy Wisdom (*ibid.*, p. 76, n. 2).

seen, to 378,¹ but it is clear that the political situation was not favourable to calling one at that time. Neither Gratian nor Theodosius, both retained on the frontiers, could actively entertain the idea. In addition, the cases of Palladius and Secundian, which first gave rise to the idea, could be settled only by a "general and plenary" council, for though these bishops were subjects of the West in 378, they were provisionally attached to the East after the advent of Theodosius. But we know the idea of an oecumenical council would clash with particular interests, and would arouse the mutual mistrust between East and West. As Gratian had caused the provinces of Eastern Illyricum to be returned to him in September 380,² the affair of the two bishops became once more a purely Western matter. It was doubtless at this point that Ambrose persuaded the Emperor to convoke at Aquileia a limited council, composed mainly of Italo-Illyrian bishops, who could easily be managed by the Bishop of Milan.³ The project of a great Eastern council must also have been abandoned at that date, possibly in the interview between the two emperors at Sirmium.⁴ In any case, the new anti-Arian policy was making fresh progress in the East: by the edict of the 10th of January 381, Theodosius forbade all the heretics, i.e. those who did not accept the faith of Nicaea, to meet within towns; and all the churches were to be given back to the Catholics.⁵ In these

¹ Cf. *supra*, p. 360.

² This has been shown by E. Stein, *Untersuchungen zur spätromischen Verwaltungsgeschichte*, I: *Die Teilungen von Illyricum in den Jahren 379 u. 395*, in *Rheinisches Museum*, Vol. LXXIV, 1925, pp. 347 *et seq.* On the political events of these years, cf. *Geschichte des spätromischen Reiches*, by the same author, Vol. I, pp. 295-299.

³ Cf. J. R. Palanque, *op. cit.*, pp. 79 *et seq.*

⁴ This is a hypothesis advanced by Seeck, *Geschichte des Untergangs der antiken Welt*, Vol. V, p. 144.

⁵ *Cod. Theod.*, XVI, v, 6. It is to be noted that in this new edict, Theodosius no longer speaks of the faith of the Bishop of Rome and of the Bishop of Alexandria, but contents himself with recommending the Council of Nicaea. "It has been suggested, with great probability, that Theodosius had realised, now that he was in the East, that orthodoxy could be re-established there only by the action of the orthodox forces of the East itself" (Batiffol, *op. cit.*, pp. 113-114). Cf. Harnack, *op. cit.*, p. 273.

circumstances, the destruction of Arianism in places where it subsisted seemed beyond doubt.

The Council of Constantinople: its Composition

The great Council of Constantinople opened in May 381.¹ A hundred and fifty bishops gathered there, from all parts of the East except Egypt, and were grouped around Meletius, who presided over the assembly. Twenty-eight came from the diocese of Pontus, including Helladios of Caesarea, Gregory of Nyssa and Peter of Sebaste, the two brothers of Basil and Amphilochus of Iconium. Smaller numbers came from the dioceses of Thrace and Asia; the provinces of the Proconsular area, Lydia, Hellespont and the Islands were not represented.² In point of fact, these lands had in great part passed over to the semi-Arian heresy, which had recently been reasserted at the Councils of Cyzicus and Antioch in Caria.³ Thirty-six bishops of this party,

¹ Socrates, *Hist. eccles.*, V, viii; Sozomen, *Hist. eccles.*, VII, vii; Theodoret, *Hist. eccles.*, V, vii. We possess a list of the members of the Council (Mansi, Vol. III, col. 568-572). This list includes 148 names, including seven priests and a lector sent to the council by absent bishops. The names are arranged according to provinces, which leads us to think that the list was thus arranged by a reviser. Moreover, it contains some evident mistakes; cf. Tillemont, *Mémoires*, Vol. IX, p. 716. But on the whole, it gives a correct idea of episcopal representation at Constantinople.

² The list has three bishops for Scythia, but only Gerontius of Tomi belonged really to that province. Aetherius was Bishop of Cherson in the Crimea, Sebastian Bishop of Anchialis (province of Hemimont). The list also mentions two bishops of Egypt, Timothy of Alexandria and Dorotheus of Oxyrhynchus, who arrived after the others (cf. *infra*, p. 373); it is almost certain that several other Egyptian bishops arrived with them to sit in the Council. At the same time there arrived Acholius of Thessalonica, who does not appear in the list, perhaps because he was a Western.

³ The Council of Cyzicus was held in 376 under the presidency of Eleusius; Eustathius of Sebaste went there and signed the formula which repudiated the *homoousios* and replaced it by the *homoiousios*, and put the Holy Spirit in the ranks of creatures. Cf. Basil, *Epist.*, ccxlv, 9. The Council of Antioch in Caria is mentioned by Socrates (*Hist. eccles.*, V, iv) (with the error $\tau\eta\varsigma \Sigma\upsilon\pi\tau\acute{\iota}\alpha\varsigma$), and Sozomen (*Hist. eccles.*, VII, ii), who seem to put it shortly after the coming of Gratian. Sozomen mentions another Council in Caria which comprised thirty-four bishops, and adopted the formula of Antioch and Seleucia: this Council is said to have met in 367. We may, however, wonder whether the two Councils of Caria were really distinct, and whether we ought not rather to identify them: the date 378-379 would be very suitable for a full assembly of the Macedonian bishops.

summoned to the Council of Constantinople, presented themselves there, led by Eleusius of Cyzicus and Marcian of Lampsacus, but they were unable to take their seats, since they refused to accept the formulae of Nicaea. Nevertheless, many efforts were made to smooth over the difficulty, and in particular they were reminded of the legation which the Council of Lampsacus had previously sent to Pope Liberius, and how this legation had renewed the relations of communion with the Catholics¹; Gregory of Nazianzum, preaching on the Holy Spirit on the feast of Pentecost, went to great lengths in regard to the Macedonians, whom he exhorted to unite themselves with the Church.² But all was to no purpose: the Pneumatomachi rejected the term "consubstantial," and left Constantinople without even waiting for the opening meeting. When leaving they addressed to their flocks a collective letter, advising them never to embrace the faith of Nicaea.³

Its Doctrinal Work

The question of the faith did not arise among the Fathers of the Council. All were orthodox; all accepted the full divinity of the Son and of the Holy Spirit. In these circumstances, the assembly adopted with one accord a text which recalled in a summary but formal manner the Nicene Creed, and anathematised all the heresies which were opposed to it: Eunomians and Anomoeans, Arians and Eudoxians, Semi-Arians or Pneumatomachi, to which were added without further explanation the Sabellians, Marcellians, Photinians, and Apollinarists.⁴ The bishops also drew up a dogmatic definition, teaching the consubstantiality and distinction of the three Divine Persons, as well as the perfect Incarnation of the Word; the Sabellians, Eunomians, and Pneumatomachi were once more condemned. This doctrinal Tome,

¹ Socrates, *Hist. eccles.*, V, viii; Sozomen, *Hist. eccles.*, VII, ix.

² Gregory of Nazianzum, *Orat.*, xli.

³ Socrates and Sozomen, *loc. cit.*

⁴ Canon 1 (Greek text and translation in Hefelè-Leclercq, *p. ocit.*, Vol. II, Part I, p. 20).

which is mentioned in the letter of the Council in 382, is unfortunately lost.¹

The Right to the See of Constantinople

The theological questions do not seem to have given rise to any serious discussions. On the other hand personal questions gave rise to lively debates, and even quarrels. The first task was to decide who had a right to the see of Constantinople. That was only a formality: the consecration of Maximus was declared invalid; and his ordinations were condemned as null.² Then Gregory of Nazianzum was recognised by the assembly unanimously. He had indeed several years previously been Bishop of Sasima, and the Council of Nicaea had prohibited translations; but this rule, which was always in force in Rome, had fallen into desuetude in the East. Moreover, everybody knew that Gregory had never taken possession of his distant bishopric, and that though he had exercised episcopal functions at Nazianzum, he had done so only in order to help his father. In calling

¹ V. Grumel, *Les registres des actes du patriarcat de Constantinople*, Vol. I, fasc. 1, no. 3, pp. 2-3. Some Arabic canons conserved in the collection of Michael of Damietta, which set forth the Trinitarian and Christological doctrine in the form of twenty-three anathemas, might well be a translation of this *Tome*. But we must point out that these canons are also found identically in the Latin letter of Pope Damasus (Mansi, Vol. III, col. 481-484, and 486-488) and also in Theodoret, who translates this letter (*Hist. eccles.*, V, xi). The precise relation between these Arabic canons and the letter of Damasus has not yet been elucidated.

The doctrinal *Tome* of 381 was certainly not a Creed properly so called. It is in any case quite certain that the Creed described as that of Nicaea-Constantinople was not promulgated at this Council (see in the opposite sense, Schwartz, in *Zeitschrift für neutestament. Wissenschaft*, Vol. XXV, 1926, pp. 38-88). The first document in which the Creed is attributed to this Council is the account of the Council of Chalcedon in 451. But this Creed existed already in 374, for it was quoted at that date in the *Ancoratus* of Epiphanius of Salamis. It must have been a restatement of the baptismal Creed of Jerusalem, made shortly after the Council of Alexandria in 362 (cf. Harnack, *op. cit.*, pp. 276-278). It has been suggested that this Creed is the one recited by Nectarius when he received baptism, and that in consequence of this event it was introduced into the documents concerning the Council which are still extant (Grumel, *op. cit.*, p. 1). That is possible, but the hypothesis is in no way proved.

² Canon 4 (Hefele-Leclercq, *op. cit.*, pp. 27-28).

him to the see of Constantinople, then, it could be maintained that the canons were not being violated; and further, it would be an action which would please the Emperor.¹ These reasons seemed decisive, and Meletius immediately enthroned the bishop-elect.

The Right to the See of Antioch

The unexpected death of Meletius followed very soon after this ceremony.² In view of the circumstances, his death was a real misfortune, for it opened the problem of the episcopal succession at Antioch in such a way as to make a peaceful solution impossible. The wisest course would have been to rally to Paulinus: in spite of the irregular character of his consecration by Lucifer, and the small number of his followers at Antioch, he had in his favour his strict orthodoxy and communion with Rome and Alexandria; moreover, in pronouncing for him, the members of the Council would have shown their spirit of conciliation.³ Gregory of Nazianzum strongly supported this solution; and this was very much to his credit, for he himself had all sorts of reason to complain of Paulinus. But it was in vain that he set forth all possible arguments in favour of Paulinus, and in vain that he even offered his own resignation if it was thought that his own departure might facilitate negotiations. The others would not listen to him. "The bishops," he writes, in vivid language still full of bitterness, "chattered, each one in his place, it was like a flock of jays gathered together, a crowd of youths, a new workshop, a whirlwind of dust,

¹ Sozomen, *Hist. eccles.*, VII, vii. Cf. Gregory of Nazianzum, *Carmen de vita sua*, 1305-1309.

² Gregory, *ibid.*, 1573 *et seq.* His death occurred towards the end of May. The funeral was a magnificent one. Theodosius decided to attend it in person, and the finest orators of the Council spoke in praise of the deceased. We possess now only the funeral oration pronounced by Gregory of Nyssa. It is a rhetorical composition, rather fulsome according to our standards, but one which evidently manifests a real emotion. The orator recalls how "after a fairly long lapse of time, an adulterer drew near to the chaste nuptial bed, but the spouse nevertheless remained without stain." This is obviously an allusion to Paulinus, and it well expresses the sentiments of the assembly towards him.

³ The recognition of Paulinus was ardently desired by the Westerns, as is evident from the letter *Quamlibet* of the Council of Aquileia (cf. *infra*, p. 379).

a storm of wind, in which no one perfect in divine charity and the episcopate would have condescended to speak. They spluttered and stuttered in disorder, or were like a lot of hornets which together fly in one's face. Venerable old age followed, instead of reproving the younger ones."¹ The most foolish arguments were brought forward in the discussion. It was urged that Christ was born in the East, and that business must follow the sun. To this Gregory replied that it was also in the East that Christ was put to death.² These interminable disputes embittered men's minds, and no progress was made.

The Resignation of Gregory of Nazianzum

In this quarrel, the cause defended by Gregory seemed to receive an unexpected reinforcement when there arrived at the Council Acholius of Thessalonica, Timothy of Alexandria, and some Egyptian bishops.³ The West, represented henceforth by Acholius, and Egypt were both on the side of Paulinus of Antioch. But both were far from being as favourably disposed towards the new Bishop of Constantinople. Acholius had shortly before received some instructions from Pope Damasus, plainly directed against Gregory: the Roman Pontiff wrote congratulating him that an adventurer had been turned out of that see—evidently the reference here is to Maximus—but, the Pope added, care should be taken not to choose the bishop of another city, so that he would have to abandon his flock in order to go to another, for this never happens unless there is some ambition present, and, moreover, it is contrary to the traditional rules.⁴

¹ Gregory of Nazianzum, *Carmen de vita sua*, 1583 *et seq.*

² Gregory of Nazianzum, *Carmen de vita sua*, 1690-1693.

³ The arrival of these late-comers is difficult to understand. It is certain that they were expressly invited (for Acholius, cf. the testimony of Ambrose, *Epist. Sanctum*, 7). Batiffol (*op. cit.*, p. 121) suggests that Theodosius desired "that the episcopate of his states should be completely represented in the Council." But that reason would not apply to Acholius, who had become once more a subject of Gratian since September 380 (cf. *supra*, p. 368). It is probable that these new invitations originated with the Emperor himself, possibly with a view to strengthening the cause of Paulinus.

⁴ Jaffé-Wattenbach, 237. The name of Gregory does not appear in the letter of Damasus, but he is certainly the one the Pope refers to, and it is his proposed election that he has in mind.

As to the Egyptians, who were without doubt hostile to the rival of Maximus, almost as soon as they arrived they refused to take part in the liturgical services conducted by Gregory in presence of the other bishops of the Council, putting forward the reason that his election to Constantinople was completely null.¹

This new manifestation of distrust brought Gregory to a final decision. Several times already the holy bishop had threatened to withdraw. This time he definitely announced his departure, and they let him go.² In a last moving discourse, he bade farewell to his people, to the city of Constantinople, and to the little church of the Resurrection in which he had begun his apostolate, to the great Cathedral of Holy Wisdom which had welcomed him, to the church of the Holy Apostles whose relics were the most precious possession of the city, to the East and the West, for which he had suffered persecution, to the angel guardians of his church, and to the Holy Trinity of which he had ever been the constant preacher.³

After his withdrawal, Nectarius was chosen in his place "with unanimity by the oecumenical council, in presence of the most God-beloved Emperor Theodosius and of all the clergy, together with the common suffrage of all the city."⁴ Nectarius was a venerable old man, who belonged to the senatorial order, and at that time invested with the dignity of praetor. Nothing specially marked him out for the episcopate, but the Bishop of Tarsus, Diodorus, supported his candidature, and his name was agreeable to the Emperor, who proposed him. It was then discovered that Nectarius had never been baptised: the Bishop of Adana in Cilicia undertook to instruct him on the principal duties of a bishop.⁵

The Canons of the Council

Before separating, the bishops passed four more canons.⁶

¹ Theodoret, *Hist. eccles.*, V, viii, 6.

² Gregory of Nazianzum, *Carmen de vita sua*, 1902-1904.

³ Gregory of Nazianzum, *Orat.*, xlii. Cf. *Epist.*, lxxxvii.

⁴ Sozomen, *Hist. eccles.*, VII, viii; Theodoret, *Hist. eccles.*, V, ix, 15.

⁵ Socrates, *Hist. eccles.*, V, viii; Sozomen, *Hist. eccles.*, VII, x.

⁶ The Greek canonical collections attribute seven canons to the Council of 381. Only the first four are authentic: the 7th is an extract from a letter of

The first and fourth, as we have said,¹ cancelled the past by condemning all the heresies and rejecting the episcopate of Maximus. The two others, on the other hand, laid down some important disciplinary regulations for the future. The second canon in fact says that the bishops of a (civil) "diocese" must not interfere in churches outside this "diocese." Consequently, "the Bishop of Alexandria has jurisdiction only over matters of Egypt, the bishops of the East for the East alone, subject to the rights recognised by the Canons of Nicaea in the church of Antioch, the bishops of the diocese of Asia are competent to deal only with matters of Asia, those of Pontus with matters of Pontus only, those of Thrace only with matters of Thrace." As for the churches which are among the barbarian nations, these should be administered in conformity with the custom established by the Fathers. The third canon declares that the Bishop of Constantinople has the primacy of honour after the Bishop of Rome, because Constantinople is New Rome.

The redaction of these texts was the result of the circumstances of the time. As Mgr. Duchesne remarks, "the conciliar decisions represent so many acts of hostility against the church of Alexandria and its pretensions to leadership. If there is so much insistence that each one shall occupy himself with his own affairs and remain within the bounds of his diocese, it is because this is intended to exclude the interference of the Egyptian Pope in the affairs of Constantinople, Antioch and other places. If the pre-eminence of Constantinople is emphasised, without denying that of Rome, it is in order to avoid that of Alexandria. It was perhaps needless to recall the unfortunate affair of Maximus, but as its memory was an unpleasant one for the Alexandrians, it was revived."²

These Canons of Constantinople have nevertheless a the church of Constantinople to Martyrios, Bishop of Antioch, in the middle of the fifth century; canons 5 and 6 belong to the Council of 382. On these canons, cf. K. Luebeck, *Reichseinteilung und kirchliche Hierarchie des Orients* . . . , pp. 172-191; Batiffol, *op. cit.*, pp. 124-137; Grumel, *op. cit.*, pp. 1-2. Greek text and translation in Hefele-Leclercq, *op. cit.*, pp. 20 *et seq.*

¹ Cf. *supra*, p. 370, n. 4, and p. 371, n. 2.

² Duchesne, *op. cit.*, p. 438. Cf. Luebeck, *op. cit.*, pp. 176 *et seq.* Batiffol (*op. cit.*, pp. 129 *et seq.*) emphasises the general bearing of these canons.

general bearing. As we shall see later on,¹ they institute a new hierarchical order between the churches, and the third canon was destined to have especially important consequences in the future, for in the following centuries it lay at the root of the oecumenical claims of the patriarch of Constantinople.

The Imperial Confirmation

The Council closed its sessions on the 9th of July.² Before separating, the bishops sent a letter to the Emperor informing him of their labours: they thanked God for giving power to Theodosius to procure the peace of the churches and to defend the true faith; they recorded that they had restored peace among themselves, confessed the faith of Nicaea, and anathematised all errors contrary to that faith; lastly they asked the prince to confirm all their decisions.³

Theodosius hastened to meet their desire. On the 30th of July 381 he published a new edict, in which he once more ordered that in all places the churches retained by the heretics should be restored to the Catholics; and, to leave no room for doubt, he explained that the orthodox are those who are in communion with Nectarius of Constantinople, Timothy of Alexandria for Egypt, Pelagius of Laodicea and Diodorus of Tarsus for the East, Amphilocheus of Iconium and Optimus of Antioch in Pisidia for Asia, Helladius of Caesarea, Otreios of Melitene and Gregory of Nyssa for the Pontus, Terrenios of Scythia and Martyrios of Marcianopolis for Thrace.⁴ Ephesus, the capital of the diocese of Asia, was not mentioned, as its bishop was a Macedonian; that of the "diocese" of the East, Antioch, was equally omitted, for Meletius had not yet a successor.

¹ Cf. Vol. II.

² This is the date given in the Canons themselves (Mansi, Vol. III, col. 557).

³ Mansi, Vol. III, col. 557-560. Cf. Grumel, *op. cit.*, no. 4, pp. 3-4.

⁴ *Cod. Theod.*, XVI, i, 3. The edict of the 10th of January 381 (cf. *supra*, p. 368) had already ordered the return of the churches to the Catholics. It must be supposed that it had been only imperfectly carried out, since Theodosius was obliged to repeat the order. We know that at Antioch the *magister militum* Sapor was given this task (Theodoret, *Hist. eccles.*, V, xxiii) and that he expelled Dorotheus and the Arians, and refused to recognise Vitalis and Paulinus. The date of his mission remains uncertain.

Election of Flavian at Antioch

But a successor was very soon named. In conformity with the rules, he was elected at Antioch itself.¹ After what had transpired at Constantinople, Paulinus had no chance of being recognised, and no one mentioned his name. To replace Meletius, the choice fell upon the priest Flavian, the one who had for long years maintained, in company with Diodorus, the ardour of the orthodox of Antioch against all Arian activities. No one was more worthy of the episcopate, but it must certainly be said that his election left intact the question of the schism.

§ 3. THE COUNCIL OF AQUILEIA AND THE
NEGOTIATIONS BETWEEN EAST AND WEST

The Council of Aquileia

The Western council, however, summoned by Gratian, met at Aquileia. Only thirty-five bishops sat there, in accordance with Ambrose's settled policy. We know the sees of twenty-four of these bishops, and of these sixteen came from Italo-Illyrian regions² led by Valerian of Aquileia, who

¹ Socrates, *Hist. eccles.*, V, ix; Sozomen, *Hist. eccles.*, VII, xi. Cavallera, *op. cit.*, pp. 254-255. F. Loofs (art. *Arianismus* in Hauck, *Realencyclopädie*, 3rd edn., Vol. II, p. 45), followed by Seeck (*Geschichte*, Vol. V, pp. 153, 156, and 491-492), thinks that the election of Flavian took place at Constantinople, but the reasons alleged are insufficient, and Flavian signed the *Acts* of the Council as a simple priest.

² The names figure at the end of the *Gesta Concilii Aquileiensis*. There are thirteen bishops of Upper Italy (Ambrose, Valerian, Eusebius of Bologna, Limenius of Vercelli, Sabinus of Plaisance, Abundantius of Trent, Filastrius of Brescia, Maximus of Emona, Bassianus of Lodi, Heliodorus of Altinum, Exsuperantius of Tortona, Diogenes of Genoa, Eventius of Pavia) and three Illyrians (Anemius, Constantius of Scissia, Felix of Zara). The others were delegates from the Africans (Felix and Numidian, *legati Afrorum*) and of the Gauls (Constantius of Orange, Proculus of Marseilles, Justus of Lyons, *legati Gallorum*, and in addition, Theodore of Octodurus, Amantius of Nice [not of Jovia, cf. J. R. Palanque, *op. cit.*, p. 82, n. 16], Domininus of Grenoble). We must note the absence of any representative from Spain or Britain, which were presumably too distant, or from peninsular Italy, which was nevertheless quite near. Damasus certainly frowned on this Council, to which he sent, not legates, but letters of excuse, according to the *Dissertatio Maximini*, 122. On this absence on the part of Damasus, cf. H. v. Campenhausen, *op. cit.*, pp. 104 *et seq.*

presided, Anemius of Sirmium, and above all Ambrose of Milan, who in actual fact was behind the whole affair. After a few weeks of preliminary discussions, the full session was held, according to the text of the *Acts* which has come down to us, on the 3rd of September 381,¹ in the sacristy of the Cathedral. It was devoted to judging the case of the two Arian bishops, Palladius and Secundian. These hoped to escape a condemnation with the help of arguments and equivocations; but in spite of their dilatory methods and their diversions, Ambrose refused to allow a dogmatic debate to take place, and subjected them to a veritable enquiry. After a close interrogation, sentences were pronounced against the two heretics, who were anathematised and deposed.² Julian Valens had avoided a condemnation by prudently keeping away. He "strutted about" in Milan, and tried once more to revive the pagan party in Upper Italy: the anathema could be applied only to his disciple, the priest Attalus. For the rest, as he was not the regular Bishop of Poetovio, having wrongly deposed the lawful pastor there, he did not need to be deprived of his see. Accordingly, the Council merely requested an order of expulsion because he was a disturber of public order.³

The intervention of the secular arm was thus necessary. Gratian did not refuse it. Two letters were successively sent to him begging him earnestly to take in hand the execution

¹ *Syagrio et Eucherio vv. cc. coss. III non. septembr.* (*Gesta Conc. Aquil.*, 1). Many writers think it impossible to keep to this date: Loofs (*loc. cit.*, p. 42), Batiffol (*op. cit.*, p. 114), J. R. Palanque (*op. cit.*, pp. 504-506) put the Council in the spring of this year. But the formal testimony of the official *Acts* is difficult to reject. J. Zeiller (*op. cit.*, pp. 328-334) and Caspar (*op. cit.*, pp. 237-238) agree on this. Rade (*op. cit.*, p. 63) wants to transfer it to 380, but that it is impossible, for it must be after the death of Peter of Alexandria (*Epist. Quamlibet*, 4) which took place in the spring of 381 (Rauschen, *op. cit.*, p. 116). The idea of Cavallera (*op. cit.*, p. 234), who puts the letter *Quamlibet* in May 381 and the Council of Aquileia with the synodal letter *Sanctum* in September, has likewise little to be said for it. Cf. in the last place J. Zeiller, *La date du concile d'Aquilée* in *Revue d'Histoire ecclésiastique*, Vol. XXXIII, 1937, pp. 39-45.

² For Palladius, see *Gesta*, 2-64 (cf. *Dissertatio Maximini*, 88-108); for Secundian, *Gesta*, 65-75 (incomplete). See also the synodal letters *Agimus*, 2 (to the bishops of Gaul) and *Benedictus*, 2 (to Gratian).

³ *Epist. Benedictus*, 9-10.

of the sentences, and to forbid meetings of the Photinians in Sirmium and of Ursinians in Rome.¹ The character of Gratian makes it easy for us to realise that he entertained some anxiety as to the results of these requests²; it is nevertheless certain that he agreed to them and carried them out. The disturbers were dispersed and the bishops, having been deposed and sent away from the sees they had occupied, could be replaced by orthodox men under the control of the delegates of the Council.³ A final letter was addressed to the Emperor expressing warm thanks to him and celebrating the victory thus obtained.⁴

In the smallest corners of the West, the last centres of Arianism were thus extinguished, just when throughout the East the churches were being returned to the Catholics. The Council, in its last document, expressed its joy at seeing the unity of faith restored in the Empire⁵; but at the same time it expressed a singular wish: deploring the persistence of the schism at Antioch, it suggested the meeting at Alexandria of a Council of all the Catholic bishops, which could decide between the claimants.⁶ Ambrose was charged with negotiating this with the Emperor.

Ambrose and the Sees of Antioch and Constantinople

Unfortunately, the way in which the matter was undertaken made a solution impossible. The final letter of the Council of Aquileia, inspired possibly by the priest Evagrius, if he was present there as the "legate" of the little church of Antioch,⁷ spoke of intrigues of which Paulinus had been a victim, as if he were incontestably the lawful Bishop of Antioch. In addition, Ambrose's imprudence brought to

¹ These are the synodal letters *Benedictus* and *Provisum* (= St. Ambrose, *Epist.*, x and xi). The second, much shorter, practically deals only with the intrigues of Ursinus in Rome.

² J. R. Palanque, *op. cit.*, pp. 90 *et seq.* and 97-98.

³ This request was made in the synodal letter *Benedictus*, 8. Gratian agreed (cf. following note).

⁴ This is the synodal letter *Quamlibet* (= St. Ambrose, *Epist.*, xii).

⁵ *Ibid.*, 1-3.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 4-5. On the text "sacerdotum catholicorum omnium concilium" or "concilia," cf. Cavallera, *op. cit.*, p. 235.

⁷ Cf. J. R. Palanque, *op. cit.*, p. 82, n. 11.

light another source of discord, the question of the see of Constantinople, which one might have thought settled once and for all. The intrigues of Maximus were behind this new complication: he had presented himself before the Fathers of Aquileia who, without taking the trouble to verify his assertions, had accepted his version of the events, and had received him as the lawful Bishop of Constantinople.¹

After the Council had broken up, the Bishop of Milan thus took in hand the case of Maximus and that of Paulinus. These claims were bound to be rejected by the Easterns. Gratian himself seems to have kept outside these disagreements: when Ambrose, learning of the decisions of the Eastern Council and the election of Flavian, urged the calling of an oecumenical council, Gratian referred him to Theodosius. Accordingly, Ambrose addressed himself directly to the Emperor of the East, in the name of the Italian episcopate.² In his letter, he refuses to recognise the *fait accompli*, and raises once more the two questions of Constantinople and Antioch. In the eyes of the Bishop of Milan, Nectarius was an intruder, as much as Flavian, who had been elected in violation of ecclesiastical rules. As for Gregory of Nazianzum, he had made a claim to the see of the capital contrary to all tradition, and Nectarius, himself likewise ordained irregularly, had been excommunicated by his own consecrators.³ This was obviously not true, but Ambrose, infatuated with Maximus, accepted the most absurd tales in defending his cause. What especially upset the mouthpiece of the West was the fact that he had been ignored by the conciliar regulations made at Constantinople. The Eastern bishops, he declares, "should have waited for our opinion; we do not claim a monopoly in this examination, but we do claim a share in the judgement."⁴ Recalling the precedents of Athanasius and Peter of Alexandria, who "had had recourse to the judgement of the Roman Church, of Italy and of the whole West," he proposed that these disputes should be submitted to the decision of an oecumenical assembly, and without mentioning that he had previously

¹ Cf. *Epist. Sanctum*, 4.

² This is the letter *Sanctum* (= St. Ambrose, *Epist.*, xiii).

³ *Ibid.*, 1-3, 5.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 4.

suggested the meeting of such a council at Alexandria, he now requested Theodosius to call to Rome all the bishops of the Christian world.¹

The imperial reply is not extant, but it cannot have been favourable, judging by a new letter from Ambrose.² He protests that he had not sought any advantage for Italy and the West, pleads the utility of a general council, insinuates that Maximus and Paulinus had been rejected without being heard, and ends with a declaration that he is faithful to the tradition of the great Athanasius and the Council of Nicaea. The two parties remained in their positions, and thus the "rupture of communion," which Ambrose deplored in his two letters, remained.³

The Councils of Rome and Constantinople (382)

The Bishop of Milan had not been able to get his point of view accepted, but the project of a Roman council was nevertheless adopted, and Gratian called it together.⁴ The principal metropolitans of the West assembled there around Damasus. Ambrose was there of course, and Valerian of Aquileia, Britton of Trèves, Anemius of Sirmium, Acholius of Thessalonica⁵; and an invitation was sent to the Easterns.⁶ These were precisely at that moment assembled once more at Constantinople. They sent three of their number, Cyriacus, Eusebius and Priscian, bearing a reply which was of a dilatory nature.⁷ This letter affirmed the purity of their faith, proclaimed one single *ousia* of the Father, Son and Holy Spirit, in three perfect hypostases, and a true Incarnation of the Word, who assumed perfect

¹ *Ibid.*, 6-8.

² This is the letter *Fidei* (= St. Ambrose, *Epist.*, xiv). Theodosius must also have pointed out the danger of Apollinarianism. Ambrose in his reply declares that he is equally opposed to it, but scenting a diversion, advocates prudence in order to avoid all injustice (*loc. cit.*, 4).

³ *Epist. Sanctum*, 6; *Fidei*, 1.

⁴ St. Jerome, *Epist.*, cviii; Sozomen, *Hist. eccles.*, VII, xi.

⁵ Also a certain Basil, of an unknown see.

⁶ This letter of the Roman Council is conserved in Theodoret, *Hist. eccles.*, V, ix.

⁷ Theodoret, *Hist. eccles.*, V, ix, 1-18. Cf. Batiffol, *op. cit.*, pp. 274-278; Grumel, *op. cit.*, no. 6, pp. 4-5.

manhood. Lastly, it declared that personal questions had been dealt with in conformity with traditional rules and the canons of Nicaea: Nectarius had been legitimately elected at Constantinople, Flavian at Antioch, and Cyril at Jerusalem. Cyril had long occupied the see of "the mother of all the churches," but as he had been persecuted by the Arians it was doubtless to the point to recall the validity of his election.

In addition to this letter, which in a polite manner tended to proclaim the autonomy of the East, and refused to the Westerns the right to intervene in strictly Eastern matters, the Council of 382 also promulgated two canons. The first concerns the *Tome* of the Westerns, and declares that the Council accepts those who at Antioch confess the single divinity of the Father, Son and Holy Spirit, i.e. the Paulinians; the second deals with accusations made against bishops, and lays down rules to prevent abuses in this matter.¹

In the absence of the Easterns, the Council of Rome could not have much importance. In actual fact we know little about this assembly.² Paulinus of Antioch went there in person, accompanied by Epiphanius, Bishop of Salamis in Cyprus, and probably Timothy of Alexandria was also represented there. It seems that the question of the see of Constantinople was not even raised. Doubtless Ambrose, having been better informed on the doings of Maximus, had now abandoned him. The Eastern delegates persuaded Damasus without difficulty to send letters of communion to Nectarius, so that the Council found that that matter was settled.³ Unity of communion was thus restored between East and West. But the schism of Antioch unfortunately still continued, for Paulinus had succeeded once more in getting himself recognised by the representatives of the

¹ Grumel, *ibid.*, no. 5, p. 4. The text of the Canons is in Mansi, Vol. III, col. 560-564.

² St. Jerome, *Epist.*, cviii, 6; cxvii, 7. Cf. Caspar, *op. cit.*, pp. 240-241.

³ Theodosius had sent to Rome an embassy composed of bishops—possibly the three legates of 382—and officers of his court, to announce officially to the Pope the appointment of Nectarius, and to ask for letters of communion in his favour (cf. Boniface I, *Epist.*, xv, 6).

Western churches. But the matter had lost its importance. When Paulinus returned to Antioch, he was welcomed only by his small flock of determined followers. Flavian continued to govern the mass of the faithful.

Conclusion

The Councils of 381-382 nevertheless constitute an important date in the history of the Church. Certainly they did not bring about great reforms, and the way in which they dealt with personal questions submitted to them has given rise to much discussion.¹ But they tolled the knell of Arianism, and the heresy never recovered from the final condemnation which they pronounced against it. Moreover, the action of these councils had been prepared and was carried on by the attitude of the Emperors: Gratian and Theodosius deliberately pronounced in favour of the faith of Nicaea, and it was thanks to them that the heresy was extirpated.

The history of the crushing of this heresy had a significant epilogue. In hopes of re-establishing unity in men's minds, Theodosius called in his capital in 383 a conference of the leaders of the various confessions.² Each presented his own profession of faith: Eunomius the Anomoean, Demophilus the Homoian, Eleusius the Macedonian, and others. Naturally the colloquy led to no result, and Theodosius ended the debate by throwing on the fire all the heterodox declarations. Then he promulgated new laws forbidding the meetings of the heretics (15th of July and

¹ The Council of 381 was not at first regarded as an oecumenical council: this title was first accorded to it by the Council of Chalcedon in 451. Contemporaries regarded it as not very important, and eyewitnesses do not mention it: neither do St. Jerome nor Amphilochus of Iconium nor Gregory of Nyssa (except in the funeral oration on Meletius). As for the account of Gregory of Nazianzum, this is a very bitter satire.

² Socrates, *Hist. eccles.*, V, x; Sozomen, *Hist. eccles.*, VII, xii; Gregory of Nazianzum, *Epist.*, clxxv. On the date, cf. Seeck, *Geschichte*, Vol. V pp. 495-496.

3rd of September 383, 21st of January 384).¹ That was indeed the end. The survivors of Arianism, henceforth divided into rival groups, formed in the Empire only obscure and powerless sects, which attracted no attention, and which no one took the trouble to crush.² It was only among the barbarian nations that Arianism would be able to maintain itself: but there it was destined to have a profound influence for a long period.

¹ *Cod. Theod.*, XVI, v, 11, 12 and 13 against the Eunomians, Arians, Macedonians and Apollinarians. These laws once more forbid the meetings of the heretics, especially at Constantinople. But the latter continued nevertheless to keep some churches for many years. In 428, the Arians still had a church at Constantinople, another in the suburbs of the capital, another at Cyzicus, and several in the country parts of the Hellespont (Socrates, *Hist. eccles.*, VII, xxix). Nestorius had these taken away from them by the imperial authority.

² On the survival of these sects, cf. Duchesne, *op. cit.*, pp. 577-579. The Eunomians continued to be the subject of fresh legislation (*Cod. Theod.*, XVI, v, 17, 23, 25, 27, 31, 32, 34, 36, etc.). On the position of Arianism amongst the Barbarians, cf. Vol. II.

GENERAL BIBLIOGRAPHY

(*This Bibliography covers this and the succeeding volume*)

I. SOURCES: The History of the Church in the fourth century can be studied in a more complete manner than that of the preceding period, thanks to the exceptional abundance of sources at our disposal. Several Christian historians have given us continuous narratives, and these admit of a division into three groups, at the head of each of which we find the name of the "Christian Herodotus," Eusebius of Caesarea (about 265-340).

1. The *Chronicle* of Eusebius is known through an Armenian translation and a Latin version made by St. Jerome, who continued it from 324 to 379 (edited in the Berlin *Corpus*,¹ Vols. XX, XXIV and XXXIV, *Eusebius Werke*, Vol. V: *Die Chronik aus dem armenischen übersetzt*, by J. Karst, Leipzig, 1911; Vol. VII: *Die Chronik des Hieronymus*, by R. Helm, Leipzig, 2 vols., 1913 and 1926; another edition by Fotheringham, *Eusebii Pamphili chronici canones latine vertit S. Hieronymus*, London, 1923). St. Jerome was in turn imitated and continued by Prosper of Aquitaine (about 455), Idacius (about 468), the anonymous chroniclers of 452 and 511, Cassiodorus (about 520), the Illyrian Marcellinus Comes (about 534), and Isidore of Seville (about 615). All of these are edited by Mommsen in the *Monumenta Germaniae historica, Auctores antiquissimi*, Vols. IX and XI, *Chronica minora saec. IV, V, VI, VII*, Berlin, 1892 and 1894. The Byzantine chronicles, later than the sixth century, have little value for the historian of the fourth.

2. The *Ecclesiastical History* of Eusebius stops likewise at 324. It was translated into Latin and continued to 395 by Rufinus of Aquilea about 403 (edited in the Berlin *Corpus*, Vol. IX, *Eusebius Werke*, Vol. II: *Die Kirchengeschichte*, by E. Schwartz and Th. Mommsen, Leipzig, 3 vols., 1903, 1908 and 1909; good English translations by Kirsopp Lake and J. Oulton, Loeb Classical Library, 2 vols., 1926 and 1932). At the beginning of the fifth century, two Latin writers composed universal histories: the Gallic writer Sulpicius Severus (about 403) under the title of *Chronica*, from the Creation to 400 (ed. Halm, in the Vienna *Corpus*,² Vol. I, 1866), and the Spaniard Paul Orosius (about 417) under the title *Historiae adversus paganos* (ed. Zangemeister in the Vienna *Corpus*, Vol. V, 1882). Among the Byzantine historians, we must mention Gelasius of Caesarea and Timothy of Berytum (about 390), Sabinus of Heracleum, Philip of Sidon and Hesychios of Jerusalem (beginning of 5th cent.), whose works are lost (an

¹ *Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten drei Jahrhunderte* hgg. von der Kirchenväter-Commission der königlichen preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Leipzig (in spite of the title, it includes writers of the fourth and fifth centuries), published from 1897 onwards.

² *Corpus scriptorum ecclesiasticorum latinorum*, editum concilio et impensis Academiae litterarum Caesareae Vindobonensis, Vienna, from 1866 onwards.

attempt at a reconstruction of Gelasius of Caesarea has been made by P. Heseler in *Byzantinische-neugriechische Jahrbücher*, Vol. IX, 1932-1933, pp. 113-128, 320-337, and one of Philip of Sidon by C. de Boor in *Texte und Untersuchungen*, Vol. V, 2, Leipzig, 1888, pp. 165 et seq.). We have fragments of Philostorgus (ed. Bidez in the *Berlin Corpus*, Vol. XXI, Leipzig, 1913; new fragments published by J. Bidez in *Byzantion*, Vol. X, 1935, pp. 403-442); he wrote about 430. We have complete editions of the *Ecclesiastical Histories* of Socrates, a Constantinople advocate who wrote about 440, and Sozomen, a Palestinian who wrote at Constantinople about 444 (both are in Migne, *P.G.*,¹ Vol. LXVII), and also that of the Syrian bishop Theodoret of Cyrus, written about 450 (ed. Parmentier in the *Berlin Corpus*, Vol. XIX, Leipzig, 1911). All three of these continue Eusebius's *History* from Constantine down to the second quarter of the fifth century, and are our chief source for the fourth century. The work of Gelasius of Cyzicus (composed about 475) has disappeared, with the exception of the first three books dealing with the time of Constantine (ed. Loeschcke-Heinemann, in the *Berlin Corpus*, Vol. XXVIII, Leipzig, 1918). In the sixth century, *Tripartite Histories* were composed by combining Socrates, Sozomen and Theodoret in Latin by Cassiodorus (Migne, *P.L.*,² Vol. LXIX) and in Greek by Theodore the Lector (Migne, *P.G.*, Vol. LXXXVI). Later compilations need not be mentioned here.

3. Eusebius also wrote a biography of Constantine, with two discourses attributed to this emperor. Its historical value has been much discussed, and it certainly has a hagiographical rather than a historical character (ed. in *Berlin Corpus*, Vol. VII, *Eusebius Werke*, Vol. I: *Ueber das Leben Constantinus. Constantins Rede an die Heilige Versammlung. Tricennatsrede an Constantin*, by I. Heikel, Leipzig, 1902). The class of Christian biographies, of which the *De vita Constantini* is one of the first examples, was cultivated first of all for the lives of monks. Thus, in Greek we have the *Vita Antonii* by St. Athanasius (about 365), translated into Latin about 380 by Evagrius of Antioch (Migne, *P.G.*, Vol. XXVI, 835-976); and in Latin we have the biographies of Paul of Thebes, Malchus and Hilarion published by St. Jerome between 376 and 390 (Migne, *P.L.*, Vol. XXIII, 17-60). To these we must add the *History of the Monks* by Palladius, called the *Lausiaca History*, written in Greek about 420 (ed. Butler, 1904). The episcopal lives were inaugurated by Sulpicius Severus, who wrote in 397 a *Vita Martini*, followed by three *Letters* and three *Dialogues* also dealing with the Bishop of Tours (ed. Halm in the *Vienna Corpus*, Vol. I, 1866), and also by Paulinus of Milan, who wrote in 422 a *Vita Ambrosii* (Migne, *P.L.*, Vol. XIV, 27-46; ed. Kaniecka, Washington, 1928).

The similar class of short biographies was also inaugurated by St. Jerome with his *De viris illustribus* (about 392), ed. Herding, Leipzig, 1924. Then there is the more detailed catalogue of heresies (*Ancoratus* and *Panarion*) drawn up about 375-377 by St. Epiphanius, Bishop of Salamis in Cyprus

¹ J. P. Migne, *Patrologiae cursus completus, Series graeca*, 161 vols., Paris, 1857-1866.

² J. Migne, *Patrologiae cursus completus, Series latina*, 221 vols., Paris, 1844-1864.

(ed. K. Holl in the Berlin *Corpus*, Vols. XXV and XXXI, Leipzig, 1915 and 1922). The entries in the *Liber Pontificalis* (ed. Duchesne, Vol. I, Paris, 1866) have little interest for this period.

Earlier than all these works, and often of a much higher historical value, the works of the Fathers of the Church constitute a contemporary account of the first order. They often include official documents of civil or ecclesiastical origin, which we would not otherwise possess. The first and most important of these writers who were at once witnesses and partakers in the great events of religious history was St. Athanasius, Bishop of Alexandria from 328 to 373. He has left us an *Apologia contra arianos* (Migne, P.G., Vol. XXV, 247-410) which was written about 348 and gives the events of the Arian crisis from 335 to 343; a *Historia arianorum ad monachos* (Migne, P.G., Vol. XXV, 691-796), which continues the same subject as far as 357, but is unfortunately incomplete; two *Encyclical Letters* against the intrusion of an Arian into his episcopal see in 340 and 357 (Migne, P.G., Vol. XXV, 221-240 and 537-594); two apologies for his conduct in 357: *Ad Constantium imperatorem* (Migne, P.G., Vol. XXV, 595-642) and *De fuga sua* (Migne, P.G., Vol. XXV, 643-680); an *Epistola de synodis Arimini in Italia et Seleucia in Isauria celebratis* (Migne, P.G., Vol. XXVI, 681-794) which deals with the antecedents of the councils of Rimini-Seleucia in 359 and gives the history of Arian formulae from 341; the synodal letter of an Alexandrian council in 362 addressed to the Church of Antioch, or *Tomus ad Antiochenos* (Migne, P.G., Vol. XXVI, 795-810); the *Epistola ad Jovianum imperatorem*, a statement of the orthodox faith asked for by the Emperor Jovian at the Council of Alexandria 363 (Migne, P.G., Vol. XXVI, 813-820); a synodal letter addressed to the bishops of Africa about 369, *Epistola ad Afros episcopos* (Migne, P.G., Vol. XXVI, 1029-1048); and finally some *Festal Letters*, which have come down to us only in a Syriac translation (ed. Cureton, London, 1848). The historical works of St. Athanasius are all the more valuable in that they are filled with extracts from archives, imperial letters, conciliar texts and other documents; the bishop realised the importance of well-filled dossiers, and conscientiously prepared his own. Some modern critics (especially Otto Seeck, *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte des nicänischen Konzils*, in *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*, Vol. XVII, 1896, pp. 1-71, 319-362) have accused him of inventing or at least altering the documents which he claims to transmit. This accusation cannot be admitted: Athanasius is not impartial, but he is honest; everyone admits nowadays the value of his testimony and that of the documents he has transmitted to us.

In the West, St. Hilary of Poitiers carried out a similar task, though less extensive and less well conserved: there remain only some fragments of his *Opus historicum* (ed. Feder in the Vienna *Corpus*, Vol. LXV, 1916), in which scholars have tried to find the remains of three original books written respectively in 356, 359-360 and 367 (cf. A. L. Feder, *Studien zu Hilarius von Poitiers*, in the *Sitzungsberichte* of the Vienna Academy, Vol. CLXII, 4, 1910; Vol. CLXVI, 5, 1911; Vol. CLXIX, 5, 1912). He also wrote a work *De synodis*, almost contemporary with the similar work of St. Athanasius (Migne, P.L., Vol. X, 479-546), a *Liber secundus ad Constantium* (Migne, P.L., Vol. X, 563-572) and a *Contra Constantium imperatorem* (Migne,

P.L., Vol. X, 577-603). Like the Bishop of Alexandria, St. Hilary reproduces documents such as the letter of the Council of Sardica to the Emperor of the East, which constitutes his *Liber primus ad Constantium*.

A little later, about 367, the African Optatus of Milevis wrote a similar work against the Donatists (ed. Ziwsa in the *Vienna Corpus*, Vol. XXVI, 1893) which, though equally apologetic and controversial, has nevertheless a solid historical value. Like Athanasius, he has been accused of having falsified documents (O. Seeck, *Quellen und Urkunden über die Anfänge des Donatismus*, in *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*, Vol. X, 1889, pp. 505-568 and *Urkundenfälschungen des 4. Jahrhunderts I: Das Urkundenbuch des Optatus, ibid.*, Vol. XXX, 1909, pp. 181-227), but the accusation is unjust. Mgr. Duchesne has reconstituted the collection of documents made about 340 which Optatus utilised and published (*Le dossier du donatisme*, in *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire*, published by the French School in Rome, 1890, pp. 589-650).

For the end of the century, we must use the works of the great Cappadocians, and in the West those of St. Ambrose. None of these wrote works which are strictly historical in character, but their letters and discourses constitute very important documents. Of St. Basil the Great, Bishop of Caesarea in Cappadocia from 370 to 379, we still have 365 letters—including some from his correspondents (Migne, *P.G.*, Vol. XXXII, 219-1110), which the Benedictine editors have arranged in three groups: those before his episcopate, i.e. from 357 to 370 (i-xlvi), those during his episcopate (xlvii-cxcxi) and those of uncertain date, doubtful or apocryphal (ccxcii-ccclxv).

Of his brother, St. Gregory of Nyssa, we have only 28 letters (ed. Pasquali, Berlin, 1925), but also several funeral orations, that on St. Basil (Migne, *P.G.*, Vol. XLVI, 787-818), on Meletius of Antioch (Migne, *P.G.*, Vol. XLVI, 851-864), on Princess Pulcheria (Migne, *P.G.*, Vol. XLVI, 863-878), on the Empress Flacilla (Migne, *P.G.*, Vol. XLVI, 877-892) and the biography of his sister, St. Macrina (Migne, *P.G.*, Vol. XLVI, 959-1000). As for St. Gregory of Nazianzum, most of his works are autobiographical in character, and we must mention in particular his 244 letters (Migne, *P.G.*, Vol. XXXVII, 21-388), nearly all written during his last years; his 45 discourses (Migne, *P.G.*, Vols. XXXV-XXXVI), several of which are funeral discourses (on his brothers, Caesarius and Gregory, his sister, Gorgonia, St. Athanasius and St. Basil), lastly and above all his poem of 1949 lines entitled *De vita sua* (Migne, *P.G.*, Vol. XXXVII, 1029-1166), in which he tells the story of his life down to 381.

St. Ambrose of Milan (339-397) has left many works; the most interesting from the historical point of view are his 91 letters (Migne, *P.L.*, Vol. XVI, 875-1286), the funeral orations on his brother Saturus (ed. Schenkl, in *Ambrosiana*, Milan, 1897), the Emperor Valentinian II (Migne, *P.L.*, Vol. XVI, 1357-1384) and the Emperor Theodosius (Migne, *P.L.*, Vol. XVI, 1385-1406), and his sermon *Contra Auxentium* (Migne, *P.L.*, Vol. XVI, 1007-1018).

The *Letters* of Popes, edited long ago by Coustant, Paris, Vol. I, 1721, and scattered throughout Migne's Latin Patrology (for Popes of the fourth century, see Vols. VIII and XIII) are analysed with important extracts

and references to the texts, in Jaffé-Wattenbach, *Regesta pontificum romanorum*, Vol. I, Leipzig, 1885. Cf. also the *Collectio avellana*=*Epistolae imperatorum, pontificum, aliorum inde ab anno 367 usque ad annum 543 datae* (ed. Guenther, in *Vienna Corpus*, Vols. XXXV-XXXVI, 1895 and 1898).

The *Acts* of Councils have been published by Mansi, *Sacrorum conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio*, Vols. II (ann. 305-346) and III (ann. 347-409), Florence, 1759.

On all the works of this period, consult: P. de Labriolle, *Histoire de la littérature latine chrétienne*, 2nd edn., Paris, 1924; A. Puech, *Histoire de la littérature grecque chrétienne*, Vol. III, Paris, 1930; O. Bardenhewer, *Geschichte der altkirchlichen Literatur*, Vol. III, Freiburg in Bresgau, 1912 (and Supplement, 1923); G. Rauschen, *Patrologie*, 10th-11th edn. by B. Altaner, Freiburg in Bresgau, 1931; U. Moricca, *Storia della letteratura latina cristiana*, Vol. II, Turin, 1928; also M. Schanz, *Geschichte der römischen Litteratur*, Vol. IV, 1, 2nd edn., Munich, 1914; W. von Christ, *Geschichte der griechischen Litteratur*, revised by W. Schmid and O. Staehlin, Vol. II, 6th edn., Munich, 1924. These give complete bibliographies for each writer. For the African writers of the fourth century, before St. Augustine, see P. Monceaux, *Histoire littéraire de l'Afrique chrétienne*, Vols. III, IV and V, Paris, 1905, 1912 and 1920. There is unfortunately no equivalent work for other Christian countries.¹

In addition to the literary sources, we must mention the epigraphical and juridical sources. The Christian inscriptions, dispersed in the *Corpus inscriptionum graecarum* (4 vols., Berlin, 1828-1877) and the *Corpus inscriptionum latinarum* (Vols. II to XV, Berlin, from 1863), have been collected by E. Diehl, *Inscriptiones Latinae christianae veteres* (3 vols., Berlin, 1925-1930). Those of Rome have been edited by J. B. de Rossi, *Inscriptiones christianae Urbis Romae*, 2 vols., Rome, 1857-1888; *Nova series*, Vol. I, by A. Silvagni, Rome, 1922. Those of Gaul are in Le Blant, *Inscriptions chrétiennes de la Gaule*, 3 vols., Paris, 1856-1892; those of the Rhineland in F. X. Fraus, *Die altchristlichen Inschriften der Rheinlande*, 3 vols., Freiburg in Bresgau, 1890 *et seq.*, those of Switzerland in E. Egli, *Die christlichen Inschriften der Schweiz vom IV-IX Jahrh.*, Zurich, 1895; those of Great Britain are in A. Huebner, *Inscriptiones Britanniae christianae*, Berlin and London, 1876; those of Spain in A. Huebner, *Inscriptiones Hispaniae christianae*, Berlin, 1871, and Supplement, 1900.

The imperial laws of the fourth century were codified by Theodosius II

¹ The great majority of works of this period were written in Greek or Latin. But one must not neglect the oriental literature, and especially that in Syriac. The texts are edited in Assemani's *Bibliotheca orientalis*, 4 vols., 1719-1728, and above all in the *Patrologia orientalis* edited by R. Graffin and F. Nau, Paris, from 1903, and in the *Corpus scriptorum christianorum orientalium*, edited by J. B. Chabot, I. Guidi, H. Hyvernat, and B. Carra de Vaux, Paris, from 1903 (four series: Syriac, Coptic, Arabic and Ethiopian). On those who wrote in these languages, cf. R. Duval, *La littérature syriaque*, Paris, 2nd edn., 1907; A. Baumstark, *Die christlichen Literaturen des Orients*, 2 vols., Berlin, 1911, and *Geschichte der syrischen Literatur*, Bonn, 1922; O. Bardenhewer, *Geschichte der altkirchlichen Literatur*, Vol. IV, Freiburg in Bresgau, 1924.

and Justinian. For the Theodosian Code (in which Book XVI is specially devoted to religious laws) one can still consult with profit the monumental edition by J. Godefroy, 6 vols., Lyons, 1665; the best modern edition is that of Mommsen and Meyer, Berlin, 1905 (3 vols. new edition was begun by P. Krueger in 1923). The Justinian Code has been edited by P. Krueger, Berlin, 1877 (re-edition 1929).

II. MODERN WORKS: We must first recall the monumental and noteworthy history by Lenain de Tillemont, *Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire ecclésiastique des six premiers siècles*, Paris, 1693-1712, 16 vols. (Vols. VI to X deal with the fourth century), continued in his *Histoire des empereurs et des autres princes qui ont régné durant les six premiers siècles de l'Eglise*, Paris, 1690-1738, 6 vols. (Vols. IV and V deal with the fourth century).

Among general Histories of the Church recently published, we single out: Mourret, F., *Histoire de l'Eglise*, Vol. II, *Les Pères de l'Eglise*, Paris, 1919, English translation by Thompson, 1935.

Kidd, B. J., *History of the Church to A.D. 461*, Vol. II: 313-408, Oxford, 1922.

Preuschen, E., and Krueger, G., *Handbuch der Kirchengeschichte*, Vol. I: *Das Altertum*, Tübingen, 2nd edn., 1923.

Mueller, K., *Kirchengeschichte*, Vol. I, fasc. 2 and 3, Tübingen, 1927-1929.

Zeiller, J., *L'Empire romain et l'Eglise* (*Histoire du monde* of E. Cavaignac, Vol. V, 2), Paris, 1928.

Jacquín, A. M., *Histoire de l'Eglise*, Vol. I: *L'Antiquité chrétienne*, Paris, 1928.

Amann, E., *L'Eglise des premiers siècles* (*Bibliothèque catholique des sciences religieuses*), Paris, 1928.

Dufourcq, A., *Histoire ancienne de l'Eglise*, Vol. IV: *Le Christianisme et l'Empire, 200-700*, Paris, 6th edn., 1930.

Kirsch, J. P., *Kirchengeschichte*, Vol. I: *Die Kirche in der antiken griechisch-römischen Kulturwelt*, Freiburg in Bresgau, 1930.

Bihlmeyer, K., *Kirchengeschichte* (revision of the work of F. X. Funk), Vol. I: *Das christliche Altertum*, 9th edn., Paderborn, 1931.

Boulenger, A., *Histoire générale de l'Eglise*, Vol. I: *L'antiquité chrétienne*, Vol. III: *L'Eglise et l'Etat chrétien* (313-476), Lyons and Paris, 1932.

Poulet, Ch., *Histoire du Christianisme*, Vol. I: *Antiquité*, Paris, 1934.

Among larger works, based directly on the sources, we must mention: Duchesne, L., *Histoire ancienne de l'Eglise*, Paris, Vols. II (4th edn.) and III (3rd edn.), 1910.

Batifol, P., *Le catholicisme des origines à saint Léon*, Vol. II: *La paix constantinienne et le catholicisme*, Paris, 1914; Vol. III: *Le catholicisme de saint Augustin*, Paris, 1920; Vol. IV: *Le Siècle apostolique*, Paris, 1924.

Caspar, E., *Geschichte des Papsttums*, Vol. I: *Römische Kirche und Imperium romanum*, Tübingen, 1930.

On the Councils, cf. J. Hefelè, *Histoire des Conciles*, translated and completed by H. Leclercq, Vols. I and II, Paris, 1907 and 1908.

The relations with the State are studied by A. de Broglie, *L'Eglise et*

l'Empire romain au IV^e siècle, Paris, 1867-1869, 6 vols.; P. Allard, *Le christianisme et l'Empire romain de Néron à Théodose*, Paris, 3rd edn., 1903; V. Sesan, *Kirche und Staat im römisch-byzantinischen Reiche seit Konstantin dem gr. und bis zum Falle Konstantinopels*, Vol. I (only one published), *Die Religionspolitik der christlich-römischen Kaiser von Konstantin d. gr. bis Theodosius d. gr.* (313-380), Czernowitz, 1911; and in the general Histories of the later Empire, such as E. Gibbon, *History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, 6 vols., London, 1776-1788 (edited by J. B. Bury, 7 vols., London, 1897); V. Duruy, *Histoire des Romains*, Vol. VII (284 to 378), Paris, 1885; Otto Seeck, *Geschichte des Untergangs der antiken Welt*, Vols. I to V, Berlin, 1895-1913; *The Cambridge Mediaeval History*, Vol. I: *The Christian Roman Empire and the Foundation of the Teutonic Kingdoms*, Cambridge, 1911; F. Lot, *La fin du monde antique et le début du Moyen âge (L'Evolution de l'Humanité)*, Vol. XXXI, Paris, 1927; Ernst Stein, *Geschichte des spätrömischen Reiches*, Vol. I: *Vom römischen zum byzantinischen Staate* (284-476 n. Chr.), Vienna, 1928; E. Albertini, *L'Empire Romain (Peuples et Civilisations)*, Vol. IV, Paris, 1929.

For doctrinal history, consult especially J. Tixeront, *Histoire des dogmes*, Vol. II (9th edn.), Paris, 1931; A. Harnack, *Lehrbuch der Dogmengeschichte*, Vol. II (4th edn.), Tübingen, 1910; R. Seeberg, *Lehrbuch der Dogmengeschichte*, Vols. I and II (3rd edn.), Leipzig, 1923.

For chronology, cf. G. Goyau, *Chronologie de l'Empire romain*, Paris, 1891, and Otto Seeck, *Regesten der Kaiser und der Päpste für die Jahre 311 bis 476 n. Chr.*, Stuttgart, 1919.

On matters of ecclesiastical geography, cf. Heussi and Mulert, *Atlas zur Kirchengeschichte*, 2nd ed., Tübingen, 1919; C. Pieper, *Atlas orbis christiani antiqui*, Dusseldorf, 1931.

Finally, we must mention the great encyclopaedias devoted to religious history:

Dictionary of Christian Biography, edited by W. Smith and H. Wace, London, 1877-1887, 4 vols.

Realencyclopädie für protestantische Theologie und Kirche, under the direction of A. Hauck, 3rd edn., Leipzig, 1896-1913, 24 vols.

Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics, under the direction of J. Hastings, Edinburgh, 1908-1926, 13 vols.

Also the following in course of publication:

Dictionnaire d'Archéologie chrétienne et de Liturgie, edited by F. Cabrol and H. Leclercq, Paris, from 1907.

Dictionnaire de Théologie catholique, begun under the direction of A. Vacant and continued under that of E. Mangenot and E. Amann, Paris, from 1909.

Dictionnaire d'Histoire et de Géographie ecclésiastique, begun under the direction of Mgr. A. Baudrillart and continued under that of A. de Meyer and E. van Cauwenbergh, Paris, from 1912.

Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche, directed by M. Buchberger, Freiburg in Bresgau, from 1930.

Among the great secular encyclopaedias, one can consult, for numerous personages in ecclesiastical history, the *Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*, edited by Pauly and Wissowa, Stuttgart, from 1893.

BIBLIOGRAPHY TO CHAPTERS

PART ONE

Chapter I

I. SOURCES: The sources relating to the period 312-324 consist mainly in the last chapters in the *De mortibus persecutorum* of Lactantius (edited by Brandt in the *Vienna Corpus*, Vol. XIX, 1890) and the last two books of the *Ecclesiastical History* of Eusebius of Caesarea (see General Bibliography). To these we must add Eusebius's *Life of Constantine*, the real title of which seems to have been *Concerning the Life of the Blessed Emperor Constantine* (see General Bibliography). These two writers record the events, and reproduce some particularly valuable documents, but the historical value of their works has been much attacked. In the case of the *De mortibus persecutorum*, many have contended that this was not written by Lactantius, but nowadays its authenticity is hardly doubted: cf. R. Pichon, *Lactance*, Paris, 1901; P. Monceaux, *Histoire littéraire de l'Afrique chrétienne*, Vol. III, pp. 340-344; H. Koch, *Zwei übersehene Stellen bei Laktantius*, in *Zeitschrift für neutestamentliche Wissenschaft* . . ., Vol. XVII, 1918, pp. 196-201; S. Anfusio, *Lattanzio autore del Mortibus persecutorum*, in *Didaskaleion*, Vol. III, 1925, pp. 31-88; Borleffs, *An scripserit Lactantius libellum qui est de mortibus persecutorum*, in *Mnemosyne*, Vol. LVIII, 1930, pp. 223-292. The same is true of the *De vita Constantini*, denied all value by some critics, on account of the falsifications and interpolations which they consider it contains: cf. A. Crivellucci, *Della fede storica di Eusebio nella Vita di Costantino*, Leghorn, 1888; G. Pasquali, *Die Composition der Vita Constantini des Eusebius*, in *Hermes*, Vol. XLV, 1910, pp. 369-386. Such a drastic judgement is undoubtedly exaggerated, although this panegyrical writing may well be, as Mgr. Duchesne calls it (*Histoire ancienne de l'Eglise*, Vol. II, p. 191), "a triumph of reticence and of circumlocution." In particular, the authenticity of the documents contained in the *Vita* is rejected by A. Crivellucci, *I documenti della Vita Constantini*, in *Studi storici*, Vol. VII, 1898, pp. 412-429 and 453-459; A. Mancini, *Osservazioni sulla Vita di Costantino d'Eusebio*, in *Rivista di filologia*, Vol. XXXIII, 1905, pp. 309-360; P. Batiffol, *Les documents de la Vita Constantini*, in *Bulletin d'ancienne littérature et d'archéologie chrétienne*, Vol. IV, 1914, pp. 81-95; J. Maurice, in *Bulletin de la Société nationale des antiquaires de France*, 1913, pp. 387-396, and 1919, pp. 154-155. But the authenticity of these documents is defended by O. Seeck, *Die Urkunden der Vita Constantini*, in *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*, Vol. XVIII, 1897, pp. 321-345; A. Heikel, in his edition, *Eusebiuswerke*, Vol. I, pp. lxi et seq., and *Kritische Beiträge zu den Konstantinschriften des Eusebius* (*Texte und Untersuchungen* hrg. von A. Harnack und C. Schmidt, 3rd series, Vol. VI, iv), Leipzig, 1911; A. Pistelli, *I documenti costantiniani*

negli scrittori ecclesiastici, *Contributo per la fede storica di Eusebio*, Florence, 1914; A. Casamassa, *I documenti della Vita Constantini di Eusebio Cesareense*, in *Lecture costantiniane*, Rome, 1914, pp. 1-60; Norman H. Baynes, *Constantine the Great and the Christian Church*, London, 1931, pp. 40 *et seq.* Less mistrust has been shown towards Books IX and X of the *Ecclesiastical History* written by Eusebius about 325 to complete his work, which originally ended at the year 311; cf. Schwartz in the Preface to his edition. On the historical work of Eusebius in general, cf. Bardenhewer, *Geschichte der altkirchlichen Literatur*, Vol. III, pp. 240 *et seq.*, especially pp. 248-253; A. Puech, *Histoire de la littérature grecque chrétienne*, Vol. III, pp. 167 *et seq.*, especially pp. 178-184 and 207-215. Recent works on the subject are: H. J. Lawlor, *Eusebiana: Essays on the Ecclesiastical History of Eusebius*, New York, 1912; R. Laqueur, *Eusebius als Historiker seiner Zeit*, Berlin and Leipzig, 1929; N. H. Baynes, *Eusebius and the Christian Empire*, in *Mélanges Bidez*, Vol. I, Brussels, 1934, pp. 13-18.

A biography of Constantine belonging to the Byzantine epoch has recently been published by H. G. Opitz, in *Byzantion*, Vol. IX, 1934, pp. 535-593 (cf. P. Heseler, *ibid.*, Vol. X, 1935, pp. 399-402).

On the pagan side, there is little to mention save the Panegyrics on Constantine pronounced before him by the Gallic rhetoricians in 307, 310, 311, 313 and 321; *Panegyrici latini*, vi to x (ed. Bachrens, Leipzig, 1911), and the fragments of the Byzantine Zosimus (ed. Mendelssohn, Leipzig, 1887).

Finally, one must not neglect the laws (cf. General Bibliography), Inscriptions (Dessau, *Inscriptiones latinae selectae*, Vol. I, nos. 681 *et seq.*) and above all coins, which have been the subject of noteworthy studies by J. Maurice, *Numismatique constantinienne*, 3 vols., Paris, 1906-1913.

II. STUDIES: On Constantine and his times, there is a very abundant historical literature. Besides the general *Histories* mentioned in the General Bibliography, and the detailed studies which will be mentioned later on, and without going back to old works like those of Manso, *Leben Konstantins des grossen*, Vienna, 1819, or Arendt, *Konstantin der grosse und sein Verhältnis zum Christentum*, in *Tübinger Quartalschrift*, Vol. III, 1834, pp. 394 *et seq.*, we may single out the following: J. Burckhardt, *Das Zeit Konstantins d. gr.*, Leipzig, 1853 (4th edn., 1929); Keim, *Der Uebertritt Konstantins d. gr. zum Christentum*, Zurich, 1862; Zahn, *Konstantin d. gr. und die Kirche*, Hanover, 1876; Th. Brieger, *Konstantin d. gr. als Religionspolitiker*, in *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*, Vol. IV, 1881, pp. 161-293; L. Jeep, *Zur Geschichte Konstantins d. gr.*, in *Histor. und philolog. Aufsätze E. Curtius gewidmet*, Berlin, 1884, pp. 79-95; F. Goerres, *Die Religionspolitik des Kaisers Konstantins I.*, in *Zeitschrift für Wissenschaftl. Theologie*, Vol. XXXI, 1888, pp. 93 *et seq.*; R. Mariano, *Costantino Magno e la chiesa cristiana*, in *Nuova antologia di scienze, lettere ed arti*, 3rd series, Vol. XXVII, 1890, pp. 271-299; F. M. Flasch, *Konstantin d. gr. als erster christlicher Kaiser*, Wurtzburg, 1891; F. X. Funk, *Konstantin d. gr. und das Christentum*, in *Theologische Quartalschrift*, Vol. LXXVIII, 1896, pp. 429-462; V. Schultze, art. *Konstantin d. gr.*, in

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Chapter II

I. SOURCES: An account of the Donatist schism, with numerous valuable documents (imperial or episcopal letters, official edicts, reports of enquiries and judicial acts) is given in Book 10 of Eusebius's *Ecclesiastical History*, the work of St. Optatus of Mileve, and in various writings of St. Augustine. On Eusebius, cf. *supra*, p. 393. On Optatus, and the historical value and authenticity of the documents he reproduces, cf. *supra*, General Bibliography, p. 388, and p. 271. The texts of St. Augustine are indicated and studied, together with the other sources, by P. Monceaux in Vol. IV of his *Histoire littéraire* mentioned below (Ch. ii to iv: *Documents sur l'histoire du schisme*). A useful collection has been edited by H. von Soden, *Urkunden zur Entstehungsgeschichte des Donatismus* (Kleine texte hgg. von H. Lietzmann, Vol. CXXII), Bonn, 1913.

II. STUDIES: Besides the general *Histories of the Church* (cf. General Bibliography) and works on Constantine (see Bibliography to Ch. I), we must mention the following: Pallu de Lessert, *Fastes des provinces africaines*, Paris, 1901, 2 vols.; A. Audollent, *Carthage romaine*, Paris, 1901, and art, *Afrique* in *Dict. d'hist. et de géographie ecclés.*, Vol. I, 1912, col. 705-861; H. Leclercq, *L'Afrique chrétienne*, Vol. I, Paris, 1904, and article *Afrique* in *Dict. d'archéol. chrét. et de liturgie*, Vol. I, 1907, col. 576-775; F. Martroye, *Une tentative de révolution sociale en Afrique, Donatistes et circoncellions*, in *Revue des questions historiques*, new series, Vol. XXXII, 1904, pp. 353-416, and Vol. XXXIII, 1905, pp. 5-53, and *La répression*

du donatisme et la politique religieuse de Constantin et de ses successeurs en Afrique, in *Mémoires de la Société nationale des antiquaires de France*, Vol. LXXIII, 1914, pp. 23-140, and above all P. Monceaux, *Histoire littéraire de l'Afrique chrétienne*, Vol. III: *Le IV^e siècle d'Arnobé à Victorin*, Paris, 1905; Vol. IV: *Le donatisme*, Paris, 1912; Vol. V: *Saint Optat et les premiers écrivains donatistes*, Paris, 1920). [Add to above: article *Donatism* in *Cath. Encyclopedia* by Abbot Chapman; *Donatism*, by Adrian Fortescue. —Tr.]

Chapter III

Sources are the same as those for Ch. I. To the books and articles there mentioned, add: F. Goerres, *Kritische Untersuchungen über die licinianische Christenverfolgung*, Jena, 1875; Chr. Antoniadès, *Kaiser Licinius*, Munich, 1884; A. Hilgenfeld, in *Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Theologie*, Vol. XIX, 1876, pp. 159-167, and Vol. XXVIII, 1885, p. 508; F. Goerres, *Die Religionspolitik des Kaisers Licinius*, in *Philologus*, Vol. LXXII, 1913, pp. 250-262; L. Bréhier, *Constantin et la fondation de Constantinople*, in *Revue Historique*, Vol. CXIX, 1915, pp. 241-272; L. Bréhier and P. Batiffol, *Les survivances du culte impérial romain*, Paris, 1920; F. Doelger, *Die Taufe Konstantins und ihre Probleme*, in *Konstantin d. gr. und seine Zeit*, 1913, pp. 377-447.

PART TWO

Chapter I

I. SOURCES: The sources dealing with the beginnings of Arianism are numerous but scattered, and several of them have disappeared. There used to exist a collection of letters written by Alexander of Alexandria to Eusebius of Caesarea, Macarius of Jerusalem, Asclepius of Gaza, Longinus of Ascalon, Macarius of Jamnia and some others, Zeno of Tyre and others in Phoenicia and also in Coele-Syria. This collection, which comprised about seventy letters, was still in existence in the time of St. Epiphanius (*Haeres.*, lxix, 4, ed. Holl, Vol. III, p. 155). We know from other sources of the existence of still further letters written by Alexander. Theodoret speaks of letters to Philogonus of Antioch and Eustathius of Berea (*Hist. eccles.*, I, iv, 62, ed. Parmentier, p. 25). Socrates (*Hist. eccles.*, I, vi, Migne, *P.G.*, Vol. LXVII, 52-53) and the *Acts* of the Second Council of Nicaea (Mansi, *Concilia*, Vol. XIII, col. 316) speak of letters to Arius. Maximin the Confessor (Migne, *P.G.*, Vol. XCI, 277) mentions a letter to Aeglo of Cynopolis; St. Hilary (*Fragm. hist.*, v, 4, ed. Feder, pp. 91, 25) speaks of a letter to Pope Silvester. Out of all this abundance, we possess only two letters of Alexander: one addressed to Alexander of Byzantium, *apud* Theodoret (*Hist. eccles.*, I, iv, ed. Parmentier, pp. 8-25), and the other addressed "to the well beloved and fellow ministers of the whole Catholic Church," *apud* Socrates (*Hist. eccles.*, I, vi, Migne, *P.G.*, Vol. LXVII, 44), and in addition, a fragment of a *tomus* addressed to Meletius of Sebastopolis, *apud* Pitra (*Anal. Sacra.*, Vol. IV, Paris, 1883, p. 196).

There are also some collections containing letters of Arius and his partisans. Cf. Socrates, *Hist. eccles.*, I, vi, 41 (Migne, *P.G.*, Vol. LXVII, 52); Athanasius, *De synod.*, xviii (Migne, *P.G.*, Vol. XXVI, 713). We have also the following: (1) a letter from Arius to Eusebius of Nicomedia (Epiphanius, *Haeres.*, lxix, 6, ed. Holl, pp. 156-157; Theodoret, *Hist. eccles.*, I, v, ed. Parmentier, pp. 25-27). There are two Latin translations of this letter, one in Marius Victorinus, *Cont. Arian.* (Migne, *P.L.*, Vol. VIII, 1035), and the other in *Revue bénédictine*, Vol. XXVI, 1909, p. 93. (2) A profession of faith of Arius and his followers, cf. Athanasius, *De synod.*, vi (Migne, *P.G.*, Vol. XXVI, 708); Epiphanius, *Haeres.*, lxix, 7 (ed. Holl, pp. 157-159); Latin version in Hilary, *De Trinit.*, IV, xii and VI, v (Migne, *P.L.*, Vol. X, 104-107 and 160-161). (3) A letter from Eusebius of Nicomedia to Paulinus of Tyre; cf. Theodoret, *Hist. eccles.*, I, vi (ed. Parmentier, pp. 27-29); part of it is given in Latin by Marius Victorinus, *Cont. Arian.* (Migne, *P.L.*, Vol. VIII, 103). (4) A letter from Eusebius of Nicomedia to Arius, quoted by Athanasius, *De synod.*, xvii (Migne, *P.G.*, Vol. XXVI, 712). (5) A letter from Eusebius of Caesarea to Alexander, quoted in the *Acts* of the Second Council of Nicaea in 787 (Mansi, *Concilia*, Vol. XIII, col. 317). (6) A letter from Eusebius of Caesarea to Euphratation of Balaneus, mentioned by

Athanasius, *De synod.*, xvii (Migne, *P.G.*, Vol. XXVI, 712), and in the *Acts* of the Second Council of Nicaea, *loc. cit.* (7) A letter from Athanasius of Anazarba to Alexander, quoted by Athanasius, *De synod.*, xvii (Migne, *P.G.*, Vol. XXVI, 712). (8) Another letter from George of Laodicea to Alexander (*ibid.*). (9) Another letter from the same to Arius and his partisans (*ibid.*).

From Sozomen we know also of the letters of the two synods in favour of Arius held at Nicomedia and Caesarea in Palestine respectively (*Hist. eccles.*, I, xv, 10 and 12).

We also have the *Acts* in the Syriac of a synod held probably at Antioch in 324. This very important text was published first by E. Schwartz in the *Göttingen Nachrichten*, 1905, pp. 271 *et seq.*, and then by F. Nau in the *Revue de l'Orient chrétien*, 2nd series, Vol. IV, 1909, pp. 3-31.

Eusebius of Caesarea in his *De vita Constantini* utilised many documents. Of those he quotes, only one concerns the period of the beginnings of Arianism, namely, the letter from Constantine to Alexander and Arius (*De vita Constant.*, ii, 64-72, ed. Heikel, pp. 67-71; reproduced by Socrates, *Hist. eccles.*, I, vii, 3, and by Gelasius of Cyzicus, *Hist. eccles.*, II, iv).

We need not stress here the doctrinal fragments of the *Thalia* of Arius, which have been collected by G. Bardy, *La Thalie d'Arius*, in *Revue de philologie*, Vol. LIII, 1927, pp. 211-233, or the fragments of Asterius, also published by G. Bardy, *Asterius le sophiste*, in *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique*, Vol. XXII, 1926, pp. 221-272.

As to the Council of Nicaea, we do not know even whether there were any *Acts* of this great synod. A. Wikenhauser (*Zur Frage nach der Existenz von nicänischen Synodalprotokollen*, in F. X. Doelger, *Konstantin der Grosse und seine Zeit*, Freiburg in Bresgau, 1913, pp. 122-142) thinks there probably were such *Acts*. In any case we possess no documents emanating from the Council other than the Creed, twenty disciplinary canons, and a letter to the bishops of Egypt, Pentapolis and Libya, *apud* Socrates, *Hist. eccles.*, I, ix. The list of bishops present at Nicaea is authentic, but has been altered in order to arrange them in geographical order. Cf. Gelzer-Hilgenfeld-Cuntz, *Patrum Nicaenorum nomina*, Leipzig, 1898.

Three eyewitnesses wrote about the Council: (1) Eustathius of Antioch, but we only have a few lines of his, *apud* Theodoret, *Hist. eccles.*, I, vii (ed. Parmentier, pp. 33-34). (2) St. Athanasius gives very little in the way of information, and this is mainly in the *De decretis nicaenae synodi* (Migne, *P.G.*, Vol. XXV, 415-476) and in the *Epistola ad Afros* (Migne, *P.G.*, Vol. XXVI, 1029-1048). (3) Eusebius, *De vita Constantini*, iii, 6-22 (ed. Heikel, pp. 79-88) is more detailed, but he has to be read with care, for he writes as a panegyrist.

To the documents properly so called we must add the accounts of the historians. Eusebius of Caesarea and St. Athanasius were contemporary with the events, and took part in them. But the *De vita Constantini* of Eusebius is a funeral oration which, as we have already pointed out, p. 392, displays above all the ability of a panegyrist to set forth his hero in a favourable light. Athanasius, as we have also seen, is not impartial, but he is at least truthful, in spite of what has been said by Otto Seeck (*art. cit.* in General Bibliography).

The fifth-century historians are important in various ways. Socrates is the

only one who publishes some documents which are authentic. Sozomen utilises the *Συναγωγή τῶν συνόδων* of the Semi-Arian Sabinos, written about 375 and now lost (cf. P. Batiffol, *Sozomène et Sabinos*, in *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, Vol. VII, 1898, pp. 265-284; G. Schoo, *Die Quellen des Kirchenhistorikers Sozomenos*, Berlin, 1911), and he is perhaps the best informed and most correct historian for this period. Philostorgus, who sets forth the point of view of Anomoean Arianism, gives us the views of the defeated party. Theodoret is particularly well informed on affairs at Antioch.

Gelasius of Cyzicus has inserted in his *History*, together with official and authentic documents, some others which are valueless. G. Loeschcke (*Das Syntagma des Gelasius Cyzicenus*, in the *Rheinisches Museum*, Vol. LX, 1905, pp. 594-613; Vol. LXI, 1906, pp. 34-77) is much too favourable towards this compilation, to which less importance is given nowadays. Cf. F. Haase, *Zur Glaubwürdigkeit des Gelasius von Cyzicus*, in *Byzantinisch-neugriechische Jahrbücher*, Vol. I, 1920, pp. 90-93.

Of the writers on heresies, we will mention only St. Epiphanius. The 69th section of his *Heresies* is a valuable source of information on Arius and the religious situation at Alexandria.

II. STUDIES: Besides those mentioned in the General Bibliography, and at the head of Ch. I of the First Part of this work, and the studies on points of detail which will be mentioned in the notes to this chapter, we must mention as particularly important the following books:

H. M. Gwatkin, *Studies of Arianism*, 2nd edn., Cambridge, 1900; E. Schwartz, *Zur Geschichte des Athanasius*, in *Nachrichten von der kgl. Gesellschaft der Wissensch. zu Göttingen, philolog. hist. Kl.*, Vol. V, 1904, pp. 338-401 and 518-547; Vol. VI, 1905, pp. 164-187 and 257-299; Vol. IX, 1908, pp. 305-374; Vol. XII, 1911, pp. 367-426.

On the beginnings of Arianism, see: A. Lichtenstein, *Eusebius von Nikomedien*, Halle, 1903; P. Snellman, *Der anfang des arianischen Streites*, Helsingfors, 1904; A. Rogala, *Die Anfänge des arianischen Streites*, Paderborn, 1907; V. Hugger, *Wie sind die Briefe Alexanders von Alexandrien chronologisch zu ordnen*, in *Theologische Quartalschrift*, Vol. XCI, 1909, pp. 66-86; G. Loeschcke, *Zur Chronologie der beiden grossen antiarianischen Schreiben des Alexander von Alexandrien*, in *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*, Vol. XXXI, 1910; G. Bardy, *Saint Alexandre d'Alexandrie a-t-il connu la Thalie d'Arius?* in *Revue des Sciences religieuses*, Vol. VI, 1926, pp. 527-532 and *Recherches sur saint Lucien d'Antioche et ses disciples*, Paris, 1936.

On the Council of Antioch: A. Harnack, *Die angebliche Synode von Antiochien im Jahre 324-325* in *Sitzungsberichte der kgl. preuss. Akad. der Wissensch.*, 1908, Vol. XXVI, pp. 477-491; A. Harnack, *Die angebliche Synode von Antiochia*, in *Sitzungsberichte* of Berlin, Vol. XIV, pp. 401-425; E. Seeberg, *Die Synode von Antiochien im Jahre 324-5, Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Konzils von Nicäa*, Berlin, 1913; F. Haase, *Altchristliche Kirchengeschichte nach orientalischen Quellen*, Leipzig, 1925.

On the Council of Nicaea: F. Haase, *Die koptischen Quellen zum Konzil von Nicäa*, Paderborn, 1920; A. E. Burn, *The Council of Nicaea, a Memorial for its Sixteenth Centenary*, London, 1925; J. Phokulides, *Ἡ ἐν Νικαῖα*

πρώτη οἰκουμένη συνόδος, in Ἑκκλησιαστικὸς φάρος, Vol. XXIV, 1925, pp. 133-244; P. Batiffol, *Les sources de l'histoire du concile de Nicée*, in *Echos d'Orient*, Vol. XXVIII, 1925, pp. 385-402; Vol. XXX, 1927, pp. 5-17; A. d'Alès, *Le dogme de Nicée*, Paris, 1926. Among older works we can still cite O. Seeck, *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte des nicänischen Konzils*, in *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*, Vol. XVII, 1896, pp. 1-71 and 319-362; C. A. Bernouilli, *Das Konzil von Nicäa*, Freiburg, 1896.

Chapter II

I. SOURCES: Our main source consists in the writings of St. Athanasius (cf. General Bibliography). His testimony is of the utmost value, in spite of the accusations made against him by Otto Seeck (cf. N. H. Baynes, *Athanasiana*, in *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, Vol. XI, 1925, pp. 58-69). But it must not be forgotten that the Bishop of Alexandria is constantly pleading his own cause, and that all his historical writings are apologies. He does not falsify the texts, but he does not quote all of them, and he utilises only those which may serve for his defence. Hence we must constantly complete, if not correct, the information he gives us, by any further details which may be found in his opponents. Unfortunately we are less well documented on that side. On the Meletian Schism, cf. the British Museum papyri published by H. Idriss Bell, *Jews and Christians in Egypt*, London and Oxford, 1924. On the Council of Sardica we have the letter of the Eastern bishops reproduced by Hilary of Poitiers, *Fragmenta historica*, iii, 1-29. In Sozomen, who constantly utilises Sabinos, we have an analysis of the Report addressed by the Council of Tyre to Constantine (*Hist. eccles.*, II, xxv) and of the letter of the Easterns to Pope Julius (*Hist. eccles.*, III, viii); Sozomen has also taken from Sabinos his information concerning the Councils of Jerusalem, Antioch and Sardica.

For the chronology of this period, we have the *Festal Letters* of St. Athanasius and the *Historia acephala*. In each of the *Festal Letters* we find at the beginning, together with the date of Easter, various chronological indications; all these Introductions are summarised and collected together at the beginning of the collection. Cf. E. Schwartz, in the *Göttingen Nachrichten*, 1904, pp. 333-356; F. Loofs, in the *Sitzungsberichte* of the Berlin Academy, 1908, pp. 1013-1022. The *Historia acephala*, so called because the beginning seems to be lacking, is a Latin fragment which forms part of the collection of the deacon Theodosius, conserved in a manuscript at Verona. It was published first by S. Maffei in the *Osservazioni letterarie*, Vol. III, Verona 1738, pp. 60-80, and reproduced in Migne, *P.G.*, Vol. XXVI, 1443-1450; the best edition of the text is that of P. Batiffol, in the *Mélanges . . . de Cabrières*, Paris, 1899, Vol. I, pp. 99-108. The *Historia acephala* comes, like other parts of the Verona MS, from an apologetic dossier begun in 367 under St. Athanasius's inspiration, and continued until his death. But this dossier is not, as Batiffol thought (*Le synodikon de saint Athanase*, in *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, Vol. X, 1901, pp. 128 et seq.), identical with the *Synodikon* mentioned by Socrates, *Hist.*

eccles., I, xiii; cf. E. Schwartz, *Zur Geschichte des Athanasius*, in the *Göttingen Nachrichten*, 1904, pp. 357-401.

The *De vita Constantini* of Eusebius of Caesarea, although written by an eyewitness, does not give us much information for the period dealt with in this chapter, and the documents it mentions are either ceremonial speeches or letters of little importance. At most we can utilise the letters written by Constantine in connection with the affairs of Antioch in 330. Eusebius is a panegyrist, and he carefully avoids anything which might compromise the Emperor's memory.

Eustathius of Antioch and Marcellus of Ancyra had large parts to play during the years immediately following the Council of Nicaea, but we have only fragments of their writings. The fragments by Eustathius are collected in Migne, *P.G.*, Vol. XVIII; a more recent and more complete edition comes from F. Cavallera, *S. Eustathii episcopi Antiocheni, in Lazarum, Mariam et Martham homilia christologica*, Paris, 1905; the homily on the Witch of Endor has been published by A. Jahn, Leipzig, 1886. The fragments of Marcellus of Ancyra were collected by C. H. G. Rettberg, *Marcelliana*, Göttingen, 1794, and more recently by E. Klostermann, following upon his edition of the *Contra Marcellum* and the *De ecclesiastica theologia* of Eusebius in the *Berlin Corpus* (*Eusebius Werke*, Vol. IV, Leipzig, 1906, pp. 183-215).

There is nothing to mention here on the Arian side, except some fragments of Asterius which have scarcely more than a theological interest; cf. G. Bardy, *Astérius le sophiste*, in *Revue d'hist. ecclés.*, Vol. XXII, 1926, pp. 221-272.

II.—STUDIES: Among the older ones, we must always consult Tillemont, *Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire ecclésiastique des six premiers siècles*: Vol. VI, pp. 239-633, contains an abridged history of Arianism; Vol. VII, pp. 1-258, is devoted to "the great St. Athanasius, Archbishop of Alexandria, Doctor of the Church and Confessor." On St. Athanasius, the works of G. Hermant, *La vie de saint Athanase, patriarche d'Alexandrie*, 2 vols., Paris, 1671-1679; D. Papebrochius, *S. Athanasii vita* (*Acta Sanctorum*, May, Vol. I, pp. 186-258), Antwerp, 1680; B. de Montfaucon, *Vita S. Athanasii* (Preface to the Benedictine edition of the *Works* of St. Athanasius), Paris, 1698; and *Animadversiones in vitam et scripta S. Athanasii*, Paris, 1706, can still be consulted with profit.

On St. Athanasius, in addition to the articles by E. Schwartz already mentioned, consult: F. Loofs, art. *Athanasius*, in Herzog-Hauck, *Realencyclopädie*, 3rd edn., Leipzig, 1897, Vol. II, pp. 194-205; X. Le Bachelet, art. *Athanase*, in *Dict. de Théol. Cath.*, Vol. II, col. 2143-2178; G. Bardy, *Saint Athanase*, Paris, 1914, and art. *Athanase*, in *Dict. d'histoire et de géographie ecclésiastiques*, Vol. IV, col. 1313-1340; K. F. Hagel, *Kirche und Kaisertum in Lehre und Leben des Athanasius*, Leipzig, 1933.

On Marcellus of Ancyra, see: T. Zahn, *Marcellus von Ancyra*, Gotha, 1867; F. Loofs, *Die Trinitätslehre Marcellus von Ancyra und ihr Verhältnis zur älteren Tradition*, in *Sitzungsberichte der kgl. preuss. Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin*, 1902, pp. 764-781.

On Eustathius of Antioch: F. Cavallera, *Le schisme d'Antioche*, Paris,

1905; F. Loofs, *Paulus von Samosata*, Leipzig, 1924; R. V. Sellers, *Eustathius of Antioch and his Place in the Early History of Christian Doctrine*, Cambridge, 1928.

On the part played by Constantine: G. Bardy, *La politique religieuse de Constantin après le concile de Nicée*, in *Revue des Sciences religieuses*, Vol. VIII, 1928, pp. 516-551.

On the Council of Sardica: F. Loofs, *Zur Synode von Sardica*, in *Theologische Studien und Kritiken*, 1909, pp. 279 *et seq.*; F. Loofs, *Das Glaubensbekenntnis der Homousianer von Sardika*, in *Abhandlungen der kgl. preuss. Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin*, 1909, pp. 1-39; C. H. Turner, *The Genuineness of the Sardinian Canons*, in *Journal of Theological Studies*, Vol. III, 1902, pp. 396 *et seq.*; E. C. Babut, *L'authenticité des canons de Sardique*, in *Transactions of the Third International Congress for the History of Religions*, Oxford, 1908; Vol. II, pp. 345-352; P. Batiffol, *M. Babut sur l'authenticité des canons de Sardique*, in *Bulletin d'ancienne littérature et d'archéologie chrétiennes*, Vol. IV, 1914, pp. 202-208; J. Zeiller, *Les origines chrétiennes dans les provinces danubiennes de l'empire romain*, Paris, 1918, pp. 228 *et seq.*

Chapter III

I. SOURCES: For the period extending from 343 to 360, our chief informant is still St. Athanasius, to whom we must add St. Hilary (cf. General Bibliography). If we adopt the theory of P. Feder on the *Fragmenta historica*, Hilary of Poitiers composed in 356 a first book *Adversus Valentem et Ursacium*, to which would belong, besides the texts and accounts of the Council of Sardica (cf. preceding chapter), a narrative passage on the Council of Milan (*Ad Constantium*, I, viii); the second book, composed in the course of the winter of 359-360, would give us several letters of Pope Liberius in a historical context, and numerous documents relating to the Councils of Rimini and Seleucia: letter from Constantius to the Council of Rimini, definition of the orthodox bishops at Rimini; letter from the Council of Rimini to Constantius; letter of the Arian bishops present at Rimini to Constantius; letter from the legates of Seleucia to the legates of Rimini. Lastly, in Book III, written in 367, there would be the letter of the Council of Paris to the Easterns, the letter of Eusebius of Vercelli to Gregory of Elvira; two letters on the reconciliation of the defaulting bishops, and some documents concerning Germinius of Sirmium. But objections have been made to Feder's theory: cf. O. Bardenheuer, *Geschichte der altkirchlichen Literatur*, Vol. III, p. 384.

The *Liber de synodis* of St. Hilary gives, with commentaries, a Latin translation of several Eastern Creeds: the second formula of Sirmium (357), the anathemas of Ancyra (358), the formula of Antioch in 341, the Creed of the Easterns at Sardica, the first formula of Sirmium (351). Then it shows that there is no impassable gulf between the orthodox and the group of Basil of Ancyra who hold the "homoiousion." This work is an important indication of the states of mind before the Councils of Rimini and Seleucia. The *Liber secundus ad Constantium* is a discourse which St. Hilary proposed to make to

the Emperor Constantius, from whom he had requested an audience in January 360. The audience was not granted, and the Bishop of Poitiers then drew up *Contra Constantium imperatorem*, which is an invective of unusual violence.

Lucifer of Cagliari is a polemical writer. The works which he composed during his exile, *De non conveniendo cum haereticis* (Migne, *P.L.*, Vol. XIII, col. 767-794), *De regibus apostaticis* (*P.L.*, Vol. XIII, col. 793-818), *Quia absentem nemo debet judicare nec damnare* (*ibid.*, col. 817-936), *De non parcendo in Deum delinquentibus* (*ibid.*, col. 935-1008), *Moriendum esse pro Dei Filio* (*ibid.*, col. 1007-1038), display the violent temperament of the writer, rather than facts of general history, but they nevertheless have their interest, even from the historical point of view.

Of St. Foebadus of Agen, we have a treatise *Contra Arianos* (edited by A. Durengues, Agen, 1927), not very original, but giving us information on the orthodox faith in Gaul in 357 or 358.

St. Epiphanius gives us important documentation on the movement inspired by Basil of Ancyra: thanks to him we still have the letter of the Council of Ancyra in 358 (*Haeres.*, lxxiii, 2-11), and the account drawn up in 359 by Basil, George of Laodicea and some others (*Haeres.*, lxxiii, 12-22). These texts are of the greatest importance. It is also to St. Epiphanius that we owe our knowledge of forty-seven Κεφάλαια of Aëtius, one of the leaders of Anomoean Arianism (*Haeres.*, lxxvi, 11).

Among the writers of ecclesiastical histories, Socrates is particularly well informed on Constantinople; Theodoret knows above all the events at Antioch; through Sozomen we get to know the opinions of the semi-Arian Sabinos; Philostorgus, finally, is the mouthpiece of the most thoroughgoing Anomoeanism.

II. STUDIES: To general works, and those dealing with St. Athanasius (cf. preceding chapter), add the following: For St. Hilary, P. Coustant, *Vita S. Hilarii Pictaviensis episcopi ex ipsius scriptis ac veterum monumentis nunc primum concinnata*, Paris, 1693 (reprinted in Migne, *P.L.*, Vol. IX, cols. 125-184); J. H. Reinkens, *Hilarius von Poitiers*, Schaffhouse, 1864; for Lucifer of Cagliari, G. Krueger, *Lucifer, Bischof von Calaris und das Schisma der Luciferianer*, Leipzig, 1885.

The problems concerning Pope Liberius have not ceased to be the subject of keen discussion. See L. de Feis, *Storia di Liberio papa e dello scisma dei Semiariani*, Rome, 1894; F. Savio, *La questione di papa Liberio*, Rome, 1907; *Nuovi Studi sulla questione di papa Liberio*, Rome, 1909; *Punti controversi nella questione del papa Liberio*, Rome, 1911; L. Duchesne, *Libère et Fortunatien*, in *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire*, Vol. XXVIII, 1908, pp. 31-78; J. Chapman, *The Contested Letters of Pope Liberius*, in *Revue bénédictine*, Vol. XXVII, 1910, pp. 22-40, 172-203, 325-351; A. L. Feder, *Studien zu Hilarius von Poitiers*, I, in the *Sitzungsberichte* of the Vienna Academy, 1910, pp. 153-183; J. Zeiller, *La question du pape Libère*, in *Bulletin d'anc. littér. et d'archéol. chrét.*, Vol. III, 1913, pp. 20-25; P. Batiffol, *La paix constantinienne et le catholicisme*, Paris, 1914, pp. 515-521.

The most important episode in the period we are studying here is

undoubtedly that which centres round Basil of Ancyra and his group ; it has been studied mainly by the theologians. In the absence of the projected work of J. Lebon on the Homoiousians, the following may be consulted : J. Schladebach, *Basilii von Ancyra ; Eine historisch-philosophische Studie*, Leipzig, 1898 ; J. Gummerus, *Die homöusianische Partei, bis zum Tode des Konstantius. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des arianischen Streites in den Jahren 356-361*, Leipzig, 1900 ; G. Rasneur, *L'homoïousianisme dans ses rapports avec l'orthodoxie*, in *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique*, Vol. IV, 1903, pp. 189 *et seq.* ; 411 *et seq.* ; J. F. Bethune-Backer, *The Meaning of Homoousios in the Constantinopolitan Creed*, Cambridge, 1901.

Chapter IV

Besides the works mentioned in the General Bibliography, the following may be consulted : P. Allard, art. *Monuments antiques, Destruction des*, in the *Dict. apol. de la foi cath.*, ed. by A. d'Alès ; A. Beugnot, *Histoire de la destruction du paganisme en Occident*, 2 vols., Paris, 1835 ; G. Boissier, *La fin du paganisme*, 2 vols., 1st edn., Paris, 1891 ; W. K. Boyd, *The Ecclesiastical Edicts of the Theodosian Code*, New York, 1895 ; E. Chastel, *Histoire de la destruction du paganisme dans l'Empire d'Orient*, Paris, 1850 ; F. Cumont, *Les religions orientales dans le paganisme romain*, 4th edn., Paris, 1929 ; F. J. Doelger, *Konstantin der Grosse und seine Zeit*, Freiburg in Bresgau, 1913 ; J. Geffcken, *Der Ausgang des griechisch-römischen Heidentums*, Heidelberg, 1920 ; O. Gruppe, *Griechische Mythologie und Religionsgeschichte* in the *Handbuch* of I. von Müller, Vol. II, 1908, pp. 1670 *et seq.* ; H. Hubert, art. *Magia*, in *Dict. des Antiq. gr. et rom.* of Daremberg, Saglio and Pottier, Vol. III, ii, pp. 1494-1521 ; M. A. Huttman, *The Establishment of Christianity and the Proscription of Paganism*, New York, 1914 ; J. Marquardt *Das Sacralwesen*, Vol. III of *Römische Staatsverwaltung*, Vol. VI of *Handbuch der röm. Alterthümer*, edited by Mommsen and Marquardt ; Pauly-Wissowa, *Realencyklopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*, edited by Wissowa, then by Kroll ; V. Schultze, *Geschichte des Untergangs des griechisch-römischen Heidentums*, Jena, 1887, and *Tempelbauten in Konstantinopel*, in *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*, Vol. VII ; G. Wissowa, *Religion und Kultus der Römer*, in *Handbuch der klass. Altertumswiss.*, edited by I. von Müller, Munich, 1912 ; P. de Labriolle, *La Réaction païenne*, Paris, 1934.

Chapter V

(The sources are extremely scattered : the main ones are given below.)

§ 1. To the books and articles indicated above, Part I, Ch. II, add : Thuemmel, *Zur Beurtheilung des Donatismus*, Halle, 1893 ; Odette Vannier, *Les circoncellions et leurs rapports avec l'Eglise donatiste d'après le texte d'Optat* in *Revue africaine*, Vol. LXVII, 1926, pp. 13-28 ; Achelis, *Eine donatistische Fälschung*, in *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*, Vol. XI, 1929, pp. 344-353 ; J. Zeiller, *Donatisme et arianisme. La falsification donatiste de*

documents du concile arien de Sardique, in *Comptes rendus de l'Académie des inscriptions*, 1933, pp. 65-73, and *L'Arianisme en Afrique avant l'invasion vandale*, in *Revue historique*, Vol. CLXXIII, 1934, pp. 535-541.

§ 2. L. Duchesne, *Fastes épiscopaux de l'ancienne Gaule*, 3 vols., Paris, 1894 (2nd edn., 1907), 1900 and 1915; C. Jullian, *Histoire de la Gaule*, Vol. VII, Paris, 1927; H. Leclercq, *L'Espagne chrétienne*, Paris, 1906; Z. Garcia Villada, *Historia ecclesiastica de España*, Vol. I: *El cristianismo durante la dominacion romana*, 2 vols., Madrid, 1929.

§ 3. J. Zeiller, *Les origines chrétiennes dans les provinces danubiennes de l'Empire romain*, Paris, 1918; G. Krueger, *Lucifer von Calaris und das Schisma der Luciferianer*, Leipzig, 1886; F. Piva, *Lucifero di Cagliari contra l'imperatore Costanzo*, Trent, 1928.

§ 4. Besides the general works already indicated, and in particular those of Duchesne, Batiffol and Caspar, we must mention: J. Langen, *Geschichte der römischen Kirche bis zum Pontificate Leos I.*, Bonn, 1881; M. Rade, *Damasus Bischof von Rom*, Freiburg in Bresgau, 1882; L. Duchesne, *Le Liber pontificalis, texte, introduction et commentaire*, Vol. I (*Biblioth. des Ecoles fr. d'Athènes et de Rome*, 2nd series, fasc. III), Paris, 1886; J. Wittig, *Papst Damasus I. Quellenkritische Studien zu seiner Geschichte und Charakteristik* (*Römische Quartalschrift*, Suppltd. XIV, 1902) and *Die Friedenspolitik des Papsts Damasus I. und der Ausgang der arianischen Streitigkeiten* (*Kirchengeschichtliche Abhandlungen* hgg. v. M. Sdrakle, Vol. X, Breslau, 1912); J. Zeiller, *La question du pape Libère*, in *Bull. d'anc. littérature et d'archéologie chrétiennes*, Vol. III, 1913, pp. 20-51; J. Chapman, *Studies on the Early Papacy*, Oxford, 1928; F. X. Seppelt, *Der Aufstieg des Papsttums. Geschichte der Päpste von den Anfängen bis zum Regierungsantritt Gregors des Grossen*, Leipzig, 1931. On the writings of the various Popes, cf. Bardenhewer, *Geschichte der altkirchlichen Literatur*, Vol. III, pp. 582-591.

Chapter VI

I. SOURCES: For the period from 360 to 378, we must still refer to the works of St. Athanasius, cf. General Bibliography, and in addition the three letters to Epictetus of Corinth (Migne, *P.G.*, Vol. XXVI, 1049-1070), to Adelphus (Migne, *P.G.*, Vol. XXVI, 1071-1084), and to Maximus the Philosopher (Migne, *P.G.*, Vol. XXVI, 1085-1090), concerning Christology as taught by certain heretics about 370-371. Down to the end of his long career, Athanasius remained an intrepid champion of orthodoxy.

After his death (373), new men came to the fore, especially the three great Cappadocians, whose letters and discourses are most valuable sources (cf. General Bibliography). In the case of the correspondence of St. Basil of Caesarea, the chronology has given rise to important studies, and particularly V. Ernst, *Basilius des Grossen Verkehr mit den Okzidentalern*, in *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*, Vol. XVII, 1896, pp. 626-664; F. Loofs, *Eustathius von*

Sebaste und die Chronologie der Basiliusbriefe, Halle a. S., 1898; F. Cavallera, *Le schisme d'Antioche*, Paris, 1895; J. Bessières, *La tradition manuscrite de la correspondance de saint Basile*, Oxford, 1923. Of St. Gregory Nazianzum we must particularly mention his *Carmen de vita sua*, his first letters, and several discourses, which like most of his works have a manifest autobiographical interest: the *Oratio II Apogetica in qua causas exponit ob quas post sibi impositam sacerdotii dignitatem in Pontum fugerit ac rursum Nazianzum redierit et quae sit sacerdotis professio* (362-363); the *Oratio VI De pace, ob monachorum reconciliationem post silentium, praesente patre* (364); the *Oratio IX Apogeticus ad patrem suum Gregorium, praesente Basilio magno cum episcopus Sasimorum creatus est* (372; cf. *Orat.*, X and XI, which belong to the same period and refer to the same events); the *Oratio XVI In patrem tacentem propter plagam grandinis* (373); the *Oratio XVII Ad cives Nazianzenos gravi timore percultos et praefectum irascentem* (end of 373). To these we must add several funeral orations, of a definite historic interest, in spite of the rhetoric which spoils them: on his brother Caesar (*Orat.* VII; end of 368 or beginning of 369); on his sister Gorgonia (*Orat.* VIII; between 369 and 374); on his brother Gregory (*Orat.* XLIII; spring of 374); on St. Athanasius (*Orat.* XXI; 379); on St. Basil (*Orat.* CXLIII; 381 or 382). Lastly we must mention the funeral discourses pronounced by St. Gregory of Nyssa (cf. General Bibliography) and the early discourses of St. John Chrysostom, in which rhetoric too often takes the place of history.

On the Eastern heretics of this period, an important witness is St. Epiphanius, who wrote precisely about 375 (cf. General Bibliography). The main heresy was still that of the Arians, represented chiefly by Eunomius; to these was added that of the Apollinarists. Some important fragments of Eunomius are found in the refutations by St. Basil, *Adversus Eunomium* (Migne, P.G., Vol. XXIX, 497-670) and St. Gregory of Nyssa, *Contra Eunomium* (Migne, P.G., Vol. XLV, 237-1122; better edition by Jaeger, Berlin, 1921). Of Apollinaris and the Apollinarists, we have not only some fragments but also some complete works which have survived, thanks to the illustrious names which concealed them. The most complete collections of Apollinarist writings are those of J. Draeseke, *Apollinarios von Laodicea, Sein Leben und seine Schriften*, Leipzig, 1892, and above all that of H. Lietzmann, *Apollinaris von Laodicea und seine Schule (Texte und Untersuchungen, I)*, Tübingen, 1904. Syriac fragments have been edited by J. Flemming and H. Lietzmann, *Apollinaristische Schriften, syrisch mit den griechischen Texten*, in *Abhandl. der kgl. Gesellsch. der Wissensch. zu Göttingen, philol. his. Kl.*, Berlin, 1904.

It is hardly necessary to repeat here the names of the historians who have served as our guides from the beginning of our narrative, and who must be consulted, for various reasons: Philostorgus, who puts before us the Arian point of view, and tells us about the great personalities of Anomoeanism; Sozomen, to whom we owe so much exact information on the Homoiousian party; Socrates, who is mainly interested in the history of Constantinople; Theodoret, who deals especially with the history of Antioch. The *Chronicle* of St. Jerome provides us with important dates, and some letters of the same saint reveal to us the reactions of a Western writer in regard to the religious situation in the East.

II. STUDIES: To the general works we have already mentioned, and which are still useful for the present period, we may add some others: On the Council of Alexandria in 362, C. B. Armstrong, *The Synod of Alexandria and the Schism of Antioch in A.D. 362*, in *Journal of Theological Studies*, Vol. XXII, 1920-1921, pp. 206-221; 347-355.

On the Schism of Antioch and its repercussions in the East: V. Ernst, *Basilius des Grossen Verkehr mit den Okzidentalern*, in *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*, Vol. XVI, 1896, pp. 626-664; F. Loofs, *Eustathius von Sebaste und die Chronologie der Basiliusbriege*, Halle, 1898; F. Cavallera, *Le schisme d'Antioche*, Paris, 1905; J. Schaefer, *Basilius des Grossen Beziehungen zum Abendlande*, Munster, 1909; J. Wittig, *Die Friedenspolitik des Papstes Damasus I und der Ausgang der arianischen Streitigkeiten*, Breslau, 1912; P. Batiffol, *Le siège apostolique (359-451)*, pp. 87-108; V. Grumel, *Saint Basile et le siège apostolique*, in *Echos d'Orient*, 1922, pp. 280-292; E. Caspar, *Geschichte des Papsttums*, Vol. I, pp. 196-256.

On St. Basil, we must always turn back to the studies of Tillemont, *Mémoires*, Vol. IX, pp. 1-304, 628-691, and of Dom. P. Maran, *Vita S. Basilii*, Paris, 1730, in Vol. III of the *Works* of St. Basil, pp. xxxvii-xcii, a study reproduced in Migne, P.G., Vol. XXIX, c-clxxvii. There is not as yet a good general study on the Life of St. Basil. We may mention some studies on particular aspects, e.g. Y. Courtonne, *Saint Basile et l'hellénisme*, Paris, 1934; P. Humbertclaude, *La doctrine ascétique de saint Basile de Césarée*, Paris, 1932.

On St. Gregory of Nazianzum; Tillemont, *Mémoires*, Vol. IX, pp. 305-560, 692-731, and Dom Clémencet, *Vita S. Gregorii Theologi*, Paris, 1778, reproduced in Migne, P.G., Vol. XXXV, 147-242; also C. Ullmann, *Gregorius von Nazianz der Theologe. Ein Beitrag zur Kirchen und Dogmengeschichte des 4. Jahrh.*, Darmstadt, 1825; A. Benoit, *Saint Grégoire de Nazianze, archevêque de Constantinople et docteur de l'Eglise: Sa vie, ses oeuvres et son époque*, Paris, 1876; M. Guignet, *Saint Grégoire de Nazianze orateur et épistolier*, Paris, 1911; H. Pinault, *Le platonisme de saint Grégoire de Nazianze*, Paris, 1926; C. Fleury, *Hellénisme et christianisme: saint Grégoire de Nazianze et son temps*, Paris, 1931.

On St. Gregory of Nyssa: Tillemont, *Mémoires*, Vol. IX, pp. 561-616, 732-744; J. Rupp, *Gregors des Bischofs von Nyssa Leben und Meinungen*, Leipzig, 1934; F. Diekamp, *Die Wahl Gregors von Nyssa zum Metropoliten von Sebaste in Jahre 380*, in *Theologische Quartalschrift*, Vol. XC, 1908, pp. 384-401; L. Méridier, *L'influence de la seconde sophistique sur l'oeuvre de Grégoire de Nysse*, Paris, 1906.

On Eunomius: C. R. W. Klose, *Geschichte und Lehre des Eunomius*, Kiel, 1833; M. Albertz, *Untersuchungen über die Schriften des Eunomius*, Wittenberg, 1908; F. Diekamp, *Literargeschichtliches zur eunomianischen Kontroverse*, in *Byzantinisches Zeitschrift*, Vol. XVIII, 1909, pp. 1-13; 190-194.

On Apollinaris: G. Voisin, *L'apollinarisme*, Louvain, 1901; R. Aigrain, art. *Apollinaire de Laodicée*, in *Dict. d'hist. et de géogr. ecclés.*, Vol. III, 1924, pp. 962-982.

On Titus of Bostra: J. Sickenberger, *Titus von Bostra*, Leipzig, 1901.

Chapter VII

I. SOURCES : On the election of Ambrose of Milan and his activity in Upper Italy and Illyricum before 381, we have information in the *Vita Ambrosii* of Paulinus (Migne, *P.L.*, Vol. XIV, 27-46), and in some texts of Ambrose himself, in particular his *De fide* (Migne, *P.L.*, Vol. XVI, 527-698), his *De spiritu sancto* (*ibid.*, 703-816), his letter to Gratian, *Epist.*, i (*ibid.*, 875-978), etc. The Council of Sirmium of 378 is known only by texts included in the *Ecclesiastical History* of Theodoret, IV, vii-viii.

On the events at Constantinople and the great Council of 381, the only contemporary account is that of Gregory of Nazianzum in his *Carmen de vita sua*; but this account, influenced by all the injuries suffered by the great bishop, is often satirical in character, and it needs correcting and interpreting.

The other writings of Gregory of Nazianzum, above all the sermons preached at Constantinople, contain much valuable information : we must especially mention the five *Theological Discourses*, and the eulogy of Hero, i.e. Maximus the philosopher. On this last Discourse, cf. St. Jerome, *De viris illustr.*, cxvii.

Of Gregory of Nyssa, there is little to be consulted except the *Funeral Discourse on Meletius of Antioch* (Migne, *P.G.*, Vol. XLVI, 851-864), a fine piece of rhetoric. But it does not contain a great deal of information for the historian.

The Council of Constantinople left four disciplinary canons and a letter of thanks to the Emperor Theodosius (Mansi, Vol. III, col. 557-560).

As to the Council of Aquileia, we have an authentic official account which, however, is somewhat partial (*Gesta concilii Aquileiensis*, Migne, *P.L.*, Vol. XVI, 916-939) and four synodal letters published with the correspondence of Ambrose, who doubtless drew them up (*Epist.*, ix-xii, Migne, *P.L.*, Vol. XVI, 939-949). *Letters xiii-xiv* of Ambrose were written in the name of the bishops of the Council shortly after its conclusion (*ibid.*, 950-955). Some further information is provided by the *Dissertatio Maximini contra Ambrosium*, an Arian pamphlet a little later than the Council (ed. Kauffmann, 1899).

We must add a letter from Pope Damasus to Acholius of Thessalonica in 380 (Jaffé-Wattenbach, 237), and some letters of St. Jerome, which give us some imperfect information on the Council of Rome of 382.

It is hardly necessary to mention again the *Histories* of Rufinus, Socrates, Sozomen and Theodoret, but we may remark that their value does not increase when they deal with later events. On the schism of Antioch in particular, and the conversations, real or imaginary, between Meletius and Paulinus, we have only some obscure and complicated accounts from which it is difficult to derive anything concrete.

II. STUDIES : For chronology, G. Rauschen, *Jahrbucher der christlichen Kirche unter dem Kaiser Theodosius dem Grossen*, Freiburg in Bresgau, 1897.

On events in the West and the Council of Aquileia, F. Kauffman, *Aus der Schule des Wulfila. Auxenti Dorostorensis epistula de fide, vita et obitu Wulfilae, im Zusammenhang der Dissertatio Maximini contra Ambrosium* (Texte und Untersuchungen zur altgermanischen Religionsgeschichte, Texte Vol. I),

Strassburg, 1899; J. Zeiller, *Les origines chrétiennes dans les provinces danubiennes de l'Empire romain*, Paris, 1918; H. von Campenhausen, *Ambrosius von Mailand als Kirchenpolitiker*, Berlin and Leipzig, 1929; J. R. Palanque, *Saint Ambroise et l'Empire romain: Contribution à l'histoire des rapports de l'Eglise et de l'Etat à la fin du quatrième siècle*, Paris, 1933.

On St. Gregory of Nazianzum, cf. Bibliography to Chapter VI above.

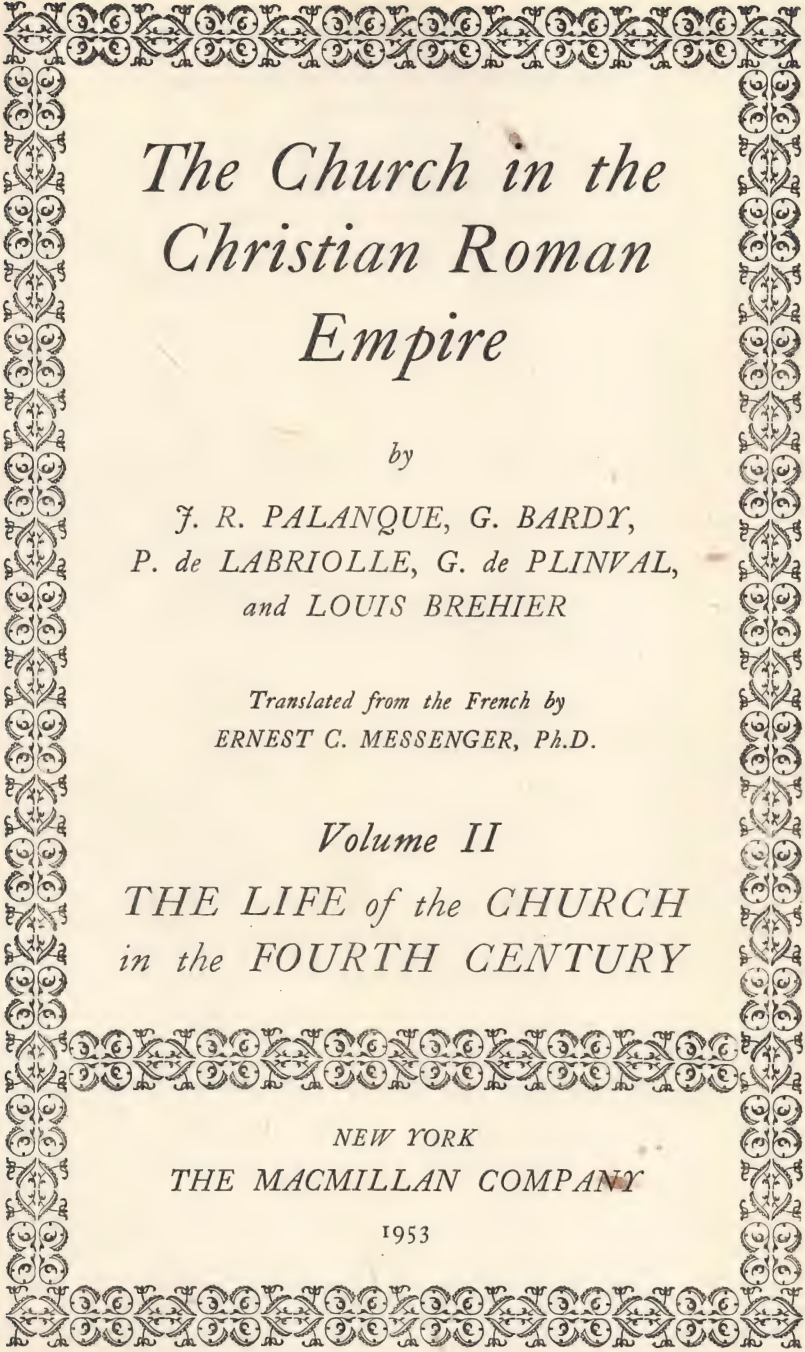
On the Eastern councils: F. Cavallera, *Le schisme d'Antioche*, Paris, 1905; Hefelè-Leclercq, *Histoire des Conciles*, Vol. II, Part I, Paris, 1908, pp. 1-48; W. Bright, *The Canons of the First Four General Councils*, Oxford, 1892; K. Luebeck, *Reichseinteilung und kirchliche Hierarchie des Orients bis zum Ausgang des vierten Jahrh.*, Munster, 1901; P. Batiffol, *Le siège apostolique (359-451)*, pp. 112-145; V. Grumel, *Les registres des actes du patriarchat de Constantinople*, Vol. I, *Les actes des patriarches*, fasc. 1: *Les registres de 381 à 715*, Kadi-Koey, 1932; G. Bardy, *Le concile d'Antioche (379)*, in *Revue bénédictine*, Vol. XLV, 1933, pp. 196-213.

On the Creed of Constantinople: Hort, *Two Dissertations*, II: *On the Constantinopolitan Creed and Other Eastern Creeds of the Fourth Century*, Cambridge, 1876; F. Kunze, *Das nicaenisch-constantinopolitanische Symbol*, Leipzig, 1898; F. Kattenbusch, *Das apostolische Symbol*, Leipzig, 1898 et seq.; A. Harnack, art. *Konstantinopolitanisches Symbol*, in Hauck, *Realencyclopädie*, 3rd end., Vol. XI, pp. 12-28; E. Schwartz, *Das Nicaenum und das Constantinopolitanum auf der Synode von Chalkedon*, in *Zeitschrift für die neutestam. Wissenschaft*, Vol. XXV, 1926, pp. 38-88; A. d'Alès, *Nicée-Constantinople, Les premiers symboles de foi*, in *Recherches de Science religieuse*, Vol. XXVI, 1936, pp. 85-92.

On the attitude of Damasus and the Roman Council of 382: C. H. Turner, *The Roman Council under Damasus A.D. 382*, in *Journal of Theological Studies*, Vol. I, 1900, pp. 554-560; E. Caspar, *Geschichte des Papsttums*, Vol. I, pp. 235-242.

THE CHURCH IN THE
CHRISTIAN ROMAN EMPIRE





The Church in the Christian Roman Empire

by

J. R. PALANQUE, G. BARDY,
P. de LABRIOLLE, G. de PLINVAL,
and LOUIS BREHIER

Translated from the French by
ERNEST C. MESSENGER, Ph.D.

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TRANSLATOR'S PREFACE

The present work corresponds to the second half of Vol. III of Fliche-Martin's *Histoire de l'Église*. The principles governing the translation are those adopted for earlier volumes. The bibliographies for each chapter, however, have been placed at the end of the volume, as this was thought preferable.

ERNEST C. MESSENGER

CHAPTER I

THE ORIGINS OF MONACHISM¹

I. THE SOURCES FOR THE HISTORY OF EARLY MONACHISM

§ I. THE BEGINNINGS OF MONACHISM

Monachism and Human Nature

WHILE it is true that monachism is one of the most original and interesting features of Christianity from the third, and still more from the fourth, century, there is no doubt that, especially in its original form, it corresponds to tendencies which are deeply rooted in human nature, which have led to the most varied philosophical or religious manifestations, such as the desire of solitude, the hidden and secret life far removed from other men,² or again, the tendency to asceticism, the conviction based upon experience, that a human being attains his real dignity and a mastery of self only in the degree in which he is able to free himself from sensual appetites, physical weaknesses, and the search for "comfort."³

The Antecedents of Monachism

The ancients had already shown a full realisation of these moral truths. We find in them a fully developed ethics of the will, assigning to the individual as his supreme end "autarchy" or "apathy," i.e. the power to control oneself, and freedom from passions, to be attained by exercise and "asceticism."⁴

¹ For Bibliography, see p. 721.

² Seneca wrote: "Vindica te tibi" (*Epist.*, i); "Fuge multitudinem, fuge paucitatem, fuge etiam unum!" (*Epist.*, x, 1).

³ "Relinque divitias," said Seneca again (*Epist.*, lxxxiv, 11), "aut periculum possidentium aut onus! Relinque corporis atque animi voluptates! Molliunt et enervant. Relinque ambitum! tumida res est, vana, ventosa."

⁴ Cf. W. Capelle, *Altgriechische Askese*, in *Neue Jahrbücher*, Vol. XXV, 1910, p. 705; Reitzenstein, *Hellenistische Wundererzählungen*, p. 142.

Hence those who have sought for antecedents of Christian monachism, or have tried to place this historical phenomenon in a series of similar manifestations, have not been attempting the impossible. Some have tried to connect Christian monks with the solitaries of Buddhism,¹ or with the Essenes described by Josephus,² or with the Therapeutae mentioned in Philo's treatise on the Contemplative Life,³ or with the Neo-Platonist philosophers, Plotinus, Porphyry, Jamblichus,⁴ or with the "recluses" of the Temple of Serapis at Memphis,⁵ and so on. But just as it is easy to indicate certain general analogies, so also it is equally illusory to try to establish a direct connection between any form of pagan asceticism and the first manifestations of Christian monachism.⁶

Monachism and Christianity

True, monachism, like other characteristics of Christian life and thought, cannot have been free from all external influences. Even so, the idea of a more perfect and more mortified life, more or less removed from the *res saecularis*, had never been without honour in the circles of primitive Christianity.⁷ Indeed, it was based upon certain sayings in the Gospel,⁸ and it found in monachism, not indeed

¹ Hilgenfeld, in *Zeitschrift für die wissenschaftliche Theologie*, Vol. XX, 1878, pp. 148 *et seq.*

² *De Bello Judaico*, II, 119-121; T. Keim, *Aus dem Urchristentum*, Zurich, 1878.

³ Ed. Cohn, Vol. VI, pp. 46-71.

⁴ Cf. T. Keim, *Aus dem Urchristentum*.

⁵ E. Preuschen has well answered Weingarten on this in his book *Mönchtum und Sarapiskult*, Giessen, 1903.

⁶ Good discussion by P. Gobillot in *Recherches de Science religieuse*, Vols. I-III, 1920 to 1922.

⁷ The chief texts are collected in H. Koch, *Quellen zur Geschichte der Askese und des Mönchtums in der alten Kirche*, pp. 23-76. Good treatment in Martinez, pp. 21 *et seq.* Numerous facts are given by Dom Leclercq, *Dict. d'Archéol. chrét. et de Lit.*, art. *Monachisme*, Vol. XI, col. 1782 *et seq.*; L. Duchesne, *Histoire ancienne de l'Eglise*, Vol. II, pp. 487-488. "The great and wonderful novelty," writes H. Bremond (*Les Pères du Desert*, Vol. I, p. xxiv), "was not so much the old idea of isolating oneself from the world, as the winning of the world to this idea, and the fact that the world went to the school of the Desert."

⁸ Cf., e.g., *Mark* x, 21.

its first realisation, but certainly its fullest development.

For the rest, to assert that St. Anthony was the "founder" of monachism is to simplify the historic fact. "It is certain," remarks the Bollandist Paul Peeters,¹ "that as to the ultimate beginnings of monachism we have only a tradition which is already crystallised, and that the most characteristic types of eremitical life had during their own lifetime imitators who had also received, we know not whence, the same call to solitude. . . ." When Anthony decided to renounce the world while still a young man, he found in a village near Qeman a man who had lived the "solitary life" (τὸν μονήρη βίον) there for many years.² And Athanasius remarks in this connection that one who wished to practise asceticism at that time established himself near his village (χώμῃ) and lived alone. Pachomius was at first a disciple of an old man named Palamon, who had lived a long time near Chenoboskion in the Thebaid. His own disciple and eventual successor Theodore, came to him from a "monastery" established near Panopolis, in the foundation of which Pachomius had had no part.³

These great organisers, then, worked with material which was as yet formless, but already in existence. History reveals few absolute beginnings.

§ 2. MONASTIC WRITINGS

Its Abundance

Early literature concerning the origins of monachism is remarkably abundant.

We find the following classes represented: lives of famous monks, anecdotal narratives relating the sayings and doings of the best known solitaries, etc.; ascetical manuals whose authors set out to explain the special duties of a monk and to promote spiritual perfection which is the aim of his state; disciplinary regulations by the great organisers of monastic

¹ *Analecta Bollandiana*, 1933, p. 154.

² Migne, *P.G.*, Vol. XXVI, 844.

³ *Epist. Ammonis*, ix. "Monastery" here probably means "cell."

life, such as Pachomius, Basil, Augustine, or later on St. Benedict; apologies in which this way of life is defended against its detractors, whether Christian or pagan. No one writer is rash enough to think he has succeeded in dealing with all the parts of this vast output, which consists not only of Greek and Latin texts, but also of others in various Eastern languages. Thus W. Bousset, to whom we owe the first methodical inventory of the *Apophthegmata Patrum*, has been criticised for not taking into account the Arabic, Georgian, Coptic and Armenian versions.¹

The chief documents, however, are known so far as Egyptian monachism is concerned. Many of these have been translated from the Coptic, Syriac, etc. Thus a great amount of material is at our disposal, and we must determine its historical value.

General Impression: an Orgy of the "Supernatural"

The general impression which we get when we study this literature is, it must be admitted, that we are dealing with something largely the product of imagination, and in which fiction plays a very large part.

We can leave aside for the moment the mortifications described there, the strange methods adopted by the Eastern monk to accentuate his discomfort, hunger, or absence of sleep, or the occasionally violent methods adopted to master his passions. We will confine ourselves to the strange prodigies by which the ascetics are said to have manifested their dominion over animals, and even over the elements themselves.

Here are a few examples of these surprising narratives.

A holy man named Helenus came to a monastery, the monks of which were greatly embarrassed. The priest who was to celebrate the Eucharist for them for the feast of the day had not reached them: he remained on the other side of the river, and no one dared to go to fetch him, because of a very dangerous crocodile which frequented its banks. Helenus went straight to the monster, perched himself on

¹ Cf. P. Peeters, in *Analecta Bollandiana*, Vol. XLII, 1924, pp. 430 *et seq.*

its back after invoking the name of the Lord, crossed the river, and brought the celebrant over behind him.¹

Having been robbed on several occasions by bandits who infested the desert, Ammon confided the watch over his cell to two snakes, who mounted guard. When the robbers came again to make another raid, the sight of these unexpected sentinels deeply affected them, and they were converted.² The same solitary, by a single invocation, destroyed a redoubtable reptile which "burst asunder."³

Patermutius often crossed the Nile on foot: the water hardly reached his knees.⁴ Paphnutius did the same, but the water reached his thighs.⁵

In a boat which came from a place unknown, three abbots, Syrus, Isaias and Paulus, completed in one hour a journey which would normally have taken three days.⁶

Must we go on to mention the boa, "capable of swallowing a whole ox," which drew to itself by its inbreathing both flocks and shepherds, and which Hilarion commanded to mount a scaffold and to be burnt there?⁷ Or the tidal wave which the same Hilarion stopped by three signs of the cross traced on the sand?⁸ Or the hippocentaur which pointed out to Paul of Thebes the way leading to the retreat of Anthony, then ninety years of age?⁹ One has only to glance at these edifying narratives to find hundreds of stories of the same kind.

Inexact Conclusions to which these fantasies have led

There has been in consequence a fairly natural temptation to regard this literature on monachism as a collection of *mirabilia*, a vivid testimony to the state of mind of the period, but one in which history can find practically nothing of any value.

By yielding to this temptation in a well-known article in the *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*,¹⁰ Weingarten did at least compel the critics who considered his judgement unreasonable to distinguish the positive data included in this mass of

¹ *Hist. Monachorum*, xi.

² *Ibid.*, viii.

³ "Disruptus crepuit medius" (*ibid.*).

⁴ *Ibid.*, ix.

⁵ *Ibid.*, xvi.

⁶ *Ibid.*, x.

⁷ St. Jerome, *Vita Hilarionis*, xxiv.

⁸ *Ibid.*, xl.

⁹ *Vita Pauli*, vii, 7.

¹⁰ Vol. I, 1876, pp. 1-35, 545-574.

documents. A close study has since been made of monastic literature, especially in Germany and England.

It was soon seen that the historical and geographical framework of these apparently fabulous accounts is much more solid than one might suppose. Hence we ought to discuss the value of each, and determine the measure in which it can be utilised.

Weingarten made the great mistake of regarding works such as the *Life of Anthony*, the *Historia Monachorum*, and the *Lausiac History* as collections of fables like the *Paradoxa* of the Greek compilers, deserving of as much credence as *Gulliver's Travels*. But it is as imprudent to deny any positive value to them as it would be to accept *en bloc* these interminable and endless narratives, in which legend has so large a place.

Poetry and Truth

If one had to explain this strange mixture of *Dichtung and Wahrheit*, of poetry and truth, to use Goethe's words, doubtless we ought to seek a plausible solution in the desire for the romantic which has always flourished in the heart of man.

From the second century of our era, there were in existence pagan romances with complicated plots, and full of conventional elements. There were also some Christian romances of various kinds. We find these especially in the apocryphal *Acts*, in which the story is boldly placed under the authority of the name of an Apostle, and thus we have the *Acts of Peter, Andrew, John, Thomas*, etc. When we read carefully the old monastic documents, we find that they also contain imaginary and picturesque data, calculated to feed the imagination and to satisfy the taste for fiction. These ascetics, with their prodigious strength, almost entirely free from physical needs such as eating, drinking, or sleeping, and who, by extinguishing in themselves all forms of material desire, seem to have made themselves masters of matter and to have subjected it to their will, had an extraordinary effect upon the imagination of the masses, and even on that of the *élite*.

During a long period, the *Acts* of the martyrs and the

heroism of those who "witnessed" for the Faith had been more popular than hagiographical literature. But in the fourth century, the period of bloody persecution had come to an end. Henceforth it was the struggle, no less bitter, of a man against himself, that called for examples to be set before the piety of the faithful. From now on, the lives of the monks, their labours, their acts, more or less idealised, will be the food of religious minds, the harmless romance in which they rightly delight, seeing that at the same time they profit spiritually thereby.

While not failing to recognise the indisputable value of a great number of elements found in these documents, the historian must thus bear in mind that they were conceived and composed in a spirit of enthusiasm, calculated to make them interesting reading, but also often enough a source of some exaggeration.

§ 3. VALUE OF THE SOURCES

With the reservations just made, we can proceed to examine the particular value of the main documentary sources from which we derive our knowledge of primitive monachism. These sources are not arranged in the same order by the various modern historians. For instance, the *Apophthegmata Patrum* have, since their study by Bousset, been given higher rank than that allotted them by Butler.¹ But these are not important differences, and in the main there seems to be agreement.

The "Life of Anthony"

The authenticity of the *Life of Anthony* is no longer questioned. The Benedictines have brought forward very excellent arguments in its favour,² and the attacks of Weingarten have been peremptorily refuted by Gass,³ Hilgenfeld⁴ and Keim.⁵ It seems probable that Athanasius wrote

¹ *Texts and Studies*, VI, ii, p. 12.

² Migne, P.G., Vol. XXVI, 824 *et seq.*

³ *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*, Vol. II, pp. 254 *et seq.*

⁴ *Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Theologie*, 1878, pp. 145 *et seq.*

⁵ *Aus dem Urchristentum*, pp. 204 *et seq.*

it between 356 and 362, when he was sheltering with the monks of the Thebaid during the Arian persecution. He had personally known Anthony and the latter had even helped him in his difficulties. Moreover, he was able to collect many local traditions.

It would be very imprudent to judge this work without allowing for the transpositions of an artistic or literary character which have been the work of modern artists or writers. From the fifteenth century, painters and engravers like Grünewald, Jerome Bosch, Peter Breughel the older, Peter Breughel the younger, and John Callot have depicted St. Anthony in fantastic situations surrounded by a strange demoniac fauna, a swarm of infernal beings, and a whole series of nightmares in which human forms and bestial ones are associated together in impossible combinations. Influenced by this artistic tradition, Gustave Flaubert gave a threefold description of the *Temptation of St. Anthony*, in 1849, 1856 and 1872, in which there pass before the trembling anchorite all the sects, all the heresies and all the old idols.

The *opusculum* of St. Athanasius does not at all convey this impression of luxuriant and unbridled fantasy. True, diabolical interventions occupy a large place, so much so that the Benedictine editors thought it desirable to explain why St. Athanasius devoted so much space to them: evidently certain episodes here and there made them feel uneasy.¹ But if we analyse this biography with care, we can discern the chief chapter headings recommended by the ancient theorists of panegyrics. Trained in the University of Athens, Athanasius evidently knew the technique recommended by the rhetoricians. He utilised it to a great extent, but did not merely adopt a framework already in existence. For instance, instead of arranging the chief facts about Anthony under the four great virtues of Greek ethics, wisdom, justice, fortitude and temperance, he emphasises his fear of God, which of itself determines the character of a soul.

What Athanasius wanted to do was to show how, thanks to an ever stricter asceticism, extending through many years,

¹ Migne, *P.G.*, Vol. XXVI, 832.

Anthony merited to become a mystic, a recipient of divine illuminations,¹ and to ascend progressively to that resemblance to God, *ὁμοίωσις τῷ θεῷ*, which was also the ideal of the Neo-Platonist philosophy of that time. But this philosophy considered culture as an indispensable condition for wisdom. Athanasius, on the other hand, stresses the fact that Anthony decided not to cultivate profane letters.² Meditation on the Holy Scriptures sufficed for him; his piety constituted his whole philosophy. It brought him such clear insight into truth that he was able to refute without difficulty the Greek philosophers who came to seek him in the desert to put captious questions to him. His miracles and visions are the proofs of his moral perfection; they did not make him proud, for he knew that it was Christ who accomplished them through his ministry, or who sent them to him.³

To sum up, the *Vita Antonii* presents some biographical elements which can be utilised in history. It is above all a work of edification, written for monks. In a long fictitious discourse which Athanasius puts in the mouth of the anchorite⁴ the way of conquest, and the obstacles which the devil was constantly bringing forward, are set forth at length. The bishop also emphasises the happiness of the monks grouped around Anthony, "those divine choirs of beings, singing, reading, fasting, praying, all full of the hope of things to come," and who formed a world apart (*καθ' ἑαυτὴν οὔσαν*) of piety and justice.⁵

The effect of this work was immense. An almost literal Latin translation, with some additions, was made at once.⁶ A few years later, and in any case before 379, Evagrius of Antioch made another version, very free in character, adhering to the sense rather than to the words ("ut nihil

¹ μεμυστο γαμῆνος καὶ θεοφορούμενος (Migne, *P.G.*, Vol. XXVI, 864).

² Migne, *P.G.*, Vol. XXVI, 944; § 73, ὅτι μὴ μεμάθηκε γράμματα. Also § 72, γράμματα μὴ μάθων.

³ Migne *P.G.*, Vol. XXVI, 961.

⁴ Ch. XVI to XLIII.

⁵ Migne, *P.G.*, Vol. XXVI, 908.

⁶ Dom Wilmart has rediscovered it in the *Codex Basilicanus* A 2 s, of the tenth to eleventh century. Cf. *Revue Bénédictine*, Vol. XXXI, 1914-1919, pp. 163-173.

desit ex sensu, cum aliquid desit ex verbis").¹ We also know of Syriac, Armenian and Arabic versions. In a well-known chapter of his *Confessions* (VIII, vi, 15), written about 397-398, St. Augustine shows us the marvellous and contagious influence of these pages, which did so much to promote the cause of monachism. This biography became a model for many others of the same kind.²

The Lives of the Solitaries drawn up by St. Jerome

The *Life of Paul of Thebes*, written by St. Jerome,³ is of rather uncertain value. Jerome wrote it in the desert of Chalcis between 374 and 379. Some time previously, Evagrius, then a simple priest at Antioch, with whom Jerome was in fairly close touch, had translated into Latin the already well-known biography of Anthony. This translation gave Jerome the idea of testing his own skill as a hagiographer. As soon as the work was finished, he sent it to the aged Paul of Concordia: "Misimus interim te tibi, id est Paulo seni Paulum seniore." ⁴

This *Life of Paul* likewise had a very favourable reception. We know several Greek versions of it, a Coptic recension, and a Syriac and an Ethiopian version.⁵ Apart from some individual dissentients, scholars now agree in recognising that the Hieronymian text has priority over all the others.

That Jerome himself definitely intended to put forward his account as quite authentic and "historical" cannot be

¹ The Benedictines have printed it below the text of the *Life* (Migne, *P.G.*, Vol. XXVI). As examples of the freedom of the translation, see ch. xvii, xxxiii, lxxi, xciv.

² Cf. H. Mertel, *Die biographische Form der griechischen Heiligenlegenden*, Munich, 1909. The elements which will henceforth be associated together are: a panegyric, a biographical account arranged in chronological order, and accounts of miracles.

³ Migne, *P.L.*, Vol. XXIII, 17-28.

⁴ *Epist.*, x, 3.

⁵ For details, see P. de Labriolle, *Vie de Paul de Thèbes et Vie d'Hilarion*, Paris, 1906, p. 9. The Ethiopian recension was published in 1904 at Coimbre by Francesco Maria Esteves Pereira. Boutemy has mentioned in the *Revue belge de Philologie et d'Histoire*, Vol. X, 1931, pp. 931-962, an unpublished *Life* in verse, found in the MS. *Vespasianus* DXIX among the Cotton MSS. in the British Museum.

doubted by anyone who examines it. He would have us believe that he based his account only on certain documents and explicit testimonies, and that he did not wish to lay himself open to the accusation of having invented anything.

It is none the less certain that, already in his own time, some doubts were expressed as to the reality of the Christian hero whom he set forth to his readers as a model. Jerome alludes to these detractors in the Introduction to the *Vita Hilarionis*: "Some have denied the existence of Paul, because he lived a hidden life; doubtless some will question the merit of a man (Hilarion) whom so many people have seen."¹

More than one modern critic has entertained a similar scepticism. It has been pointed out that, prior to Jerome, no ancient writer has mentioned Paul or knows anything about him. The biography of St. Anthony written by St. Athanasius does not mention the late meeting between Paul and Anthony. Athanasius even affirms that, before Anthony, "no monk had established himself in the desert."² Neither the author of the *History of the Monks*, nor Palladius in his *Lausiac History*, breathes a word about a hermit named Paul. Cassian³ and Sulpicius Severus⁴ include him among the founders of monachism, but they had both read the *Vita Pauli*.

On the other hand, if we read the text itself, episodes like the apparition of the hippocentaur and that of the satyr, the lions coming from the heart of the desert to dig a grave for Paul's body; the secular reminiscences manifested in the style; the final parallel between worldly delights and the admirable renunciation of the holy anchorite: all show the distinctly "literary" character of the narrative, and the wide scope which Jerome gives there to "aretology," or considerations of fitness of things, and to rhetoric.

It has not been proved definitely that Jerome may not have used some few facts concerning a certain Paul, a hermit of the Thebaid, making very free use of them. But so far

¹ *Vita Hilarionis*, ii.

² *Vita Antonii*, iii.

³ *Coll.*, xviii, 5.

⁴ *Dial.*, I, xvii.

there is no definite proof¹ of the value of this work, and it must therefore be regarded as rather doubtful.

The short *Vita Malchi*,² written at Bethlehem about 390-391, narrates the strange adventure of a Syrian who, leaving the world for the desert of Chalcis, yielded to a temptation to return, and went through some remarkable adventures, which Jerome had heard him narrate. This little romance, very attractive in itself, has only a very little interest for the history of monachism.

The *Life of Hilarion*³ followed closely on the *Life of Malchus*. It seems to have been written about 391, after Jerome had visited Palestine. It was there that Jerome "discovered" Hilarion. Previously he had doubtless never heard of his name, for he does not mention him either in his letter to Eustochium⁴ nor in his *Chronicle*, where nevertheless he names Macarius, Pambo, Isidore, Paul and Anthony as great figures in the beginnings of monachism.

Apart from the first chapters (i-xii), in which Jerome gives a somewhat brief description of the vocation of Hilarion, his flight into the solitudes of Gaza and the temptations which he resisted, all the rest of the work consists merely of marvellous prodigies worked by him either in Palestine or in the course of the journeys which the pious importunity of his admirers forced him to make.

W. Israel⁵ and Weingarten⁶ denied any historical foundation for this narrative, and have considered Hilarion as a fictional personage invented completely by St. Jerome. But

¹ P. Delehaye, the eminent Bollandist, thought he had found such a proof in a passage in the address presented by two Luciferian priests, Marcellinus and Faustinus, about 383-384, to the emperors Valentinian, Theodosius and Arcadius (Migne, *P.L.*, Vol. XIII, 81 *et seq.*). This mentions the resistance of a part of the Catholic community of Oxyrhynchus to the Bishop Theodore, on the suggestion of the blessed Paul, a contemporary of Anthony. But P. Cavallera has shown that these priests confused the names, and that they cannot have meant Paul of Thebes (*Revue d'Ascétique et de Mystique*, 1926, pp. 302-305).

² Migne, *P.L.*, Vol. XXII, 53-60.

³ Migne, *P.L.*, Vol. XXIII, 29-54.

⁴ *Epist.*, xxii, 33-36.

⁵ *Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Theologie*, Vol. XXII, 1880, pp. 129-165.

⁶ In Hauck-Herzog, *Realencyklopädie für protestantische Theologie*, 2nd edn., Vol. X, p. 789.

no one agrees with them now. Other testimonies besides that of St. Jerome bear witness to the reality of his existence. Jerome himself mentions a letter of St. Epiphanius concerning Hilarion. Moreover, the historian Sozomen provides for his part some elements independent of the Hieronymian tradition¹ and mentions the names of some of his disciples.² Thus there seems little room for doubt that there was in fact in the south of Palestine a hermit named Hilarion, and that he became very popular in that region, but not, apparently, beyond the bounds of that country.

Jerome took up this personality; he was surprised that he had been ignorant about him hitherto, and that others were equally ignorant. He wanted at all costs to popularise so perfect an example of monastic virtues; and to this end he wrote this biography, in which we find on a historical foundation a mass of more or less legendary details and all the artifices of rhetoric, revealing or disguising the true character of the anchorite.

After the second half of the fifth century, the *Life of Hilarion* was translated into Greek by Sophronius, a friend of Jerome.

The "Historia Monachorum"

The *Historia Monachorum in Aegypto sive de vitis Patrum*³ takes the form of a narrative of a voyage. Most of the thirty-three chapters, of varying length, begin with "*Vidimus—We saw.*"

The author tells us that at the request of his brethren, who lived with him in the monastery on the Mount of Olives, he decided to give a description of the wonderful things he had, together with six other companions, witnessed amongst the monks of Egypt in 394-395—wonders of piety, virtue, mortification, and also of supernatural power. Scattered around cities, in country parts, and especially in the desert, these last being the best of all, the monks vied with each other as to who should be the gentlest, the kindest, the most humble, and the most patient.

¹ *Hist. eccles.*, V, x and xv.

² *Ibid.*, VI. xxxii.

³ Migne, *P.L.*, Vol. XXI, 388-462.

In his conclusion, the author confesses that he knows only by hearsay the monks of the Upper Thebaid, who live around Syene, for the brigands who inhabit these regions make access to them very difficult for the traveller. Moreover, from Lycopolis onwards, there were the "barbarians" to fear. He had already encountered so many dangers in the regions through which he had passed that he did not care to go any further.¹

He gives us, then, a series of notes, some of them very brief, on the most prominent personages he had encountered among the Egyptian monks. Chapter v is devoted to the city of Oxyrhynchus, where there were a dozen churches and "more *monasteria*² than *domus*." Chapter xxi gives an account of the life of the monks of Nitria; chapter xxii describes the Desert of Cells.

In spite of a contrary statement in Gennadius,³ there is little doubt that the Latin text was due to Rufinus of Aquileia. Rufinus had, in his *Ecclesiastical History*, announced a work on the Egyptian monks,⁴ and the *Historia Monachorum* (xxix) mentions the passage in which this project had been announced. Moreover, St. Jerome explicitly asserts in a letter to Ctesiphon that Rufinus "scripsit de monachis."⁵

Jerome, who had no longer any love for Rufinus, adds here some uncomplimentary remarks. He affirms that many of the monks mentioned by Rufinus never existed⁶ and that several of those whom he praises were Origenists, condemned as such by the episcopate. The names given by St. Jerome are found in the *Historia Monachorum*. Hence it is certainly our *opusculum* that he has in view.

But the discussion is not thereby closed.

Is it really Rufinus who is writing and narrating his visits to the solitaries? Already in the seventeenth century Tillemont had shown⁷ that Rufinus could not have made this

¹ Cf. *infra*, p. 508.

² *De viris illustribus*, xlii.

³ *Epist.*, cxxxiii.

⁴ I.e. hermitages or cells.
⁵ *Hist. eccles.*, XI, iv.

⁶ Was he sufficiently acquainted with Egyptian monachism to assert this categorically? Cf. E. Preuschen, *Palladius und Rufinus*, p. 205.

⁷ *Mémoires*, Vol. XII, p. 657.

journey in 394-395. At that time he was living in the neighbourhood of Jerusalem, and he visited Egypt only on two occasions, about 375 and before 385. In 394 he was already a priest, while the seven travellers were all laymen, except one who was a deacon. Moreover, Rufinus was personally acquainted with one of the two Macarii,¹ whereas the narrator declares that he has never seen either of them.²

Tillemont accordingly held that Rufinus had merely put together some notes of a journey probably entrusted to him by the Petronius of Bologna whom Gennadius mentions as the author of the work.³

Several modern critics, such as Zöckler, accepted this hypothesis. They were apparently unaware that there was in existence a Greek text of the *Historia Monachorum*. This text had already been pointed out as existing in four MSS., by Cotelier in 1686. Cotelier published long extracts from these under the title of *Paradisus*, and these extracts were reprinted by Migne.⁴

A very careful comparison of the Latin and Greek texts—two other Greek MSS. have been found in the British Museum and at Leyden—led Dom Cuthbert Butler to the conclusion, very strongly supported, that the Greek text was the original (drawn up between 395 and 400), and that Rufinus merely translated it after 400. His version has undergone various alterations from the hands of copyists. But in the main, it belongs to Rufinus. If St. Jerome regarded it as an original work, this is obviously because he did not know of the Greek text, translated into Latin by his erstwhile friend.⁵

This being the case, who was the real author of the *History of the Monks*? Sozomen in the fifth century attributed it to Timothy, Bishop of Alexandria.⁶ But that is certainly an error, for Timothy was already dead in 385, and the *Historia Monachorum* mentions things which happened

¹ Cf. *Hist. eccles.*, II, viii.

² *Historia monachorum*, xxviii-xxix.

³ *De viris illustribus*, xlii.

⁴ Migne, *P.L.*, Vol. LXV, 439 *et seq.*

⁵ Butler's arguments (*Texts and Studies*, VI, 1, pp. 13 *et seq.*) are conclusive. It is surprising that Reitzenstein should have tried to answer such strong proofs. Cf. Schanz, *Römische Literaturgeschichte*, Vol. IV, 1, p. 421.

⁶ *Hist. eccles.*, VI, xxix.

ten years later. Could it be Timothy, archdeacon of Alexandria in 412? Butler mentions some indications which point that way. But it is only a conjecture, and he puts it forward merely as such.

Some features might lead one to think that the *Historia Monachorum* belongs to the genus of romance, and is simply a romance of the Desert of Egypt.¹ Certainly the diabolical manifestations have sometimes a comic aspect, and even a ridiculous one.² Wild asses, crocodiles, snakes and hippopotami manifest unexpected consideration for the solitaries.³ On the other hand, the narrator could scarcely defend his numerical exaggerations, which cause a smile. He reckons twenty thousand virgins and ten thousand monks at Oxyrhynchus.⁴ He writes: "Quanti populi habentur in urbibus, tantae paene habentur in desertis multitudines monachorum."⁵ He tells a lively story about the deception of a monk tempted and deceived by the devil, who took to himself a feminine body, and he calls together the mocking and insulting multitude of evil spirits who were spectators of this lamentable incident.⁶ "Abbot" Hor knew a solitary who for three years took no earthly food, and who received every three days from the hands of an angel an *escam caelestem* which took the place of both solid and liquid food.⁷ Another kept absolute silence for thirty years.⁸ Moreover, the narrator does not fail to make use of some literary methods directly derived from the *Life of Anthony*. Thus, he attributes to John the Seer a long discourse which lasted no less than three days, and in which precepts and stories follow one another endlessly.⁹

On the other hand, the atmosphere of the narrative, the adventures of the travellers, the geographical data,¹⁰ and the whole framework in which this edifying story is unfolded,

¹ Such is the thesis of Weingarten, *Der Ursprung des Mönchtums*, pp. 24 et seq.

² See ch. xxix.

³ Ch. iv, viii, xi and xv.

⁴ Ch. v.

⁵ Ch. vii.

⁶ Ch. i.

⁷ Ch. ii.

⁸ Theon, ch. vi.

⁹ Ch. i.

¹⁰ The description of the mountains overhanging the Nile, where Pityrion lived (ch. xiii) is detailed enough to lead Amélineau to identify it without hesitation as Gebel-el-Ter (*De hist. Laus.*, xlvii-xlviii). But we find a certain amount of confusion in the order of succession of the towns visited by the pilgrims.

stands up to critical investigation. We can accordingly legitimately retain many significant details, and incorporate them in a general picture of Egyptian monachism.¹ It will help us to make a prudent choice if we bear in mind that the author of the *Historia Monachorum* aimed, not at writing a "history" in the strict sense of the word, but rather at bringing into relief some great personages in Egyptian monachism, and emphasising the beauty of the ascetic ideal.

The Lives of St. Pachomius

The life of the founder of cenobitism very soon led to a curiosity and an admiration which numerous biographies tried to satisfy. It seems likely that several accounts of the famous abbot were current in Coptic monastic circles before they were actually written down. It is not certain that we can get back to the earliest "tradition," but the Pachomian dossier does contain documents which cannot have been written more than fifteen or twenty years after the death of Pachomius.

This dossier is a very rich one. It comprises oriental texts (in Sahidic or Bohairic Coptic, in Arabic and in Syriac), and Greek texts, as follows:

1. Six biographies, distinguished by number (*Vita I*, *Vita II*, etc.). These are of unequal value; *Vita I* and *Vita II* give us exact data. These were published by Fr. Halkin in 1932,² with the exception of *Vita VI*, which had already been published by F. Nau and J. Bousquet in the *Patrologia Orientalis*.³ In the case of *Vita V*, which is only a compilation of *Vitae III* and *IV*, Halkin thought it sufficient to give in the critical apparatus of these two lives some interesting alternative reading.

2. A letter from Bishop Ammon to Theophilus, Patriarch of Alexandria, on the life of Pachomius and his successor Theodore. It was written between 399 and 401 by one who

¹ This is the very definite view of Dom Butler, *Texts and Studies*, VI, i, 203, and of Preuschen, who calls the *Historia Monachorum* "a historical source of the first order" (*Palladius und Rufinus*, p. 206).

² See Bibliography, p. 721.

³ *Ibid.*

was an eyewitness, at least so far as Theodore and the monastery of Pebou is concerned.¹

3. A series of independent narratives, without any sequence, and which the Bollandist Papebroch has called *Paralipomena*. Halkin has included them in his recent edition. They are apparently not much later than the fourth century.

4. Two chapters in the *Lausiac History* of Palladius. One (xxxii), fairly long, deals with Pachomius and the Tabennesiotes, the other (xxxiii) with the monastery for women.

The relations between these various documents were examined by Ladeuze in his *Etude sur le cénobitisme pachômien*, pp. 74 *et seq.*; by W. Bousset, in his *Apophthegmata*, pp. 209 *et seq.*; by Halkin, in the *Analecta Bollandiana*, 1929, pp. 376 *et seq.*, and in the Introduction to his *Sancti Pachomii Vitae Graecae*. In spite of various differences, these critics agree in recognising the superiority of the best Greek Lives over the Coptic, Arabic and Syriac sources. But Bousset nevertheless insists (p. 253) that the latter contain some historical elements which are in no wise to be neglected, but which, for various reasons, the Greek tradition neglected.

5. We also possess the *Rule* of St. Pachomius.

The Rule of Pachomius

Drawn up in Coptic, this Pachomian Rule was very soon translated into Greek. St. Jerome undertook the task of translating it into Latin, at the request of the priest Silvanus, who told him that, in the monasteries in the Thebaid, there were many monks of Latin origin who knew neither Coptic nor Greek. He joined to them eleven letters of Pachomius, and one or two *opuscula* of other abbots, who were his successors. In his Preface, he explained the manner of life of these Pachomian communities. An allusion to the then recent death of Paula, the Roman Patrician lady who was his helper and friend, fixes this work in the year 404.

This valuable dossier has come down to us in two recensions, which Dom Amand Boon has studied, for the first time, with all requisite care.²

¹ *Acta Sanctorum*, May, Vol. III, pp. 63* *et seq.*

² *Pachomiana latina*, Louvain, 1932.

1. A long recension, the only authentic one, which is conserved in eighteen MSS. Six of these are derived from one and the same archetype, and should be taken as a textual basis. But one manuscript in the National Library at Munich (*Clm* 22118, ninth century) has retained some readings from a different tradition, of which we no longer have any direct representative.

2. A short recension, which modifies the general arrangement of paragraphs and suppresses a certain number of them. We must regard it as an attempt to adapt the Rule to new circumstances. The specifically Egyptian features disappear: for instance, the cultivation of the vine replaces that of the palm tree. It seems likely that this adaptation was intended for the Italian peninsula, whence come our twelve MSS.

In 1919, Professor Lefort discovered, in a MS. of the fifth or sixth century, some Coptic fragments of the Rule in agreement with the long recension, the value of which they thus confirmed.¹ These fragments have been collected in the *Pachomiana latina*; they constitute a little less than a quarter of the Hieronymian version. The Greek fragments correspond to a third of this same version.

In spite of the well-known legend of the Angel who dictated his instructions to Pachomius,² the Rule was in fact composed only gradually. As it has come down to us, it certainly differs on more than one point from the regulations originally laid down by the Abbot. Certain indications—if only the successive conclusions which we find to sections xxii, xlvi, ciii, and cxliv—make us think that it may be merely a sort of compilation of instructions laid down by several superiors.

The Lausiac History

Palladius was born about 363-364, probably in Galatia. Desiring to know more about the "virtuous asceticism" of the Egyptian monks, and of the "admirable way of life" of these "noble athletes," he journeyed to Alexandria in

¹ Cf. *Comptes rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*, 1919, pp. 341-348.

² St. Jerome repeats this legend in the Preface to his translation (ed. Boon, p. 4, l. 10).

388. He remained three years in the convents scattered around this city, one year in the desert of Nitria, and nine in the Desert of Cells.

On his return to Bithynia, he was elected bishop at the age of thirty-six. But he still longed after the land of the "friends of God," and wished to see it again. After three years passed on the Mount of Olives, he went to the Thebaid, and lived for four years among the monks of Antinoë.

It was only when he was fifty-six years old, in 419 or 420, that he set down his memories in a series of narratives dedicated to Lausus, chamberlain to Theodosius II: whence the name of *Lausiaca History* by which his work is generally known.

His narrative was, in the course of time, amalgamated with the Greek text of the *Historia Monachorum in Aegypto*,¹ or lengthened by fresh additions. Abbot Butler has the credit of having restored the original text, or the one nearest the original, which is best represented by an Oxford MS. (Wake, no. 67, tenth century), a Paris MS. (*Parisinus gr.*, no. 1628, fourteenth century), and a MS. of Turin (no. 141, sixteenth century).²

As a result of a careful study, Abbot Butler came to conclusions similar to those already reached by Tillemont.³ Palladius is a conscientious witness; his chronology is correct, and the data of other works such as the *Historia*

¹ Cf. pp. 433 *et seq.* The interpolated text is in Migne, *P.G.*, Vol. XXXIV, 995-1278.

² In the sixteenth century only three Latin translations were known, representing three different redactions of the *Lausiaca History*. No Greek text had then been printed. Rosweyd (1615) decided in favour of the longest of the three redactions, and put the two others in an appendix. This long redaction is the one he printed as the eighth book of his *Vitae Patrum*: in reality it represents a Latin translation made from the Greek by Hervet in 1555. A Greek text artificially adjusted to this translation was published by Du Duc (Ducaeus) in 1624: this is the one we have in Migne, *P.G.*, Vol. XXXIV, 995-1260. Abbot Butler showed that this long redaction is only a compilation. The best text is the one published by De Meurs (Meursius) at Leyden in 1616: it corresponds to the Latin version printed by Le Fèvre d'Étaples in 1504, under the title of *Paradisus Heraclidis*, which Rosweyd had reproduced in his appendix. The MSS. mentioned above have led to a better text.

³ *Mémoires*, Vol. XI, p. 524.

Monachorum usually confirm him; his geographical and topographical indications prove that he had himself seen the places he describes. We are not thereby bound to accept at their full face value all the marvellous events he narrates, especially when these are given at second hand. Palladius had for some time breathed the air of this Coptic world in which the "supernatural" played, so to speak, a daily part; and it was in perfect good faith that he did his best to bring home to his readers its marvels and its consoling sweetness. For the rest, he did not conceal either the weaknesses of the monks or even their "falls," and he did not give way to the temptation to edify at all costs.

Did he make use of earlier collections? That is possible, and even probable. W. Bousset thinks that he has found the sources of chapter xxxii concerning St. Pachomius.¹ R. Reitzenstein,² who denied that Palladius had any part in the writing of the *Lausiac History*, has tried to divide this work into various parts and to assign to each its literary origin. His attempt has certainly not met with universal acceptance.³ W. Bousset, completing Reitzenstein, thinks that Palladius made use of (a) a collection of narratives concerning the monks of the Egyptian desert; (b) some documents belonging to the tradition of St. Pachomius; (c) a catalogue of Syrian holy men, briefly described; (d) possibly also a collection of lives of holy women.⁴

The Writings of Cassian

John Cassian, the future abbot of two monasteries at Marseilles, and the man who was to react so vigorously

¹ *Zeitschrift für neutestamentliche Wissenschaft*, Vol. XXI, 1922, pp. 81 *et seq.* These sources would be: (1) the text published by F. Nau in *Patrologia Orientalis*, IV, 1908, pp. 405-503 from the *Cod. Paris*, 881, tenth century; (2) the *Life of Pachomius*, published by Amélineau in the *Ann. du Musée Guimet*, Vol. XVII, 1889, pp. 337-711.

² In *Forschungen zur Religion und Literatur*, 1916 (quoted *infra*, p. 723).

³ See Dibelius, in *Wochenschrift für klassische Philologie*, 1916, pp. 1037 *et seq.*; Stiglmayr, in *Theologische Revue*, Vol. XV, 1916, pp. 303-308; Jordan, in *Theologische Literaturblatt*, Vol. XXXVIII, 1917, pp. 77-81; Staehelin, in *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, Vol. XXV, 1925, pp. 160 *et seq.*

⁴ *Göttingen Nachrichten*, 1917, 2. This article is analysed in *Revue de Philologie (Revue des Revues)*, Vol. XLII, 1918, p. 15.

against the teaching of St. Augustine on Grace and Predestination, wrote two works, the *Collationes XXIV* and the *De institutis coenobiorum*, which are of great value in the study of monastic "spirituality."

When still quite young, he had set out with his friend Germanus to visit the holy places. They remained for some years in a monastery at Bethlehem. Then the desire of "a higher perfection" made them decide to go to Egypt.

We wished to penetrate into the far off desert of the Thebaid, and to visit there the very great number of saints whose fame and renown had spread throughout the world, anxious, if we could not imitate them, at least to get to know them.¹

Their stay in Egypt lasted for not less than seven years. It must have begun about 385. Cassian then returned to Bethlehem, to defend himself before his superiors for having stayed away so long. Then he returned to Egypt, and did not leave that country before the beginning of the following century.

It seems that he did not go very far in the direction of Upper Egypt. The monks of whom he wrote lived in the desert of Scete, about forty or fifty miles south of Alexandria, between the mountains of Nitria and the Nile; or again in the neighbourhood of Thennesis, Panephrisis and Diolcos, in the Nile delta, not far from the sea. It is not certain that he carried out his plan to visit the Thebaid. Hence we cannot regard him as a witness with direct experience, at least so far as Pachomian cenobitism is concerned. He must often go by hearsay and, writing about 420 from memory, he may have fallen into involuntary confusion here and there. We also suspect, not without reason, that he may have attributed some of his own theological ideas to the "abbots" whose supposed words he records.

But for one who wishes to know the spirit of Egyptian monachism, and the ideal it pursued through so many difficulties and mortifications, these *Collationes* contain much valuable information. Also the *Instituta* tell us about the

¹ *Coll.*, XI, i, 1.

"*exterioris hominis observantia*," i.e. the life, clothing, usages and observances of the Egyptian monks.

The "Apophthegmata Patrum"

This is the title given to a collection of spiritual maxims—many contained in anecdotes, and some being linked up with marvellous events in which we have an excellent résumé of the spirit of Egyptian monachism. These "sentences" all aim more or less at recommending detachment from the world, the fear of God, the assiduous practice of fasting, the love of chastity, humility, silence, and the fight against bad thoughts.

The tradition which inspires it is that of the desert of Scete to the south of Lake Mareotis, in the western Delta of the Nile, a tradition begun by the famous Amoun, and carried on by people like Macarius, Pambo, Bessarion, etc. We find here a spirit of robust simplicity, which some prefer to the more or less artificial narratives of Athanasius, Jerome, Palladius or Cassian. Here we have an echo of the rugged sayings of the old Coptic monks, illiterate fellahs, but often endowed with a very elevated spiritual outlook.

We quote one or two specimens of these rough sayings, The Archbishop Theophilus, accompanied by an ἀρχων, went to visit the Abbot Arsenius. He tried to get the old man to talk, and put a question to him. The Abbot remained silent for a time, and then he asked: "If I say something, will you keep it to yourself?" The promise being given, he added: "When you hear it said that Arsenius is in a certain place, do not go there."¹

This same Archbishop Theophilus, feigning sadness, went one day to Scete. The "brethren" of that place asked "Abbot" Pambo to say something to the bishop which might do him good. Pambo replied: "If he does not benefit by my silence, he will benefit still less by my speech."²

It seems likely that, already in the second half of the fourth century, various stories were current in Egypt concerning the best known solitaries. These sayings were repeated,

¹ Migne, *P.L.*, Vol. LXV, 89.

² Migne, *P.L.*, Vol. LXV, 197. See also the pleasant story of Ephrem's temptation by a harlot (LXV, 168).

and their actions narrated. Doubtless some monks of the country conceived the idea of collecting these memorable facts and words for the spiritual benefit of those who would meditate upon them, and as useful propaganda for asceticism. Some compilations must have been formed in this way from the first part of the fifth century, in Coptic, Greek and Syriac. Then, towards the end of the fifth century, or in the course of the sixth, there must have been formed the large collections, arranged according to various plans, some of which have come down to us. But it must not be thought that, once they had been constituted, these collections formed, as it were, an indivisible whole. More than once portions were detached from them and circulated separately, as we see from our Greek and Latin MSS. of *Apophthegmata*.¹

We possess, in the first place, a collection in which the *Apophthegmata* are arranged in alphabetical order under the names of the best-known Fathers. These are almost always abbots (ἁββᾶς), solitaries or heads of cenobites. This collection, which is in Greek, was printed for the first time by Cotelier in his *Ecclesiae graecae Monumenta*, and reproduced by Migne in his *Patrologia graeca*.²

In addition to this collection in alphabetical order we have others, in which the *Apophthegmata* are arranged according as they favour such or such a virtue, or combat a particular vice (e.g.: *de quiete, de continentia, de fornicatione*, etc.). We can be certain that there was in existence a Greek collection made in this way, for Photius alludes to it in his *Bibliotheca* (cxcviii; Migne, *P.G.*, Vol. LIII, 664). But, among the printed texts, we know only of versions according to the Greek, in various languages: (a) a Latin version, published by the Jesuit Rosweyd as Books V and VI of his *Vitae Patrum* (Antwerp, 1615), under the title *Verba seniorum*;³

¹ Thus Dom Wilmart has found in various Latin MSS. thirty-six "sentences," all very brief, and usually introduced by the words "ait senex," "inquisitus senex respondit," "aiebant senes," which have not yet been printed. He thinks that these represent a "residue," all the rest having been arranged in didactic categories. (*Revue bénédictine*, Vol. XXXIV, 1922, pp. 185-198).

² *Ecclesiae graecae monumenta*, Vol. Ia, pp. 338-712; Migne, *P.G.*, Vol. LXV, 71-440.

³ Migne, *P.G.*, Vol. LXXIII, 855-1022.

(b) an Armenian version, published by the Mechitarists of S. Lazzaro at Venice in 1855; (c) a Coptic version, published by Zoëga, *Catalogus cod. Copt. qui in Museo Borgiano asservantur*, Rome, 1810; (d) various Syriac versions.

Wallis Budge published in 1907, together with an English translation, the text of a MS. of the thirteenth or fourteenth century discovered at Mosul, under the title *The Paradise of the Holy Fathers*. This Syriac MS. represents a compilation, made doubtless in the seventh century, by the monk Anân-Ishô, of the monastery of Beth Abhê. Wallis Budge republished his English translation in 1934, with a new Introduction and some changes. His first volume comprises the *Life of St. Anthony*, the *Paradise of Palladius*; the *Rules of Pachomius*, the *History of the Monks* "by Jerome." Vol. II includes a rich collection of *Apophthegmata*: first we have 635 "sentences" compiled apparently by Palladius, then 706 questions and answers concerning ascetical discipline.

There remains a third collection, likewise arranged according to subjects, which so far is known only in a Latin form. It comprises 44 chapters, arranged according to subject matter. Rosweyd has added it as the seventh book of his *Vitae Patrum*.¹ This translation was made, apparently, by the deacon Paschasius about 500, at the request of his Abbot Martin (see the Preface). We find there once more a certain number of *Apophthegmata* found in other compilations without methodical order. Thus, Book III of the *Vitae Patrum* contains 200, translated in the same way as those of Book VII.

All this edifying literature had an immense vogue in the Middle Ages. Our modern collections contain very numerous MSS. of *Apophthegmata*.²

The "*Vitae Patrum*"

The collection of *Vitae Patrum*, published by the learned

¹ Migne, *P.G.*, Vol. LXXIII, 1025-1066.

² See the fine work by Bousset, *Apophthegmata*, Tübingen, 1923. It is useful to know that the work of W. Gemoll, *Das Apophthegmata*, Vienna-Leipzig, 1924, does not deal with the *Apophthegmata* of the Fathers of the Desert.

Jesuit Rosweyd at Antwerp in 1615 and 1628, is formed of parts of diverse origin.¹

The first book—the longest of the ten which comprise the work—gives a series of biographies of ascetics, for instance the *Lives* of St. Paul the Hermit, St. Hilarion and St. Malchus, composed by St. Jerome, one of the *Lives* of St. Pachomius, the romance of Barlaam and Joasaph (which belongs to the seventh century), the *Lives* of St. Mary the Harlot, St. Thais, St. Pelagia, etc.

The second book is simply the *Historia Monachorum* of Rufinus.²

The third book, together with the fifth, sixth and seventh, is called *Verba seniorum*. These four books are thus collections of "apophtegmata" of the "Fathers of the Desert." The third book is attributed, doubtless wrongly, to Rufinus; the fifth seems to be a translation from a Greek text of unknown origin, made by a deacon Pelagius; the sixth, also of unknown origin, was seemingly translated by the subdeacon John; the seventh is apparently a translation made by the deacon Paschasius.

The fourth book, *De Vitis Patrum*, consists of extracts of the first *Dialogue* of Sulpicius Severus and of two big works by Cassian, the *Collationes* and the *Institutionum Libri XII*.

The eighth book presents a Latin text of the *Lausiac History* of Palladius. It is a translation made from the Greek by Hervet (Paris, 1555).

Books IX and X consist of short biographies taken from Theodoret and the *Pratum spirituale* of John Moschus.

A short appendix contains the *Paradise* of Heraclides (one of the Latin versions of the *Lausiac History*) and an *Onomasticon*.³

With the aid of the documents whose content and value

¹ Cf. Migne, *P.L.*, Vol. LXXIII, 101-708.

² Migne does not reproduce it, having already printed it, *P.L.*, Vol. XXI, 387-402.

³ The language of the *Vitae Patrum* has been studied by Salonius in 1920; by J. B. Hofmann, in the *Indogermanische Forschungen*, Vol. XLIII, 1925, pp. 80-122. P. Meyer has analysed, in *Hist. litt. de la France*, Vol. XXXIII, 1908, pp. 254-328, the versal and prose versions of the *Lives of the Fathers* current in the Middle Ages.

have just been discussed, it is possible to draw up a detailed chronology, in which the facts can be arranged, just as in any section of secular history.

§ 4. CHRONOLOGY OF PRIMITIVE MONACHISM

N.B.—The first column gives the date, exact or approximate, of the events; the second column gives the event in question; the third the place where it occurred; the fourth gives the source of our information. References are to modern authors where these conveniently give the early sources.

<i>Date</i>	<i>Fact</i>	<i>Place</i>	<i>Source</i>
234	Birth of Paul of Thebes.	Egypt	P. de Labriolle, <i>La Vie de Paul de Thèbes et la Vie d'Hilarion</i> , p. 21.
251	Birth of St. Anthony at Qeman, near Herakleopolis.	Egypt	Socrates, <i>Hist. eccles.</i> , I, xiii.
250-270	Christian ascetics retire to huts not far from certain towns and villages of Egypt.	Egypt	St. Jerome, <i>Vita Pauli</i> , v; Dionysius of Alexandria, <i>apud</i> Eusebius, <i>Hist. eccles.</i> VI, xlii.
250-257	Paul takes refuge in the desert.	Egypt	St. Jerome, <i>ibid.</i> , iv. For the value of this account, see the discussion in the previous section.
270-275	St. Anthony establishes himself in his solitude.	Egypt	St. Athanasius, <i>Life of Anthony</i> , ii.
285	St. Anthony establishes himself at Pispir.	Egypt	<i>Ibid.</i>
291-292	Birth of Hilarion at Thabata	Palestine	P. de Labriolle, <i>op cit.</i> , p. 32.
About 292	Birth of Pachomius near Esneh in the Upper Thebaid.	Egypt	Ladeuze, <i>Cénob. pakhômien</i> , p. 240.
305-306	St. Anthony organises the monastic life. He withdraws to an old castellum. A great number of hermits gather around him, but live separately.	Egypt	St. Athanasius, <i>Life of Anthony</i> , i-ii; xiv.

<i>Date</i>	<i>Fact</i>	<i>Place</i>	<i>Source</i>
About 307	Hilarion visits Anthony and inaugurates the eremitical life in Palestine seven miles from Majoma.	Palestine	St. Jerome, <i>Vita Hilar.</i> , iii.
314	Pachomius becomes a monk at Schenesit.	Egypt	<i>Vita Pachomii</i> , v.
323	Pachomius founds a monastery at Tabennisi in Upper Egypt, on the right bank of the Nile, in the neighbourhood of the present Fau Kebli.	Egypt	W. Bousset, <i>Apophthegmata Patrum</i> , p. 272.
About 325	The Egyptian Mar Awgin founds a monastery to the south of Nisibis, on the mountain Izla.	Mesopotamia	Grützmacher, in <i>Realenc. für protest. Theol. und Kirche</i> , 3rd edn., Vol. XIII, 1903, p. 222.
328	Theodore enters the monastery of Tabennisi.	Egypt	Bousset, <i>Apophth.</i> , p. 272.
329	Hilarion works his first miracle. A great number of monks gather around him.	Palestine	St. Jerome, <i>Vita Hilar.</i> , xiii-xiv, xxiv, xxix.
330	Macarius of Egypt withdraws to the desert of Scete.	Egypt	Bardenhewer, <i>Geschichte</i> , Vol. IV, p. 87.
About 330	St. Athanasius visits the Thebaid and Tabennisi for the first time.	Egypt	Cavallera, <i>Saint Athanase</i> , p. ix.
334- 335	Birth of Schenoudi.	Egypt	Ladeuze, <i>op. cit.</i> , p. 252.
About 335	Macarius of Alexandria establishes himself in the Desert of Cells.	Egypt	Bardenhewer, <i>op. cit.</i> , Vol. IV, p. 88.
Nov. 335	Athanasius exiled to Trèves.		Seeck, <i>Regesten</i> , p. 183.
About 335	St. Epiphanius founds a monastery near Eleutheropolis in Palestine.	Palestine	Cf. Epiphanius (Migne, <i>P.G.</i> , Vol. XLIII, 12).

CHRONOLOGY OF PRIMITIVE MONACHISM 449

<i>Date</i>	<i>Fact</i>	<i>Place</i>	<i>Source</i>
336-345	Aphraates, monk and abbot of the convent Mar Matthew to the east of Mosul, composes his works.	Mesopotamia	Bardenhewer, <i>op. cit.</i> , Vol. IV, p. 328.
341	St. Athanasius in Rome.	Italy	Socrates, <i>Hist. eccles.</i> , II, xi; Sozomen, <i>Hist. eccles.</i> , III, vi.
340	Mary, sister of Pachomius, founds the first convent for women at Athribis in Upper Egypt.	Egypt	Ladeuze, <i>op. cit.</i> , p. 176.
9th May 346	Death of Pachomius	Egypt	Ladeuze, <i>op. cit.</i> , p. 233; Bousset, <i>Apoph.</i> , p. 272.
346	Petronius and, two months later, Horsiisi succeed Pachomius.	Egypt	Ladeuze, <i>op. cit.</i> , p. 1.
After 345, before 365	Eusebius combines at Vercelli the monastic life with his duties as a bishop.	Italy	St. Ambrose, <i>Ep.</i> , lxiii, 66.
347	Meeting of Paul of Thebes and of St. Anthony, the former being 113 and the latter being 96 years old.	Egypt	P. de Labriolle, <i>Vie de Paul de Thèbes</i> , p. 21.
352	Amoun in Nitria in the valley of the Natron.	Egypt	Socrates, <i>Hist. eccles.</i> , IV, xxiii, Cf. Ladeuze, <i>op. cit.</i> , p. 352.
355 <i>et seq.</i>	Eustathius of Sebaste spreads monachism in Lesser Armenia, Paphlagonia and the Pontus.	Asia Minor	Sozomen, <i>Hist. eccles.</i> , III, xiv.
17th Jan., 356	Death of Anthony at 105 years of age, at Mount Quolzoum.	Egypt	P. de Labriolle, <i>Vie de Paul de Thèbes</i> , p. 21.
356-357	St. Basil visits the ascetics of Egypt, Palestine, Coele-Syria, and Mesopotamia.	Egypt	St. Basil, <i>Epist.</i> , ccxxiii, 2.

<i>Date</i>	<i>Fact</i>	<i>Place</i>	<i>Source</i>
Feb. 356- Feb. 362	Athanasius, expelled from Alexandria, lives with the monks of Thebaid.	Egypt	Bardenhewer, <i>op. cit.</i> , Vol. III, p. 50.
357	Athanasius writes the <i>Life of Anthony</i> . A Latin translation of it is made very soon. Evagrius of Antioch translates it afresh (before 379).	Egypt	<i>Ibid.</i> , Vol. III, p. 66 (the Benedictines put its redaction about 365).
About 360	St. Martin at Ligugé	Gaul	Sulpicius Severus, <i>Vita Martini</i> , vii.
About 360	St. Basil founds a monastery at Neoceasarea in the Pontus.	Asia Minor	Bardenhewer, <i>op. cit.</i> , Vol. III, p. 131.
14th Dec., 366	Funeral of Abraham Kidunaja.	Syria	Cf. P. Martin, <i>Zeitschrift für kath. Theol.</i> , Vol. XIV, 1880, pp. 426 <i>et seq.</i>
357-368	Redaction of a Greek Life of Pachomius.	Egypt	Merkel, <i>Bibliothek der Kirchenväter</i> , Vol. XXXI, p. 16.
27th April, 368	Death of Theodore, third successor to Pachomius.	Egypt	Ladeuze, <i>op. cit.</i> , p. 225.
371	Death of Hilarion.	Palestine	St. Jerome, <i>Vita Hilar.</i> , xlv.
371-377	Rufinus stays in Egypt.	Egypt	Tillemont, <i>Mémoires</i> , Vol. XII, p. 657.
After 370	St. Basil publishes his Rules at Caesarea.	Cappadocia	Bardenhewer, <i>op. cit.</i> , Vol. III, p. 142.
372	St. Martin founds Mar-moutier	Gaul	Sulpicius Severus, <i>Vita Martini</i> , x.
About 373	Massacre of 38 hermits in the region of Sinai and of 40 anchorites at Raithu, by Blemmyan pirates.	Arabia	Ammonius, in the Greek translation of the priest John, edited by Combéfis, <i>Illustrium martyrum lecti triumphi</i> , Paris, 1660, pp. 88-132.
373	Peter of Alexandria at Rome.	Italy	Bardenhewer, <i>op. cit.</i> , Vol. III, p. 103.
374	Melanie the Elder at Jerusalem	Palestine	St. Jerome, <i>Chron.</i> (ed. Helm, p. 247).

<i>Date</i>	<i>Fact</i>	<i>Place</i>	<i>Source</i>
375	Edict of Valens against the monks.		St. Jerome, <i>Chron.</i> (ed. Helm, p. 248).
375-377	St. Jerome in the desert of Chalcis.	Syria	Cavallera, <i>Saint Jérôme</i> , Vol. II, p. 154.
Between 374-379	St. Jerome writes his <i>Life of Paul of Thebes</i> .	Syria	P. de Labriolle, <i>Vie de Paul de Thèbes</i> .
378	Melanie the Elder founds at Jerusalem a monastery of 50 virgins.	Palestine	Cavallera, Vol I, p. 129.
380	The Council of Saragossa forbids the clergy to become monks through pride.	Spain	Hefele-Leclercq, <i>Hist. des conciles</i> , Vol. I, 2nd part, p. 987.
382	Evagrius of Pontus withdraws to the mountains of Nitria and the Desert of Cells.	Egypt	Bardenhewer, <i>op. cit.</i> , Vol. III, p. 93.
383	Schenoudi is put at the head of the "White Convent" at Atripa in the Thebaid.	Egypt	Bardenhewer, <i>op. cit.</i> , Vol. IV, p. 98.
About 385	Cassian begins his stay in Egypt.	Egypt	Bardenhewer, <i>op. cit.</i> , Vol. IV, p. 559.
385-399	Cassian stays with the monks of Egypt.	Egypt	Bardenhewer, <i>op. cit.</i> , Vol. IV, p. 559.
Summer 385-386	St. Jerome and Paula at Nitria	Egypt	Cavallera, <i>op. cit.</i> , Vol. I, p. 126.
386-389	Paula builds at Bethlehem a monastery for men, a monastery for women, and a hostel for pilgrims.	Palestine	Cavallera, <i>op. cit.</i> , Vol. I, p. 127.
386-392	St. Jerome writes the <i>Life of Hilarion</i> and the <i>Life of Malchus</i> .	Palestine	Cavallera, <i>op. cit.</i> , Vol. II, pp. 156-157.
388 <i>et seq.</i>	Palladius spends three years in the monasteries around Alexandria, one year in the mountains of Nitria (390), and nine years in the Desert of Cells (391-400).	Egypt	<i>Hist. Lausiaca</i> , vii, xviii, xxxv.

<i>Date</i>	<i>Fact</i>	<i>Place</i>	<i>Source</i>
389	St. Jerome takes possession of the monastery for men built by Paula at Bethlehem.	Palestine	Cavallera, <i>op. cit.</i> , Vol. I, p. 127.
About 389	Birth of St. Simon, the future Stylite, at Sisan.	Confines of Syria and Cilicia	Delehaye, <i>Les Saints Stylites</i> , p. xxiv
About 390	Death of Macarius of Egypt.	Egypt	Bardenhewer, <i>op. cit.</i> , Vol. III, p. 87.
394-395	Paulinus withdraws to Nola.	Italy	Schanz, <i>op. cit.</i> , Vol. IV, 1, p. 422.
394-401-402	Greek redaction of the <i>Vita Monachorum in Aegypto</i> .		Abbot C. Butler, in <i>Texts and Studies</i> , Vol. VI, 1, pp. 257 <i>et seq.</i>
About 395	Sulpicius Severus writes the <i>Life of St. Martin</i> .	Gaul	Schanz, <i>op. cit.</i> , Vol. IV, 1, p. 475.
11th Nov., 397	Death of St. Martin.	Gaul	<i>Ibid.</i>
399	Death of Evagrius of Pontus.	Egypt	Bardenhewer, <i>op. cit.</i> , Vol. III, p. 93.
400	Palladius goes from Egypt to Bethlehem.	Palestine	<i>Hist. Lausiaca</i> , xxxv.
399-400	Letter of Amoun to the Patriarch Theophilus on Pachomius and Theodore.	Egypt	Ladeuze, <i>op. cit.</i> , p. 109.
401-402	Postumianus in Egypt.	Egypt	Sulpicius Severus, <i>Dialogue</i> , I, 1.
403	St. Jerome mentions monks in Persia, India and Ethiopia.	Egypt	St. Jerome, <i>Epist.</i> , cvii, 2 (ed. Hilberg, Vol. II, p. 292, l. 13).
402-410	Rufinus composes (or rather translates from the Greek) the <i>Historia Monachorum in Aegypto</i> .	Italy	Schanz, <i>op. cit.</i> , Vol. IV, 1, p. 422.
26th Jan., 404	Death of Paula.	Palestine	Cavallera, <i>op. cit.</i> , Vol. I, p. 294.
404	Jerome translates the <i>Rule of St. Pachomius</i> .	Palestine	Cavallera, <i>op. cit.</i> , Vol. II, p. 163.

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<i>Date</i>	<i>Fact</i>	<i>Place</i>	<i>Source</i>
About 404	Sulpicius Severus publishes his <i>Dialogues</i> .	Gaul	Schanz, <i>op. cit.</i> , Vol. IV, 2, p. 475.
About 410	St. Honoratus at Lerins.	Gaul	Bardenhewer, <i>op. cit.</i> , Vol. IV, p. 567.
410	Deaths of Melanie the Elder and of Rufinus.	Palestine— Sicily	Schanz, <i>op. cit.</i> , Vol. IV, 1, p. 415.
412	Arrival of St. Simon the Stylite at Tellnesin in Syria, near Antioch.	Syria	Delehaye, <i>Les Saints Stylites</i> , p. xvi.
About 415	Cassian founds two convents at Marseilles.	Gaul	Bardenhewer, <i>op. cit.</i> , Vol. IV, p. 559.
419	Melanie the Younger and Pinianus, her husband, visit the monasteries of Egypt.	Egypt	Cavallera, <i>op. cit.</i> , Vol. I, p. 332.
419- 420	Palladius publishes the <i>Historia Lausiaca</i> .	Bithynia	Bardenhewer, <i>op. cit.</i> , Vol. IV, p. 153.
420	Cassian completes his <i>De Institutis Coenobiorum</i> .	Gaul	Schanz, <i>op. cit.</i> , Vol. IV, p. 514.
424	Letter of Augustine to a convent of nuns (<i>Epist.</i> , ccxi) = <i>Rule of St. Augustine</i> .	Africa	Migne, <i>P.L.</i> , Vol. XXXIII, 960; Vienna <i>Corpus</i> , Vol. LVII, p. 356. The date is uncertain : cf. P. de Labriolle, <i>Choix d'écrits spirituels de saint Augustin</i> , Paris, 1932, p. 85.
425- 450	Monachism develops in Great Britain and in Ireland.		H. Zimmer, art. <i>Keltische Kirche</i> , in <i>Realenc. für protest. Theologie</i> , Vol. XX.
426- 429	Cassian completes his <i>Collationes</i> , begun shortly after 420.	Gaul	Schanz, <i>op. cit.</i> , Vol. IV, 2, p. 514.
435	Death of Cassian.	Gaul	<i>Ibid.</i>
About 444	Theodoret writes his <i>Religious History</i> .	Syria	Bardenhewer, <i>op. cit.</i> , Vol. IV, p. 241.
451	The Council of Chalcedon makes certain regulations concerning monachism.	Bithynia	Canons 4; 8; 23-24 (Hefele-Leclercq, <i>op. cit.</i> , Vol. II, 2nd Part, pp. 779 <i>et seq.</i>).

<i>Date</i>	<i>Fact</i>	<i>Place</i>	<i>Source</i>
24th July, 459	Death of St. Simon the Stylite.	Syria	Delehaye, <i>Les Saints Stylites</i> , p. xv.
466	Death of Schenoudi at the age of 118.	Egypt	Bardenhewer, <i>op. cit.</i> , Vol. IV, p. 98.
529- 530	Benedict of Nursia founds the monastery of Monte Cassino.	Italy	Schanz, <i>op. cit.</i> , Vol. IV, 2 p. 591.

II. EVOLUTION OF PRIMITIVE MONACHISM IN THE EAST

§ I. GENERAL OUTLINE

It was in Egypt that monachism arose, in the second half of the third century. In its original form, under men like Anthony and Paul of Thebes (if the latter was really a historical personage), it was simply a form of anchoretical life. The monk lived in the desert, usually fairly close to the Nile; and even when he was close to other monks he lived in a separate cell, and was not subject to any common rule.

It was not until 323 that Pachomius founded the first monastery at Tabennisi in Upper Egypt on the right bank of the Nile, some three hundred miles to the south of the modern city of Cairo, thus inaugurating the "cenobitical" life. The monks were here under a regular and codified discipline. They devoted themselves to manual labour and to the study of the Scriptures.

This second form of ascetical life was developed, made more definite, and inspired with a new spirit by St. Basil of Caesarea, in the second half of the fourth century.

Anthony, Pachomius, and Basil are the three names which sum up the primitive history of monachism in the East.

§ 2. VARIETY OF ASPECTS OF MONACHISM

For the rest, it would be illusory to regard monastic life in Egypt in the fourth century as a homogeneous whole.

The ascetical forms were very varied, and, far from being mutually exclusive, offered rather to different temperaments appropriate ways of life and wide possibilities of renewal.

St. Jerome, when writing to give to Eustochium a general view of Egyptian monachism, distinguished three types of monks:¹ the cenobites, the anchorites, and a third category, the "remnuoth," of whom he speaks rather slightly and who lived for the most part in the towns and villages in groups of two or three, without any superiors—quarrelsome, vain, mischief-making, and on festival days gorging themselves "until they vomited." Jerome is here simplifying the facts somewhat, for the sake of brevity. Confining ourselves for the moment to the first two kinds, we ought to distinguish the recluses who shut themselves up in some retreat, sometimes for as long as ten years, receiving through the charity of the public the things they needed for life through an aperture;² the anchorites, who installed themselves in old tombs on the sides of mountains—in places where a stream or a spring would ensure a supply of water—without foregoing all contact with their fellow men;³ the hermits, who, while retaining their autonomy, chose or constructed their dwellings in the neighbourhood of other cells and met together once or twice a week for religious services;⁴ the cenobites who were able by a special organisation to satisfy their desire for solitude within the framework of the common life;⁵ and lastly, the cenobites whose lives were really lived in common.

This enumeration is not exhaustive. But we may say, speaking generally and for convenience, that the cenobitic groupings succeeded to the isolation of the hermits, and that is precisely how the first historians of monachism represent the course of events.

¹ *Epist.*, xxii, 34.

² E.g. John of Lycopolis (*Hist. Laus.*, xxxv); Alexandra (*ibid.*, v).

³ Cf. Schmitz, in *Römische Quartalschrift*, Vol. XXXVII, 1929, pp. 204, 221.

⁴ References in MacKean, *op cit.*, p. 79.

⁵ Schmitz, *art. cit.*, p. 223.

§ 3. ST. ANTHONY AND THE ANCHORITES

His Biography

Anthony was born at Qeman to the south of Masr (Memphis) in 251. He belonged to a well-to-do family which professed Christianity. While still a young man, he lost his parents. At about eighteen to twenty years of age he heard the divine call: he abandoned his lands to those near him, sold his possessions, and distributed to the poor the remainder of his fortune, after providing for the maintenance of a sister.¹ He put himself under the direction of an old man, who had long lived an ascetical life in a neighbouring village: he worked with his hands, he prayed, and read the Bible.

The devil tried to tempt him in various ways, and Anthony repelled his assaults by means of penances which became increasingly rigorous.² Very soon he installed himself in an old tomb hollowed out from the side of the mountain.³ There he suffered such cruel assaults from the evil one that sometimes he was exhausted and prostrated by them.⁴

A few years later, he withdrew to the desert, and lived as a recluse for twenty years in a ruined fort (*castellum*) full of snakes, which fled at his approach. He already had followers, who from time to time heard from afar the shouts of the demons expelled from their domain.⁵

When he decided to leave his retreat, the eremitical life developed around him. A number of "monasteries" (i.e. cells, each one inhabited by a solitary) came into existence, of which he was, as it were, the "father."⁶ He performed works of healing, physical and moral. He also gave instructions to his monks, consisting above all of warnings against the devils, their tactics and their deceptions.⁷

For the rest, he did not cease to take an interest in the life of the Church: during the persecution of Maximin in

¹ *Vita Antonii*, ii.⁴ *Ibid.*, viii-ix.² *Ibid.*, v-vi.⁵ *Ibid.*, xii-xiv.⁷ *Ibid.*, xvi-xliii.³ *Ibid.*, viii.⁶ *Ibid.*, xv.

311 he helped the confessors in the mines and in the prisons of Alexandria.¹

When he returned to his monks, the importunity of the crowds led him to seek a new retreat in the upper Thebaid. About 312 he joined a caravan of "Sarrasins," and for three days and three nights he journeyed along the banks of the Red Sea. He stopped close to a high mountain (Mount Quolzoum), at the foot of which there was a spring surrounded by a few palm trees.²

There he spent the rest of his days. But on one occasion he returned to visit his colony of hermits, who welcomed him with delight.³ A few months before his death he reappeared at Alexandria to fight the Arians.⁴ Some fifteen years previously, he had given permission to two of his disciples, Macarius and Amathas, to rejoin him.⁵

He died at the age of a hundred and five, on the 17th of January 356. He is the father and model of the anchorites of the desert.

The Life of a Monk in the Desert

The life of a monk in the desert was not an idle one: it was a fight, and he had to be constantly on the watch for the manifold attacks of the devil.

The evil spirits, we are told, are spread throughout the air, and, like human beings, each has his own character, his aims and his tactics.⁶ Moreover, just as every man has his own guardian angel, so also he must shun the bad angel attached to his person, who is ever seeking opportunities to lead him astray.⁷

When a monk devotes all his endeavours to attain to holiness, he particularly arouses the jealous reactions of the spirit of darkness. He can never relax his efforts, for the warfare within his soul admits of no truce.

The Noonday Devil

Amongst the many temptations the monk constantly experienced, there was, it seems, no one more difficult and

¹ *Ibid.*, xlvi.

² *Vita Antonii*, xlix.

³ *Ibid.*, lv.

⁴ *Ibid.*, lxviii *et seq.*

⁵ St. Jerome, *Vita Pauli*, i.

⁶ Cassian, *Collat.*, VII, xxxii.

⁷ *Ibid.*

severe than the one suggested to him by "the noonday devil."

This expression, "the noonday devil," occurs, as we know, in the sixth verse of Psalm xcī (Vulgate xc). The original Hebrew means literally "the destruction which wasteth at noonday." But the Hellenistic Jews of Alexandria—the "Seventy"—who translated the Old Testament into Greek in the third century B.C., somewhat arbitrarily rendered the Hebrew terms by δαιμονίου μεσημβρινοῦ because of the similarity between certain roots. Hence we get the *daemonio meridiano* of the Vulgate Latin.

This mysterious demon greatly embarrassed the Catholic exegetes.¹ In monastic circles he was regarded as the malevolent source of the terrible ennui which a monk felt towards midday, and which made him dislike his brethren, his cell and himself.

John Cassian, who had lived for ten years among the monks of the Egyptian delta and the desert of Nitria, has given a remarkably detailed description of this feeling in his *Instituta Coenobiorum*.²

Here is the passage, which shows much psychological insight.

Cassian first of all explains that the phenomenon he is going to describe is called ἀκηδία in Greek, an expression which can be rendered in Latin by *taedium* or *anxietas cordis*. It is especially about the sixth hour (midday) that this anxiety tortures a monk, like a fever which returns at fixed times, and some of the elders ("nonnulli senum"—this means the early representatives of monachism)³ affirm that we must see in it the action of "the noonday demon" mentioned in Psalm xc.

When this demon gets the mastery over the soul of the unfortunate [monk], he gives him a horror of his surroundings; he hates his cell; he despises and condemns his brethren who live with him or near him, and

¹ See on all this P. de Labriolle, *Le Démon de Midi*, in *Bulletin du Cange*, Vol. IX, 1934.

² X, ii, 3.

³ *Senes* or *Seniores* in Cassian sometimes means the "abbots" of the monastery, and at other times the great forerunners or monks of the early days. See the Petschenig edition in the *Vienna Corpus*, Vol. XVII, p. 514.

he regards them as negligent or as not very "spiritual." This demon makes him soft and lazy in regard to all the tasks he ought to perform in his dwelling. He does not allow him to remain in his cell, or to apply himself to reading [of the Scriptures]. The monk frequently complains of the little progress he has made in his long stay there, and the poor spiritual fruit which he can hope to gain thereby as long as he is tied to such inferior companions. . . . He might direct, and be of service to other souls—and he is edifying nobody, and benefiting no one by his direction or his knowledge!

He praises the monasteries which are far away from his own. He speaks of them as places in which progress and salvation are much easier; he describes the pleasure, the spiritual profit which follows for those who dwell with those who live there. By contrast, everything at hand is full of bitterness and disappointment. Hard labour is scarcely enough to procure him the minimum for existence! There is no salvation possible for him if he remains where he is and does not abandon his cell. It will be all up with him unless he departs, and he must do so as quickly as possible!

Cassian continues his analysis of this state of soul, already affected by moral instability, interior discontent, and an ardent desire for something different.

About the fifth or six hour [i.e. towards eleven o'clock or noon], he seems so tired physically and so depressed that he feels as though he has made a long journey, and has performed a very difficult task, or has fasted for two or three days. He looks all round him; he sighs when he realises that none of his brethren comes to see him. He constantly goes out of his cell, and then re-enters it; he turns his head constantly towards the sun, as though the sun is moving too slowly towards its decline.

The result of this *inrationabilis confusio mentis*, this unreasonable mental disturbance, is, Cassian concludes, a marked weakness of the spiritual life, a morbid desire to sleep, to go and visit brethren or the sick who are far off,

or again some particular lady, *religiosam devotamque deo feminam*, who has no other relative to look after her. Is it not a duty of piety to visit her often, in order to provide her with the help she needs? Are not these charitable excursions much better than to shut oneself up in a cell, without profit either for others or for oneself?

Such are the disastrous thoughts suggested to the monk by the *spiritus acediae*, the noonday demon, and which, if he does not resist, will turn him into a *militae suae fugitivus*, and a *desertor Christi miles*.

Cassian was not the only one to give this clinical description of the malady, but his account is the most complete. We find an outline of it, in varying degrees of development, in Evagrius of Pontus, who seems chronologically to have been the first to have described it.¹ We find it again in Nilus of Ancyra, a contemporary of Cassian.² Finally, John Climachus, in the seventh century, in his well-known *Ladder of Paradise*, so popular with the clergy of the Middle Ages, has given in his turn a lengthy description of this "interior languor," as he calls it, "which towards midday comes to those who are leading the religious life."³

Demoniacal Violence

But this interior and mental effect is not the only one which the demon produces. He also manifests himself in visible interventions, and often in terrifying apparitions. The earliest historians of monachism tell us that the first solitaries had to suffer from these demoniacal manifestations much more than those who came after them. "The violence [of the evil spirits] was then so great," says Cassian once more, "that only a small number, of well-tried virtue and of advanced age, were able to support a sojourn in solitude. Even in the monasteries, in which eight or ten dwelt together, the ferocity of the demons raged so cruelly, and so frequent were their attacks in visible form, that the monks

¹ Cassian wrote his *Instituta* about 420, and Evagrius died in 399. Cf. *De octo vitiosis cogitationibus*, in Migne, *P.G.*, Vol. XL, 1271.

² *De octo spir. mal.*, Migne, *P.G.*, Vol. LXIX, 1159.

³ XIII, 5-9.

did not dare to sleep all the night, and had to take turns in watching."¹

Forms of the Apparitions

What form did the demon take to attack or worry the anchorites? The archaeologist Edouard le Blant has said that no figured monument depicts the Evil One. "Faithfully interpreting the sentiment of spiritual joy which, according to the precept of the Apostle, should animate the new world, primitive Christian art avoided any representation of a terrifying or lugubrious character. . . . The semi-bestial figure of the Devil which we find in the Middle Ages does not belong to Antiquity."² On the other hand, the texts present him under the most diverse forms. Sometimes he takes the appearance of an animal: an asp,³ an ass,⁴ a monstrous cock,⁵ a hippocentaur,⁶ a human being with the arms and legs of a donkey,⁷ a dragon seventy cubits long,⁸ or a monster with three heads.⁹ St. Anthony saw the four walls of his cell open, and the demons rushing upon him in the form of lions, bears, leopards, bulls, asps and scorpions, with growls, hisses and terrifying noises.¹⁰ At other times the

¹ *Collat.*, VII, xxiii. Cassian discusses in this same chapter the reasons for this diminution of the power to harm. Either the power of the Cross, which has penetrated to the middle of the deserts, has repressed their malice, or else the lukewarmness of souls has made it unnecessary for the demons to take much trouble to conquer them.

² *Rendiconti della Reale Accademia dei Lincei*, anno CCLXXXIV, 1887, Rome, 1888. M. Emile Mâle writes: "It was apparently in the eleventh century that the monastic artists evolved the Satanic monsters of the later age. We find the first traces of it in the *Apocalypse* of St. Severus in the Bibliothèque Nationale, with its fleshless body, its bristling hairs, and wings armed with stings. In great monumental art, we find it beginning at Moissac, Beaulieu and Souillac at the commencement of the twelfth century, in all its novelty." (Address at the annual public assembly of the Académie des Inscriptions, 18th of Nov., 1921, *Docum. cathol.*, July-Dec., 1921, p. 487.)

³ *Hist. Lausiac.* of Palladius, ii, 4.

⁴ *Ibid.*, xvi, 6.

⁵ *Vita Pachomii*, xvii.

⁶ St. Jerome, *Vita Pauli*, vii.

⁷ *Vita Antonii*, liii.

⁸ *Hist. Laus.*, xxii, 12 (p. 179): that was how the devil came out from the body of one possessed.

⁹ *Gospel of Nicodemus* (Thilo, *Evang. Apocr.*, p. 729).

¹⁰ *Vita Antonii*, ix.

evil spirit presented himself to the anchorites in the form of a human being, such as "a hideous Ethiopian" who gives out flames of fire;¹ or "very ugly little Ethiopians," who amuse themselves by distracting the monks during the night office;² or clerical disputers who presented themselves to Evagrius and brought forward difficulties concerning the Faith (one said he was an Arian; the second a Eunomian; a third an Apollinarian).³ The devil also knew how to practise clever deceptions, setting for souls the snares of beautiful faces and figures. In the desert of Scete, the monk Pachomius saw coming towards him a young Ethiopian girl whom, when he was himself young, he had noticed gleanings one summer day. She sat on his knee, and tempted him to sin. He boxed her ears, and she suddenly disappeared; but for the next two years Pachomius could scarcely bear the horrible smell of his own hand.⁴ Some women dressed in an immodest manner, or proudly displaying their nudity, occasionally haunted the dreams or the waking moments of the monks, with lascivious attitudes and pressing appeals.⁵

The methods of the demon were as varied as the appearances he assumed. Sometimes he terrified people by his phantasms, his sudden attacks, and even by his brutality. He struck the monk Moses with such a terrible blow on the back that the latter fainted on the spot.⁶ He inflicted upon

¹ Cassian, *Collat.*, I, xxi, 1. Cf. *ibid.*, IX, vi, 8. Already at the beginning of the third century, St. Perpetua had, on the eve of the day when she was to be delivered to wild beasts, a vision showing her an *Aegyptius foedus specie* who fought her, and whom she finally recognised as the devil (*Passio ss. Felic. et Perp.*, x).

² *Hist. Monach.*, xxix; *ibid.*, vii.

³ *Hist. Laus.*, xxviii, 11. We may mention here that St. Martin will see the devil "under the mask of Jupiter, usually with that of Mercury, and often also in the form of Venus and Minerva." One day he manifested himself to St. Martin "surrounded with a sparkling light . . . clothed with a royal mantle, crowned with a diadem of precious stones and of gold, with gold-embroidered shoes, a calm appearance and a happy expression," and said he was Christ! Cf. Sulpicius Severus, *Vita Martini*, xxii and xxiv; *Dialogues*, II, xiii.

⁴ *Hist. Laus.*, xxiii, 5.

⁵ *Vitae Patrum*, i; *Vita Antonii*, v; *Vita Hilarionis*, vii; *Vita Pachomii*, xvii; xlix; *Hist. Monachorum*, i, xv.

⁶ *Hist. Laus.*, xix, 2.

Anthony such painful injuries that the saint could no longer stand upright.¹ This kind of intimidation was quite frequent. But he exercised his evil influence still more on the morality of the ascetic, by suggesting unpleasant thoughts which led to real internal distress,² or by kindling impure flames in him, or a desire for sexual pleasure. Sometimes, instead of injuring the monk, the devil cultivated mockery. When Pachomius, after he had fled to the desert to pray, returned to his monastery, he saw demons marching pompously in front of him, like lictors before a magistrate, and saying to each other: "Make room for the man of God!" Or again, the demons formed groups, in order to pull apart with thick cords a leaf of a tree. They hoped by this ridiculous manifestation to make the holy man lose his seriousness, as though a burst of laughter would open his soul to less noble thoughts.³

The Monk's Armoury

How, in this constantly renewed struggle, was the monk to hold his own? That he was sometimes conquered is not at all concealed in the early narratives. St. Anthony referred to "the unhappy experiences and the innumerable falls of so many solitaires."⁴ One old man named Heron had, after fifty years of desert life and mortification, given way to illusions of pride.⁵ A monk of Mesopotamia, known for his virtues and his labours, allowed himself to be abused by diabolical visions, and had gone over to Judaism.⁶ The urge to wander about, and inconsistency in aims, affected the soul of more than one ascetic.⁷ If no one sought to excuse them, it was because they had obviously and culpably neglected the incomparable means of resistance at their disposal. The first masters of asceticism affirm that it would be a very great error to overestimate the power of the demon. He is revealed by certain signs, one of these being his unpleasant

¹ *Vita Antonii*, viii. Cf. *Historia Monach.*, i.

² *Ibid.*

³ *Vita Pachomii*, xvii. Henri Bremond remarks that "we have here the humour of the desert, which the Middle Ages will take care not to deny" (*Les Pères du Désert*, Preface, I, p. xxvii).

⁴ Cassian, *Coll.*, II, ii, 3.

⁵ *Ibid.*, II, v.

⁶ *Ibid.*, II, viii.

⁷ *Ibid.*, VII, xxiii.

odour;¹ and another, still more characteristic, is the moral uneasiness and the anxious and morbid impression he inevitably leaves in minds upon which he has worked.² Again, he is more shortsighted than one would think. He is a poor psychologist; he has no access into the inner sanctuary of consciousness. He has to conjecture by external indications, attitude, speech, or facial expression, what is passing within, and to act accordingly.³ Even when he has half succeeded, the one tempted still has powerful means of putting the tempter to flight: the sign of the Cross, holy invocations, or verses of Scripture quickly recited. The Saviour has arranged in his sovereign goodness that the defence should be equal to the attack.⁴

Monachal Asceticism

For the rest, the best safeguard against these brutish or cunning obsessions is for the monk to gain gradually that utter purity of heart "which is acquired, not by rest and tranquillity, but by continuous effort and contrition of spirit."⁵

To be ready to suffer all things, to live modestly, to pray without ceasing—these are the ways to emancipate oneself from slavery to the senses. The body is usually regarded as an enemy which has to be mastered. "I want to kill it, since it kills me," said the aged Dorotheus, after living sixty years in a cavern.⁶

The early narratives are full of allusions to the severe fasts to which many ascetics gave themselves up in order to weaken their passions. St. Jerome reveals in one sentence the motive for these prodigious abstinences: "It is not that God, the Creator and Master of the universe, rejoices in the roaring of our bellies, the emptiness of our stomachs, or the ardent thirst of our lungs: but there is no other way of safeguarding chastity."⁷ Cassian, who always aims at moderation, puts in the mouth of Abbot Moses some wise warnings against immoderate fasts, which are often only a

¹ Cf. *supra*, p. 462.

² *Vita Antonii*, xxxvi.

³ Cassian, *Coll.*, VII, xv.

⁴ *Ibid.*, VII, xx, 2.

⁵ *Ibid.*, IV, xii, 4.

⁶ *Heraclidis Paradisus*, I.

⁷ *Epist.*, xxii, 11: "... sed quod aliter pudicitia tuta esse non possit."

deception of the devil.¹ He prefers a frugal repast, which neither weakens nor weighs one down. To remain a little hungry, and never to take quite enough of anything, even bread and water, will ensure chaste sleep and a tranquil imagination.² Those are wrong who think that "the purity of the perfect" is attained simply by abstinence. This is only a means which strengthens us in the combat against the other vices.³

Luxury is the most redoubtable enemy of the monk. Cassian gives a noteworthy description of its dangers, and how, in minds of a certain degree of culture, it is nourished by the recollection of secular reading.⁴ He describes its sudden return, after long periods of security;⁵ the unexpected strength it derives from certain imprudent meditations on sins previously committed.⁶ To repulse carnal suggestions, no method seems rigorous enough. Ammonius, a disciple of Pambo, applied a red hot iron to his members, already marked with former burns.⁷ These harsh methods were indeed rather exceptional. But an ever watchful prudence governed all relations with the opposite sex. Some pushed this to an extreme:

One day the Abbot Paul was on his way to the cell of an old man, in company with Abbot Archebius who, like him, dwelt in the desert of Panephris. It chanced that there was a woman on the way. Dismayed by this meeting, Paul at once renounced the duty of charity which had led him to undertake his visit; he turned back, and ran towards his monastery quicker than one would do at the sight of a lion or of a monstrous dragon.⁸

An excess of zeal? Cassian agrees. And he does not omit to point out that Abbot Paul was very soon punished for this "phobia," this immoderate flight at the sight of women. For he was struck down with paralysis, and he had to be taken to a monastery of holy nuns who, with the devotion

¹ *Coll.*, I, xx.

² *Coll.*, II, xxiii; XXII, ii.

³ *Coll.*, V, xxvi.

⁴ *Coll.*, XIV, xiii.

⁵ *Coll.*, VII, vii.

⁶ *Coll.*, XIX, xvi; XX, ix.

⁷ *Hist. Laus.*, xi, 4.

⁸ *Coll.*, VII, xxvi.

of their sex (*femineo obsequio*), bestowed upon him freely for four years the care which he could ask for only by signs!

The strict rules of prudence seemed insufficient to many Eastern monks. They sought for refinements of discomfort, hunger, and privation of sleep, and multiplied their austerities, as soon as they learnt of brethren here and there who were themselves doing more. This kind of emulation is a feature found especially among the monks of Nitria. Thus, according to Palladius, Macarius of Alexandria could never hear of some unusual mortification, or more extreme self denial, without adopting it and exceeding it.¹

"*Apatheia*"

This warfare against human nature, when it resulted from really elevated motives and not from a kind of vain emulation, brought to the monk a profound peace, in which he lost not only the temptation to evil but even the thought of it.² This *apatheia*—an incomparable reward—reinforced his spiritual energy while he was still in this world.

This idea of *apatheia* was a very old one in Greek philosophy. Epicureans and Stoics regarded "apathy" as one of the privileges of their ideal Wise Man, with this difference, that the Stoics admitted a certain sensibility, entirely under control, in the wise man, while the Epicureans thought he should be quite impassible.³

The Latins found it difficult to translate this Greek word. Seneca did not like "*impatientia*," for this suggests an idea quite the contrary of that which it is desired to express. He preferred a circumlocution, such as "*invulnerabilis animus*" or "*animus extra omnem patientiam positus*."⁴ St. Jerome later on suggested "*impassibilitas*" or "*imperturbatio*."⁵

The word *apatheia* is foreign to the language of the New

¹ *Hist. Laus.*, xviii.

² Cf. Cassian, *Coll.*, XII, xi, xii, xvi; XX, v.

³ This is the distinction indicated by Seneca, *Epist.*, I, ix, 3. Other texts in the *De vita beata*, iv; *De const. sap.*, viii; *De tranq. an.*, xiv.

⁴ *Ibid.* Cicero describes it thus: "*omni animi perturbatione vacare*" (*Tuscul.*, IV, iv, 8).

⁵ *Epist.*, cxxxiii, 3; *In Jerem.*, iv, proem.

Testament and the Apostolic Fathers; yet Ignatius twice applies the corresponding adjectives ἀπαθής to the glorious Christ. The idea it expresses was familiar to Philo, who says in his *Allegorical Commentary on the Holy Laws* that, according to Moses, "one should suppress and withdraw all the heart from the soul," and that "the soul is satisfied, not by moderation, but by the complete absence of passions" (ἀλλὰ συνόλως ἀπάθειαν ἀγαπῶν).¹ Clement of Alexandria, who had studied Philo, made *apatheia* one of the essential virtues of his "Christian gnostic."²

This theory of stages of moral progress, ending in an absolute interior calm, became speedily familiar to the monks and the guides who taught them. The word occurs often in the *Lausiaca History* of Palladius. It there signifies the complete extinction of desire, of whatever nature, but above all of sensual desire.³ When he has reached this complete serenity, the ascetic rejoices in a state of soul which makes him resemble in some ways that of the "cynics." He regards himself as "dead to the world," and no longer cares what the world may think of him. Serapion, going from Egypt to Rome, met there a virgin who was solitary and taciturn, caring for nothing save "to journey towards God." He suggested to her that she should walk through the city with him, both in a state of nakedness and carrying on their shoulders parcels containing their clothes. She refused and protested.

Then he said to her: "Now you see that you should not take pride in yourself as being more devout than all others, and dead to the world. I am more dead than you, for I would do that without emotion (ἀπαθῶς) and without shame."⁴

Evagrius of Pontus, who was a monk in the Desert of

¹ *Comm. Alleg.*, III, xlv, 129.

² *Strom.*, II, 19; VI, 9; VII, 3; VII, 11. To become "impassible" is for Clement a way of imitating God, who is himself impassible. Cf. art. by Mme Lot-Borodine, *La doctrine de la déification dans l'Eglise grecque*, in *Revue de l'Hist. des Religions*, Vol. CVI, Sept.-Dec. 1932, pp. 528 et seq.

³ Characteristic texts in *Hist. Laus.*, Prol. 8; viii, 4; xlviii, 3; lix, 1.

⁴ *Ibid.*, xxxvii, 15.

Cells from 382, and died there in 399, also made himself an apostle of *apatheia*.¹ He had written a complete work on this ideal virtue, if we may believe St. Jerome, who tells us that his writings were widespread in the East and, thanks to a Latin translation by Rufinus, had many readers also in the West.² In spite of a certain amount of opposition, the doctrine of the *apatheia* will still have in the sixth century an ardent defender in St. John Climachus, in his *Ladder of Paradise*.³ There are thirty steps on this Ladder, and the twenty-ninth corresponds to *apatheia*, being next to immortality and supreme contemplation (*theoria*).

The Happiness of the Solitary

The soul in which the murmur of the passions has been finally hushed, and who is freed from carnal servitude, enjoys wonderful privileges. As a reward for their renunciation, the monks enjoy an interior serenity which must be envied by worldly people, and an absence of needs which frees them from the pressing cares in which these others are consumed.⁴ They have gone beyond the dangerous zone of the passions and feelings. The humility of their hearts provides a basis for the true knowledge of the Scriptures; they obtain the light of doctrine, and the understanding of spiritual secrets;⁵ they contemplate without effort the marvels found in the Holy Books.⁶ Free now from fear, their souls are inflamed with charity, and divine love. An immense joy fills them.⁷ They no longer even notice that they pray.⁸ And some, transported into the mysterious regions of ecstasy, "exult

¹ Cf. *Capita pract. ad Anatolium*, xxxv-xlii.

² *Epist.*, cxxxiii, 3-5. St. Jerome remains himself very sceptical about any claim to *apatheia*. If it is reached, he writes, "the soul is a rock, or rather it is God." This expression was in great favour in Origenist circles, and that was not a point in its favour. But it was never regarded as suspect doctrinally.

³ Migne, *P.G.*, Vol. LXXXVIII, 631 *et seq.*

⁴ *Coll.*, XXIV, xxx.

⁵ *Coll.*, XIV, x.

⁶ Cassian, *Inst.*, v, 33-34.

⁷ *Coll.*, XI, vii, 12.

⁸ *Coll.*, IX, xxxi.

in the company of their Lord.”¹ But this privilege is rare, as is the perfection to which it is attached.²

§ 4. PACHOMIUS AND CENOBITISM³

It is to Pachomius that the writers of his biographies and his successors, Horsii and Theodore, clearly attribute the first steps in the direction of “cenobitism.” St. Jerome also singles him out, without however omitting to mention those who continued his work. The Hieronymian translation of the *Rule* has as its title: “*Praecepta patris nostri Pachomii . . . qui fundavit conversationem coenobiorum a principio per mandatum Dei.*”⁴

Pachomius had been a disciple of a certain Palamon at Schenesit. This Palamon was accustomed to give spiritual direction to a group of anchorites, as St. Anthony had done. But he did not impose the common life on them, and there is no reason to attribute to him the original idea and the first realisation of cenobitism, seeing that all the biographies of Pachomius attribute these expressly to the latter.

Stages of his Reform

Pachomius did not suddenly introduce the reform he had

¹ Macarius of Egypt, *Hom.* viii. It is possible that these homilies have been modified by Messalian heretics. Cf. L. Villecourt, *La date et l'origine des Homélies spirit.*, Paris, 1920.

² *Coll.* XIX, ix. A very complete selection of significant texts on monastic spirituality will be found in the *Enchiridion Asceticum* of Rouet de Journel and J. Dutilleul, Freiburg in Bresgau, 1930.

³ St. Jerome uses the word “coenobium” in letter xxii *Ad Eustochium*. Hilberg, the editor of the work in the Vienna *Corpus*, Vol. LIV, remarks (p. 196) that this is an adjective = κοινόβιον γένος. Jerome gives the Coptic equivalent, *sauhes*, and adds, “nos ‘in commune viventes’ possumus appellare.” *Coenobium* appears again in section 35: “qui plures in commune habitant, id est, quos vocari ‘coenobium’ diximus.” The word “coenobitae,” which is found in the above passage in some MSS. (*Epist.*, xxii, 34), certainly appears in a law of 398 inserted in the *Theodosian Code*, IX, xl, 16 pr. Cassian speaks of “coenobiotae,” and paraphrases the term thus: “qui scilicet in congregatione pariter consistentes unius senioris iudicio gubernantur” (*Coll.* XVIII, iv). “Coenobialis” is not found before Cassian. “Coenobitismus” does not belong to early Latin.

⁴ Ed. Boon, pp. 4, 8, and 13.

conceived and planned. He brought it about gradually, and widened its scope only as circumstances suggested.

His first community, that of Tabennisi, had a humble beginning. A few anchorites agreed, while dwelling in separate cells, to eat together, and to put together the proceeds of their labours. Next, three monks offered to observe exactly the regulations laid down by Pachomius. The little society was organised according to the principle of the division of labour. Very soon the monastery became too small for the numerous postulants. Pachomius then founded another, not far away, in a desert place known as Peboou.¹ The further increase of personnel called for the installation of fresh communities at Schenesit,² Temouschons,³ and Thebôn.⁴ Pachomius then extended his activity still further, and established three monasteries in the neighbourhood of the town of Akhmin,⁵ and another towards the south, at Phenoum, in the neighbourhood of Esneh.⁶ Also, two monasteries for women were instituted, one at Tabennisi, under the direction of Pachomius's sister, and the other at Tesmine.⁷ Thus the Pachomian congregation came to consist of a total of nine monasteries for men and two for women.

His Successors

The successors of Pachomius, and especially Theodore, who presided over the Pachomian communities for eighteen years, did much to develop the system. Theodore built two

¹ To the north of Tabennisi, opposite Diospolis *minor*, now Fâou.

² Also on the right bank, a little to the north of Peboou. Now Quasr-es-Saïad.

³ On the left bank, about level with Schenesit.

⁴ Between Temouschons and Peboou, apparently.

⁵ Much more to the north, on the right bank ; Akhmin is the Arabic form, Chmin the Coptic form. This was the ancient Khemmis or Panopolis.

⁶ One of the important towns in Upper Egypt. The Greeks called it Latopolis. It was situated on the left bank of the river, about thirty miles south of Thebes.

⁷ Near Akhmin.

monasteries near Schmoun,¹ another near Hermothis,² and another not far from Ptolemais.³ After 368, the date of his death, we have little information as to further progress. St. Jerome mentions a Pachomian monastery at Canope, near Alexandria;⁴ this was the Monastery of Repentance (*Metanoiae*). Lower Egypt was therefore reached by the end of the fourth century.

Anchorites and Cenobites

We must not regard "cenobitism" as a sort of revolt against or correction of "anchoritism." Pachomius had a very great admiration for Anthony, and he put him among "the three wonders of his day." The cenobites were often recruited from among the anchorites, but sometimes a cenobite became an anchorite.

Even so, Pachomius was well aware of the advantages which the common life could offer to the ascetic. To live in solitude, without any other law than the one imposed by oneself, and to suffer in isolation the terrible "spleen" of certain interminable days and the terrifying phantasms of the night, to edify no one by one's victories, and to swallow without any consolation the bitterness and humiliation of one's defeats—all this might well make even the strongest soul vacillate.⁵ Mortifications themselves, if not subjected to a rule, or controlled by a competent authority, ran the risk of exceeding the reasonable limit, or provoking rivalry in which self-love would have its place.⁶ It seemed to Pachomius that community life, in subordinating the individual to

¹ On the left bank of the Nile, to the south of Antinoë, about 140 miles from Cairo. This was the Hermopolis of the Greeks, the centre of the cult of the god Thout.

² Situation still obscure. Probably Erment, the On of ancient Egypt, in Greek Hermonthis, about 10 miles from Luxor.

³ To the north of Temouschons. Psoi in Coptic. Strabo calls it "the largest town in the Thebaid."

⁴ Preface to the *Rule of St. Pachomius*, ed. Boon, p. 4.

⁵ "The solitary left to himself," remarks Dom Quentin, "fell easily either into laxity or into extravagance. With cenobitism, a new element enters into religious life, that of obedience." (*Revue de Philosophie*, 1912, 2, p. 239.)

⁶ A characteristic example will be found in Palladius, *Hist. Laus.*, xviii.

a group, would prevent certain abuses, facilitate the progress of souls by the force of example, and would direct to the benefit of all the efforts of each one.

The Work of the Monks

Another advantage of community life under the guidance of a rule was that it brought to an end all questions concerning the monk's need to work. Some of the first spiritual guides of the anchorites seem to have thought that the essential duty of a monk was to live "like the angels," praying without ceasing, fasting, and systematically setting aside any care of earthly things.¹ Actual practice revealed the drawbacks of this imprudent imitation of the angels. Work was recommended, if not as a divine precept, at least as a useful remedy against bad thoughts, and as a means of procuring the wherewithal to give alms. Next, in the cenobitic communities, it became an absolute and irrevocable law: "Nullo modo otiosos esse monachos, ac praecipue juvenes, sinunt," remarks Cassian.² St. Benedict will say later on: "Otiositas inimica est animae."³

The Pachomian Monastery

We have remarked that it is scarcely possible to reconstitute in detail the original form of the Pachomian legislation. But on the other side, it is possible for us to get a fairly clear picture of the life of the monasteries which followed it.

A monastery of this type consisted of a fairly large enclosure, surrounded by a high wall. A number of houses were scattered about inside the area, each holding about twenty religious.⁴

Each religious had his cell. Subsequently three monks normally shared the same cell.

A church, a refectory, a kitchen, a cellar, a courtyard or

¹ Cf. J. Colobos, ii (Migne, *P.G.*, Vol. LXV, 204 D).

² *Inst.*, p. 192, l. 11.

³ *Regula*, xlviii.

⁴ St. Jerome incorrectly gives the figure as 40.

garden, and a hostel for strangers¹ completed the lay-out of the monastery.

A monk wore a linen tunic without sleeves, a girdle, and a tanned goatskin. Over his shoulders he wore a very short mantle, with a hood attached. The special badge of the monastery or house was attached to this hood.

A very strict hierarchical order claimed the obedience of the religious. Each house had its *praepositus*. Three or four houses constituted a "tribe." Each monastery had its superior, who was under the directions of the superior general of Tabennisi, and next of that of Peboou.

The general duties were carried out by "weekly workers," appointed in order from the personnel of the various houses.

Pachomius did not insist that his monks should be priests: he was not a priest himself. Priests admitted into the monasteries were treated there with respect, but could not claim any special treatment.²

Spirit of the Pachomian Rule

The *Rule* of Pachomius was a moderate one, considering the austerities then in use. The monk had to work with his hands; he wove together the rushes of the Nile to make mats and baskets; he also worked with palm leaves, but always in silence, save for the singing of psalms. The food, though very frugal, was fairly plentiful, so that voluntary privation was still possible. The obligatory prayers were not very numerous.³

There was a graduated scale of punishments for the faults of the monks, the gentlest being a reprimand, and the most severe being exclusion.

The monks took no vows. They merely undertook to practise the virtues of their state: obedience, chastity, poverty. They could have visitors, if permission was obtained for this.

"These monks, who lived either separately or in communities but who worked with all their might, and who had

¹ Xenodochium: *S. Pachomii Regula*, l-li.

² Cf. ch. ix of the Greek *Life* in *Vaticanus*, 819.

³ "... in order that even little ones may be able to apply the Rule without being discouraged" (*Hist. Laus.*, xxxii, 7).

overseers to distribute the work, sell the products, and give to all what they needed, represent the only real attempt to practise Collectivist Socialism which has ever been tried. . . . Without the practice of monastic virtues, Collectivist Socialism, so admirable in the Egyptian solitudes, would be nothing but an instrument of oppression in the hands of a few." Such is a recent comment.¹

Horsiisi and Schenoudi

For the rest, it must not be thought that the Rule remained immutable after Pachomius; nor even that it was able to ensure complete harmony in the monastic groups. Horsiisi, the second successor of Pachomius (after Petronios, who died almost immediately), had, in order to prevent a threatened schism, to entrust the supervision of the order to Theodore.² On the other hand, some monasteries, while adopting the rule laid down by Pachomius, did not recognise the authority of the superior general at Peboou. In this way, the Convent of the monk Bgoul in the neighbourhood of Akhmin, successfully claimed autonomy.³ The successor to Bgoul, the famous Schenoudi, an impassioned and irascible man, ready to proceed to violence to secure obedience (he went so far as to kill with his own hand a monk guilty of a theft and a small lie), did not hesitate to depart from the prescriptions of Pachomius because, in his view, these were not strict enough. He compelled his monks to sign a formal undertaking to obey the more severe rules already drawn up by Bgoul, and which he himself made even more severe. Did he gain much by his methods? It seems that he often had to complain of his monks, especially as the numerous and lengthy journeys which he made in order to combat

¹ Bousquet and Nau, in *Patrologia Orientalis*, Vol. IV, v, p. 418. These words were written in 1908.

² Cf. Ladeuze, *op. cit.*, p. 192.

³ This monastery still exists under the name of Deir-el-Abyad (= White Monastery) or Deir Auba Chenouda (from the name of its famous abbot) to the west of the modern city of Sohâg. Cf. U. Monneret de Villard, *Les couvents près de Sohâg*, 1925; P. L. Schmitz, in *Das Antike*, Vol. III, 1927 pl. 27a.

heretics and pagans destroyed the continuity of his influence over them.

This implacable and stern warrior died at the age of 118, about 466. Though little liked by his monks, his prestige was nevertheless very great in Egypt. He was regarded as a veritable saint, but the Church has not awarded him this title.

§ 5. ST. BASIL, REFORMER OF CENOBITISM

Monachism in Asia Minor

It was in Asia Minor that the influence of Egyptian Monachism was most marked. But this influence was modified and rectified in such a methodical way, and adapted so suitably, that the institution itself thereby received new promise for its future.

The originator of the monastic life in Armenia, Paphlagonia and Pontus was, according to Sozomen,¹ the Eustathius of Sebaste whom later dogmatic disagreement was to separate from St. Basil, but to whom Basil, himself some thirty years younger, was devotedly attached for a long time, sharing the fervour of his asceticism.²

St. Basil

To Basil belongs the credit of organising upon partly new lines the common life of the monks.³ His work was of the first importance in developing the forms and the spirit of cenobitism.

Born at Caesarea in Cappadocia, Basil had been given a thorough Christian education. Of the ten children born to his parents, three became bishops, and a daughter became a nun. About the age of twenty-five, some sort of moral crisis led Basil to renounce the career of rhetorician which he had already taken up. He decided to become a monk, and in spite of his precarious health, he went on a voyage in 357

¹ *Hist. eccles.*, III, xiv.

² Cf. Vol. I, p. 339.

³ The anecdote in Socrates (*Hist. eccles.*, I, xiii) concerning the Novatian hermit Eutychianus, who lived in solitude in Bithynia, shows that the eremitical life was not unknown in these countries.

through the East, to study the monastic life wherever it was flourishing, in Egypt, Coele-Syria, Palestine and Mesopotamia. Returning to his own country, he installed himself not far from Neocaesarea, opposite Annesi on the Iris, and there began to practise, with some ascetics around him, a life of mortification. It was during these years, the happiest of his life, that he set forth the ideas which he had formed in the course of his researches into the monastic life.

Character of his Reform

These ideas were very definite. Basil did not think much of the eremitical life, in which, so far as he could see, there was nothing to control individual peculiarities.¹ On the other hand, the Pachomian organisation seemed to him to call for considerable modification. Each monastery comprised too many monks. An excessive liberty was left to each one in the matter of mortifications, and this fostered vain emulation, and greatly complicated the collective alimentary régime. The *praepositi*, who occupied a position between the superior and the monks, were assuming too much authority. Finally, the punishments with which recalcitrant monks were threatened—blows with the whip, reduction to bread and water, etc.—seemed to him to be too severe.

The Basilian reform took the form of a strengthening of the prerogatives of the superior (προεστῶν). Obedience became, not indeed the unique virtue of the monk but the primordial virtue, and the one which would guarantee the others. The monk was to give up completely his own will, and to carry out with absolute punctuality all orders not contrary to the Divine law.

Invested thus with complete power, the superior himself nevertheless remained subject to the law of charity, and could be reproved by the old monks if he exceeded his powers.

Obedience, accompanied by poverty and chastity—such were the foundations of the monachal life, which Basil was careful to link up closely with Biblical précepts, and which he set forth as the mode of life most favourable to union with God by prayer and love.

¹ *Reg. fusius tract.*, vii.

The rule limited individual idiosyncrasy in the matter of fasts, and laid down a wise mean, within the capacity of all. Work was prescribed as indispensable for moral equilibrium. In its intellectual form, it consisted mainly of meditation on the Bible. But it was also recommended under the form of manual labour: agriculture, architecture, carpentering, and various occupations useful for the daily life of the cenobium.

In Basil's conception, every monastery should be, not merely an assembly of ascetics, but a veritable community, in which each would labour for the benefit of all, in the ennobling spirit of an abnegation freely accepted.

The *Rule* of Basil was accepted throughout the East. It is still that of the Graeco-Slav monasteries. In the West, St. Benedict was to make great use of it.¹

St. Nilus

It is also in Asia Minor that we must place the activity of St. Nilus, who is said, in an account full of strange adventures narrated by an aged hermit who does not give his name, to have lived on Mount Sinai.² There are good reasons for thinking that this is not pure fiction,³ and that it was from the neighbourhood of Ancyra that Nilus carried on, as a monastic superior, a spiritual apostolate which was greatly welcomed at the end of the fourth century. His theories on prayer,⁴ the *apatheia* towards which asceticism should tend, the classification of vices and the way to combat them, met with great favour, and some of his *opuscula* were even translated into Latin.⁵

¹ The *Ἀσκητικά* of St. Basil are included in Migne, *P.G.*, Vol. XXXI, 619-1428. The most important portions are the fifty-five rules *fusius tractatae*, which deal in general with the duties of monks; and the three hundred and thirteen rules *brevius tractatae*, which constitute a sort of treatise on casuistry. Rufinus says that he translated into Latin the *Instituta monachorum*. The Latin translation which has come down to us (Migne, *P.L.*, Vol. CIII, 484-554) is a combination of the two *Rules* above mentioned. It was through Rufinus that Benedict derived his knowledge of Basilian legislation.

² *Narrat. de caede monachorum sub monte Sinai*, I-vii.

³ Cf. K. Heussi, *Untersuchungen zu Nilus dem Asketen*, 1917; and *Das Nilusproblem*, 1921.

⁴ The treatise on prayer has been translated into French by J. Joliet in *La Vie spirituelle*, 1925.

⁵ Cf. Van der Ven, in *Melanges G. Kurth*, Liège, 1908, Vol. II, p. 74.

§ 6. MONACHISM IN THE OTHER COUNTRIES OF THE EAST

Palestine

According to St. Jerome, it was Hilarion, whose life we have already outlined,¹ who inaugurated the eremitical life in Palestine about 307, after contacting Anthony himself in Egypt. "He retreated to the desert which lies to the left some seven miles from Majoma, the market of Gaza, on the way to Egypt."² After a lapse of twenty-two years, his first miracles led some to imitate him.³ "People went to him from Syria and Egypt; many embraced the Christian faith and the monastic life. There did not exist previously a monastery in Palestine; there had never been monks in Syria before the blessed Hilarion: he was the founder and model of this kind of life and discipline in the province. The Lord Jesus had in Egypt the aged Anthony; he had in Palestine the young Hilarion."⁴ And Jerome adds, after an account of various prodigies worked by his hero: "The example of Hilarion caused innumerable monasteries to spring up in all Palestine, and all the monks sought him."⁵ Jerome does not give us any details concerning the organisation of these monasteries.⁶ He merely tells us that Hilarion governed one which contained "a multitude of brethren"; and that, bitterly regretting the loss of his solitary life, he decided to leave it and to seek a place of recollection further away.⁷ Doubtless the reference here is to a compact group of anchorites living close together.

In point of fact, Palestinian monachism seems to have taken two different forms. On the one hand, there were colonies of hermits all along the Philistine coast, in the desert of Judea, and in various places mentioned in the Bible narratives. On the other hand there were the monasteries

¹ Cf. above, p. 432.

² *Vita Hilarionis*, iii.

³ *Ibid.*, xiv.

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ *Ibid.*, xxiv.

⁶ It is quite likely, moreover, that the word here simply means "cell," a meaning it frequently had. Cf. Cassian, *Coll.*, XVIII, x.

⁷ *Vita Hilarionis*, xxix.

founded and governed by Westerns;¹ the monastery of Melania, for women, at Jerusalem; the monastery of Rufinus, for men, on the Mount of Olives; the convents of Paula and St. Jerome at Bethlehem. Besides these we know of the existence of numerous ascetics, and virgins consecrated to God, in the chief cities. These lived separately; but at Jerusalem, for instance, they recited their prayers in common.²

Syria

In Syria, round about cities such as Antioch, Berea, Chalcis, numerous ascetics lived in the desert, and there practised marvellous mortifications, which won them great fame among the peasant population. We shall have to return to the "stylites," whose eccentricities developed only in the fifth century. It was in the desert of Chalcis that the young Jerome tried the life of solitude. We may recall the pathetic description he has given of his difficulties:

I was fearful to look at, for beneath its covering my body was repulsive. With my darkened skin I looked like an Ethiopian. Every day I gave away to tears, every day I emitted groans. . . . I had no other society besides that of the wild beasts and scorpions, and often I imagined myself transported into the midst of virginal dances. I was pale with fasting, and my imagination boiled with desires in a frozen body, in which there raged a conflagration of the passions.³

One of the subjects of his monastic biographies, Malchus, had himself retired several years earlier under Constantine to this desert of Chalcis, "quae inter Immas et Beroam,

¹ References collected in Cavallera, *Saint Jérôme*, Vol. I, pp. 127-128. But Epiphanius, the future Bishop of Salamina, returning to Judea, his own country, in 335, after a stay in Egypt, founded at Eleutheropolis a cenobitic colony, in which he held for a long time the office of archimandrite (Migne, *P.G.*, Vol. XLIII, 12; St. Jerome, *Contra Joh.*, 4).

² Cf. Rufinus, *Hist. eccles.*, X, viii; *Peregr. Aetheriae*, xxiv, 1 *et seq.* Aetheria calls them "monazontes et parthene (ut hic dicunt)." The Adolius whom Palladius saw at Jerusalem and who took food only every fifth day during Lent, may have belonged to this category (*Hist. Laus.*, xliii).

³ *Epist.*, xxii, 7.

magis ad austrum, sita est," after terrible experiences, which Jerome heard him relate, at Maronia, a village situated about fifteen miles from Antioch. Other Syrian monks of the fourth century are named by the historian Sozomen, both in Northern Syria,¹ and in Coele-Syria.² "They rivalled those of Egypt," says Sozomen, "in the practice of philosophy." Their popularity is seen in the description of the funeral of Abraham Kidunaja, on the 14th of December 366: an immense concourse of people took part in the obsequies, and pieces torn from the clothes of the deceased monk cured a number of sick persons.³ At Rhossos, on the Syrian coast, there arose a monastery founded by the Abbot Theodore, possibly the one which St. Jerome saw in 374.⁴ In his *Religious History*,⁵ Theodoret—who wrote between 437 and 445—has given an account of thirty ascetics who lived a life of penance in various places near Cyr, his episcopal city. Also in various places, for instance near Seleucobelus, cenobitism was practised.⁶

Byzantium, Persia, Mesopotamia, Armenia

The diffusion of monachism in the East did not take place at the same rate in all regions. Thus, monachism scarcely developed in Byzantium before the beginning of the fifth century.⁷ In Persia, monasticism was possibly in a fairly flourishing state in the fourth century: at least that is the

¹ *Hist. eccles.*, VI, xxiii. Cf. C. Baur, *Das hl. Chrysostomus und seine Zeit*, Munich, 1929, Vol. I, pp. 85 *et seq.*

² *Ibid.*, xxiv.

³ Cf. P. Martin, in *Zeitschrift für katholische Theologie*, Vol. XIV, 1880, pp. 426-437.

⁴ Theodoret, *Hist. relig.*, x.

⁵ Migne, *P.G.*, Vol. LXXXII, 1283 *et seq.*

⁶ For geographical identifications, cf. Honigmann, art. *Syria* in *Realenc.* of Pauly-Wissowa, Vol. II, iv, col. 1705 *et seq.*

⁷ Pargoire has shown this in an article in the *Revue des Questions historiques*, Vol. LXV, 1899, pp. 69-143, against E. Marin, *Les Moines de Constantinople*, Paris, 1897, who has given too much credence to the falsehoods of the anonymous writer of the *Origenes Constantinopolitanae* and those of Codinus (Vol. XXXVII of the Bonn *Corpus Byzant.*, more recent edition by Preger, *Scriptores Originum Constantinopolitanarum*, Leipzig, 1907).

impression suggested by the *Sixth Demonstration* of Aphraates, the "Persian sage," who may have been an abbot or monk of the convent of Mar Matthew to the east of Mosul, and was very probably a bishop.¹ But it is rather difficult to make a clear distinction between the monks and the clergy, because of the lack of precision in the terminology of the sources; and the Nestorian tradition, according to which the monk Eugenius (Mar-Awgin), an old pearl fisher of the island of Klyma near Suez, came from Egypt to Mesopotamia with seventy monks, after being a disciple of Pachomius at Tabennisi, lacks a serious foundation.²

More to the East, in the direction of Edessa, high praise was given to Julian Sabbas, who "was simply bones beneath his skin," as a result of his mortifications. Towards the end of his life he had possessed the gift of healing.³ Theodoret describes him as living in his cave, practising a "high philosophy" and instructing his ever-growing number of disciples.⁴ More to the south, towards Carrhae (Haran), the city whence Abraham set forth for Chanaan after the death of his father, Thare, there lived Aones, who was regarded as one of the first examples of the eremitical life in those parts.

The beginnings of monachism in Armenia remain obscure. According to Phaustos of Byzantium, who is regarded as the best source for Armenian history from 330 to 387,⁵ the patriarch Nerses the Great, under King Archak, son of Tiran, introduced monastic institutions into that country in the fourth century. About 365 a synod assembled at Aschtichat ordered monks to live in their monasteries; this implies that a certain degree of organisation had already been reached, but we have no information as to its details.

¹ Cf. Bardenhewer, *Geschichte der altkirchlichen Literatur*, Vol. IV, p. 329. Translation by J. Parisot in *Patrol. Syriaca*, I, 1-2, Paris, 1894-1907.

² See Labourt, *Le Christianisme dans l'Empire perse sous la dynastie sassanide*, pp. 30 et seq. The *Life of Mar Awgin* has been published by Bedjan in the *Acta Sancti. et Mart. syriace*, Paris, 1888, Vol. III, pp. 376-380.

³ *Hist. Laus.*, xlii.

⁴ *Hist. relig.*, ii. Julian went to Antioch under Valens to combat the Arians Flavius and Diodorus.

⁵ His work, written in Armenian, was published at Venice in 1889 and translated in the *Collection des historiens arméniens* published under the editorship of V. Langlois.

III. THE BEGINNINGS OF MONACHISM IN THE WEST

When it passed from the East to the West, monachism underwent a certain measure of adaptation, required either by the climate or the difference in mentality.¹ The terrific penances and refinements of mortification will not be held in great honour in the West. But the spiritual life drew from the great examples in Egypt, Palestine and Syria a great impulse of vitality which gave rise not only to new forms of life and a great movement of pilgrimages to the East but also to durable institutions, destined to have great influence.

§ I. ROME AND ITALY

First Contacts

Here is the language in which St. Jerome narrates, not the origin of monachism in Rome, for the text does not call it that, but at least its admission into the higher classes of Roman society:²

In those days, no woman of high birth in Rome knew of the monastic vocation, or dared, by reason of the novelty of the thing, to adopt a name which the masses then regarded as ignominious and vile.

Marcella came to know, through certain priests of Alexandria, the bishop Athanasius, and later on Peter—who, fleeing from the persecution arising out of the Arian heresy, had taken refuge in Rome as in the safest harbour of their communion—the manner of life of the blessed Anthony, who was still in this world, also about the monasteries of Pachomius in the Thebaid, and the discipline laid down for virgins and widows. She did not hesitate to embrace a profession which, as

¹ The *Rules* copied from the East were modified so as to make them suitable for new surroundings. Thus the "short recension" of the Rule of St. Pachomius, translated into Latin, a recension which has come to us in a dozen MSS., eliminates the specifically Egyptian elements, substitutes for instructions concerning the culture of the palm tree, others concerning the exploitation of the vine, etc.

² *Epist.*, cxxvii.

she now realised, was pleasing to Christ. Not many years afterwards, Sophronia and others besides did the same. . . .

The stay of St. Athanasius in Rome took place in 341; that of Peter, his successor in the see of Alexandria, from 374 to 378. On the other hand, Anthony died in 356. Hence Athanasius alone could have boasted to Marcella of the great deeds of the famous solitary "still alive."¹

The "Consultationes Zacchaei"

We do not know much about the first developments of monachism in Rome and Italy. But a little-known *opusculum* which has become more widely known, thanks to a new edition by Dom Germain Morin, the *Consultationes Zacchaei et Apollonii*,² throws some light on this early period. The work, which may have been written by Firmicus Maternus, must have been composed in Italy about 360, i.e. some twenty years before the stay of St. Jerome in Rome. A pagan, Apollonius, who becomes converted during the conversation, is presented as questioning the Christian Zacchaeus on various points in Christian doctrine and morals. At a certain moment, when he has already been touched by grace, he says to Zacchaeus: "Explain to me now what is the congregation or sect of monks, and why it is an object of aversion, even amongst our own people."³ Zacchaeus attributes this discredit to the very wrong attitude of some who boast of being monks.

Several, under cover of this kind of life, commit some detestable acts, and although they merit different reproaches, they all fail to carry out their promises.

Those among these wayward people whose dispositions are worst of all, simulate for a time the practice of

¹ Athanasius was accompanied by an Egyptian monk, Isidore, who, it seems, was ready to satisfy the great curiosity aroused by the kind of life lived by the anchorites. Cf. *Hist. Laus.*, i, 4.

² Migne, *P.L.*, Vol. XX, 1071-1166; ed. Morin, in *Florilegium Patristicum*, fasc. 39, 1935.

³ *Consultationes*, III, iii (ed. Morin, p. 100). The translation is based upon that given by P. Cavallera in *Revue d'ascét. et de mystique*, April-June 1935.

abstinence and continence, and at first succeed in gaining a dangerous familiarity. Deceiving by vain opinions the women they have captivated, they persuade these to serve their unhappy passions; whether, out of greed for presents, they seek the sordid gains of avarice, or whether they subdue these women to themselves by cunning, they triumph over them and turn them away from their resolution to live a life of chastity.

For the rest, Zacchaeus fully recognises that the institution itself is good, and that many observe "with a true greatness of soul" the rule of life they have chosen.

But even so, he says, we must distinguish between various classes, which are not equal in merit.

Thus, there are those who hardly differ from other men except in that they observe celibacy or abstain from remarriage; apart from this, they do not carry out any special mortification.

Above these, there are the mortified ones who, even within towns, content themselves with a sequestered dwelling, and a frugal diet; who practise fasting until evening, frequently give themselves up to psalmody, impose on themselves the rule of work, sleep on rush mats, and get up at fixed hours in the night. They meet together, but do not live in common.

Lastly, the highest grade of merit is that of the solitaires, the ascetics of the desert, who live in dwellings formed out of rocks, or in subterranean caverns. Prayer is their one occupation, and they carry on with victorious constancy the fight against "a varied assembly of demons."

Having made these distinctions, Zacchaeus feels himself free to express his admiration for these "spiritual men," whose only desire is "death for God's sake," and who await an eternal reward.

It is possible that Zacchaeus has borrowed from the East some details in this description, particularly what he says of the hermits of the desert. But the curiosity which Apollonius displays, and the anti-monastic hostility to which he testifies, show that, already in the middle of the fourth

century, there was a flourishing monastic development in Italy and that, while this was worthy of admiration, it had to be admitted that certain somewhat suspect elements were mingled with it.

The Cenacle of the Aventine

The correspondence of St. Jerome during the years of his stay in Rome (382-385) makes no allusion to an organised cenobitic life. A monk or nun was a person who practised a more austere life, renounced marriage, observed strict and frequent fasts, and read the Bible assiduously. Prior to the arrival of Jerome, a certain number of Roman ladies were accustomed to meet at the house of Marcella, who had established a sort of sisterhood in her palace on the Aventine Hill. They desired to form, in the midst of the still half pagan city, in which Christians themselves did not always give a good example, a little Thebaid, in which they could freely talk about holy things, read the Scriptures and sing Psalms. Jerome was welcomed with enthusiasm to this feminine circle and became, for the three years he spent in Rome, the centre and oracle of the meetings on the Aventine. His talks with these remarkable ladies were not confined to matters of study and exegesis. Indeed, he really was their spiritual director: outlining for them a certain manner of life which he considered the most perfect, he helped them to approximate to it in the midst of the miseries and weaknesses of their daily life. For the rest, this pious group did not, strictly speaking, constitute a monastery or convent, and it was not governed by any fixed rule. It is only in connection with Leah, a holy widow who died in 384, that Jerome employs the terms "monasterii princeps" and "mater virginum,"¹ and even then he does not explain further the exact meaning of these expressions, which doubtless signify merely that Leah presided over the regular meetings.²

¹ *Epist.*, xxiii, 2.

² Jerome had closer relations with women than with men, and he was criticised for this during his Roman stay. But he clearly indicates (*Epist.*, lxi, 4, written in 398) that there were in Rome several monks belonging to high society.

Eusebius of Vercelli

Eusebius, the future Bishop of Vercelli, also came into contact with St. Athanasius at Rome, where he exercised his office as lector and was subject to his influence. When he became a bishop in 345, he observed monastic discipline so far as this was compatible with the duties of his position. He was followed by a certain number of his clergy, and he lived with them according to a common rule. It was his austere manner of life that enabled him to support the severities of the exile to which Constantius condemned him after the Council of Milan (355).¹

Milan

A well-known passage in the *Confessions*² tells us, not only of the deep impression made upon Augustine and his friend Alypius by the narrations of a certain Ponticianus concerning St. Anthony, of whom they had never heard before, but also that there was "at Milan, outside the walls, a monastery full of good brethren, under the patronage of Ambrose (*sub Ambrosio nutritore*)."

Emona

Already in 375-376 the two letters addressed by St. Jerome *ad Virgines Haemonenses* and *Ad Antonium monachum Haemonae*³ make known to us at Emona, on the borders of Pannonia, a group of virgins living a distinct life apart from others.

§ 2. GAUL

Beginning of Monachism after 360

In Gaul, the development of monachism came later than 360. Jullian has remarked that, prior to that year, there is no reference to its existence.⁴ But "at the end of the century, there were hundreds, perhaps thousands (?) in each city. We find them in all social classes, and all the categories

¹ Cf. St. Ambrose, *Epist.*, lxiii, 66 *et seq.*

² VIII, vi, 15.

³ *Epist.*, xi and xii.

⁴ Cf. *Histoire de la Gaule*, Vol. VII, p. 254.

are represented. The devout life drew myriads of men, from the richest to the poorest."¹

The passage of the *Confessions* mentioned above leads us to think—although the language used by St. Augustine is rather obscure and mystical—that at Trèves there were in existence, in rather modest surroundings (Augustine speaks of a simple *casa*), some group of ascetics living together. Doubtless it was St. Athanasius who had encouraged their formation during his stay at Trèves in 336.

St. Martin

But the great promoter of monachism in Gaul was St. Martin. We need not enter here into the controversies which arose some years ago concerning the *opuscula* of Sulpicius Severus, which did so much to popularise St. Martin. Babut is right in urging that imagination plays a large part in the accounts of Sulpicius Severus, but he is wrong in reducing almost to nothing the historic rôle of Martin.²

It was about 360 that Martin, an ordained priest, went to Ligugé, near Poitiers, to live there an eremitical life. He remained there for some ten years.³ When he was consecrated Bishop of Tours in 371 or 372, he decided to change neither his vesture nor his mode of life, and he took up his residence in a wooden hut at Marmontier, about a mile from Tours. Several "brethren" imitated him, or else made dwellings for themselves in the rocks of the mountains. Each monk lived in his own dwelling, but meals were taken in common. No one was to possess anything as his own. "There were there about eighty disciples, who followed the example of their blessed master."⁴ Very soon the whole region became populated by monks.

Lérins

Another centre of monastic life came into existence later,

¹ *Ibid.*, Vol. VIII, p. 344. For the various kinds of monks in Gaul, see *ibid.*, Vol. VIII, pp. 299 *et seq.*

² Cf. P. de Labriolle, *Histoire de la Littérature latine chrétienne*, 2nd edn., pp. 509-516; and the Preface to *Saint Martin* by P. Monceaux, Paris, 1926.

³ Sulpicius Severus, *Vita Martini*, vii.

⁴ *Ibid.*, x.

on the threshold of the fifth century, in one of the islands of Lérins, Lerina (now Ste-Marguerite), almost opposite the city of Cannes. The monastery which Honoratus founded there will be in the fifth century one of the chief centres of Catholic thought in Gaul. It was there that the enigmatic Vincent of Lérins was trained.¹ He was the author of the *Commonitorium*, in which occurs the celebrated formula, so often invoked but so rarely applicable, "Quod ubique, quod semper, quod ab omnibus creditum est," proposed as the criterion of dogmatic truth.

The Eremitical Life in Gaul

The eremitical life properly so called never had in Gaul, or indeed anywhere in the West, a development in any way comparable to that it had in the East. But there were in Gaul itself some isolated imitators of the Eastern ascetics. Here is a little-known proof. The author of the *Carmen de providentia divina*, written about 415 or 416, enumerating the disasters caused by recent invasions, writes thus : " Even the solitaries, who had no other occupation in their caves and caverns than to praise God day and night, received no better treatment than the worst criminals amongst mankind."²

§ 3. AFRICA

St. Augustine

We may safely say that the monastic *propositum* always appealed to the imagination of St. Augustine. Even before his conversion, when he was about thirty years of age, he had conceived the idea with some friends of living apart from the world in a retreat free from material cares.

This is how we planned our peaceful existence. The goods which we had would be put in common, and all our patrimonies would be lumped together in one.

¹ Cf. F. Brunetière and P. de Labriolle, *Saint Vincent de Lérins*, Paris, 1906.

² V, 49 *et seq.* Cf. P. de Labriolle, *Histoire de la Littérature latine chrétienne*, 2nd edn., p. 522.

Hence, in virtue of our sincere friendship, no one person would be the owner of this thing and another of that: all possessions would become one, and all would belong to each, and all to all. . . . We had decided that every year two of our number would be appointed as officers to see to all the indispensable matters of detail, so that the others would not have to trouble about anything.

This dream could not be realised:

When we asked ourselves if our wives would consent to this arrangement—for some of us were already married, and we others hoped to be—all this fine idea, so carefully thought out, fell from our hands, broke in pieces, and was cast aside.¹

A little later, the account of the conversion of two officials of the Emperor after reading the *Life of Anthony*, profoundly affected him.² Again, when he had been baptised and was able to return to Africa, his first care was to gather around him in a garden at Tagaste, lent to him by an old man named Valerius, a few "brethren" who were prepared, as he was, to make the sacrifice of their fortunes.

After his election to the episcopate, he founded a monastery in the dependencies belonging to the church of Hippo.

This is what his biographer, Possidius, writes:³

Once he became a bishop, he very soon established a monastery within the boundaries of the church (*intra ecclesiam*), and there he began to live with the servants of God after the manner and rule instituted under the holy apostles. The essential condition was to possess nothing as one's own in this society: all was to be held in common, and distributed to each according to his needs. This he had himself already done when he returned from overseas to his own country.

Possidius explains later on the conditions of life of this community, without however entering into details as to its organisation.

¹ *Conf.*, VI, 14, 24.

² *Ibid.*, VIII, 6, 14-15; 7, 16.

³ *Vita Augustini*, v.

His clergy lived always with him; they shared his house, his table, and food and clothing were a common expense. No woman ever stayed in the house; none lived there, not even his own sister, a widow who had spent long years in the service of God, and who remained until her death at the head of the servants of God.¹

This constituted the great pattern, the imitation of which led to the multiplication of monasteries in various towns of the province.

As the divine doctrine progressed, those who served God in the monastery with and under St. Augustine began to be ordained as clergy for the church of Hippo. Then, as the truth of the preaching of the Catholic Church, and the vocation, continence and poverty of the holy servants of God, became every day better known and admired, inmates of the monastery founded and developed by this unforgettable man were chosen as bishops and clergy. In this way there were some ten men, holy and venerable either for their austerity or for their knowledge, whom Augustine gave to various churches on request, and some of these churches were amongst the most important. And, formed as these men had been in the way of life of the saints, they in turn founded other monasteries. . . .²

Naturally, Augustine had not been able to carry out fully his inmost desires in respect to himself. He was still bound to the world by his activity as a bishop, an orator and a controversialist, and by his journeys, his conversations, and his huge correspondence. All these preoccupations prevented the regular and laborious life, filled with prayer and meditations on Holy Scripture, which he would have preferred.³ But the life of the cenobite in the East seemed to him to be the most desirable of all: he formed a glowing picture of it,

¹ *Vita Augustini*, xxv-xxvi.

² *Ibid.*, xi.

³ Cf. his regrets, expressed in the *De opere monach.*, xxix. On his polemic against the opponents of his monastic ideal, see Moricca, in *Miscellanea Agostiniana*, Vol. II, p. 933.

which he has more than once described for us.¹ At least he decided to provide the needed guidance for those men and women who had made up their minds to imitate the Pachomian organisation. We know that part of his *Letter 211* was detached and circulated as a *Rule* which every cenobite could adopt. This famous Augustinian *Rule*, which enjoyed such a great reputation in the Middle Ages, has provided the basis for the constitutions of a number of religious orders and congregations, some of which are still in existence. The souls which have derived from it their plan of action and their method of life cannot be numbered. On another occasion, Augustine did not hesitate to recall to certain African monks who wished to imitate the lilies of the field which neither toil nor spin, the moral law of manual work, the indispensable intermediary between prayers, and a tonic invigorating the soul. His *De opere monachorum*, though rather severe in some of its pages,² has rendered great service to Western civilisation.

IV. MONACHISM AND PUBLIC OPINION

§ I. THE PAGAN ATTITUDE

In view of the fact that, as we have seen, even in some Christian circles asceticism called forth reserve, opposition, and hostility, it is not surprising that it also encountered resistance from pagan circles. Cultivated people scarcely lost any occasion of criticising monks as the enemies of natural joys and deserters from civic life, who returned to the cities only in order to foment seditions or to harm the temples of the gods.

Julian

Already, towards the middle of the fourth century, the Emperor Julian inveighed against monks as enemies of that

¹ E.g. *De moribus Eccl. cath.*, I, 65; *De unit. Eccl.*, xli; *Sermo cxxxviii*.

² Especially § xxviii, where he describes some hypocritical monks who sold relics of questionable authenticity, had no fixed residence, and brought discredit upon the monastic state.

"philanthropy" which was for him the essential feature of the Hellenic spirit and the laws it had inspired, and which also characterised its deities. He wrote as follows in a letter to the high priest Theodore:

There are some who leave the cities in order to take refuge in the deserts, although, by his very nature, man is a social and a civilised animal. But the perverse spirits to whom they have given themselves up impel them to this misanthropic way of life. Already many of them have conceived the idea of wearing chains and iron collars, so much are they obsessed on all hands by the evil spirit to which they have voluntarily surrendered themselves, deserting the worship of the eternal and saving gods.¹

Libanios

Libanios, Julian's friend, and one of the best known rhetoricians of the time, called upon the Emperor Theodosius in 384 to intervene with energy against the destruction of temples, which he imputes to the monks, "these people who fill the caverns, and who are austere only in their outward clothing."² He stigmatised them as

... men clothed in black, who now eat nothing but elephants, and who, in the matter of drinking, tire out the hands of the slaves who pour out wine for them during their chants; men who hide their disorders beneath a pallor which they manage to obtain thanks to certain artifices. Yes, O Emperor, it is these men who, in spite of the laws which remain in force, attack the temples. They take wood to set them on fire, and stones and iron to smash them: those who have nothing else use their hands and feet. They pull off the roofs, demolish the walls, throw down the statues, destroy the altars; it is like a raid by Mysians. As for the priests, these have to keep silence or perish. As soon as one temple has been destroyed, there is a race towards a second, and then to a third, and so on. They amass their trophies, in spite of the law, etc.

¹ *Epist.*, lxxxix b (ed. Bidez, p. 155).

² *Oratio*, ii, 32.

Eunapius

The rhetorician Eunapius of Sardis, in his mediocre *Lives of the Sophists*, in which he recalls with great respect a group of professors and cultivated men wholly penetrated with the spirit of the Emperor Julian and Jamblichus, forgets his usual kindly tone, and becomes very bitter as soon as he encounters

... these men called monks who, though in human form, live like pigs, and give themselves up openly to all kinds of excesses which I dare not describe. On the other hand, they think it an act of piety to manifest their contempt for divine things. For the rest, in this our time, any man clothed in a black robe and who is not afraid to show in public his disregard for decencies, is allowed to exercise a tyrannical authority: it is to this high degree of virtue that the human race has come!¹

Eunapius reproaches monks with fostering the ridiculous cultus of the martyrs, who were merely uninteresting criminals. He even suspects them of treason towards the fatherland, and accuses them quite gratuitously with having opened to Alaric the gates of Greece—the Thermopylae.²

Rutilius Namatianus

We must also quote some celebrated passages in which an old prefect of Rome, Rutilius Claudius Namatianus, gives in a poem an account of a journey from Portus Augusti (Porto) to Gaul, and in the course of it gives vent to his aversion and bitterness towards monks.

On the fifth day of his voyage, or rather coastal trip, which he broke each evening, Rutilius saw in the distance Corsica and the island of Capraria.

We went on towards the open sea, and there was Capraria. The island is full, and indeed swarms, with men who hate the light. These call themselves "monks" (a word which comes from the Greek), because they desire to live alone, and without any to see them. They are afraid of the favours of fortune,

¹ *Lives of the Sophists*, ed. Boissonade, p. 472.

² *Ibid.*, p. 476.

just as they fear its rigours. How can it be that people should thus deliberately make themselves unhappy, for fear of the future? What are we to think of this frenzied folly of disordered brains? Because they fear the evils of life, they are not willing to accept its good things! Are they, then, convicts, who have sought a place where they can expiate their crimes? Or must we suppose that black gall is blowing out their sad hearts? If we may believe Homer, an excess of bile caused the morose disposition of Bellerophon, the young hero who, being affected by a cruel melancholy, is said to have conceived a horror of the human race.¹

On the evening of the fifth day, Rutilius arrived at Volaterrae, where he was delayed by a squall until the next day. During the crossing from Volaterrae to Pisa, there came into sight the island of Urgo (Gorgone), and this aroused a painful recollection.²

From the midst of the sea there emerges above the waves Urgo, between the coast of Pisa and that of Cynos [= Corsica]. We there see a rock which reminds us of a recent scandal. It is there that one of our fellow citizens was lost, and buried himself alive. Previously he was one of us, a young man who, coming from ancestors of high rank, was worthy of them by his fortune as well as by his marriage. Impelled by the furies, he has abandoned mankind and the world, and his credulity has led him to live in the exile of a shameful retreat. The unfortunate man imagines that squalor encourages mystical thoughts; he inflicts sufferings upon himself and is more cruel towards himself than the angry gods would be. I ask you: is not this sect worse than the philtres of Circe? Circe changed only the body, but nowadays, souls are changed!

The anger and contempt displayed by Rutilius and by so many others of his pagan contemporaries represent the prevailing view. People went out of their way to speak injuriously of the monks, and the bitterness of the two

¹ Rutilius, *Itiner.*, v. 439 to 452.

² *Ibid.*, v. 515 to 526.

passages we have just quoted from Rutilius make these portions stand out particularly, for the rest of the poem is rather dull.

§ 2. THE CHRISTIAN STATE AND THE MONKS

Law of Valens

More than once, the imperial power had to restrain monastic activities. Of these measures, the least justified was that of Valens who, angered by the way in which the monks of Nitria joined in the resistance of the Alexandrians to the installation of the Arian Lucius as successor to Athanasius, published a law in 375 compelling them to do military service. The recalcitrants were condemned to be beaten to death with rods.¹ Orosius affirms that a great number perished in this way.²

Attitude of Theodosius

Theodosius, in spite of his great piety, took certain restrictive measures in regard to monks. He supported with difficulty their tumultuous intrusion into the life of cities, as for instance, their descent *en masse* from the hills around Antioch on the occasion of the sedition in the year 387. True, they had then merely asked for clemency from the imperial commissioners. But in 388, a procession of monks had been attacked at Callinicum in Osrhoene by the partisans of a Gnostic sect, and had revenged themselves by setting fire to a sanctuary of the sect; in addition, a Jewish synagogue had been burnt in the disturbances which followed this incident. It required all the efforts of St. Ambrose to persuade Theodosius to abandon his plan of imposing on the Bishop of Callinicum the humiliation of reconstructing the synagogue at his own expense. Even so, the Emperor exclaimed: "Monachi multa scelera faciunt—the monks are guilty of many crimes!" "Whereupon, Timasius, master

¹ St. Jerome, *Chron.* (ed. Helm, p. 248).

² *Adv. Pag.*, VII, xxxiii, 3. Cf. Theodoret, *Hist. eccles.*, IV, xix.

of the cavalry and infantry, rose up and began to curse the monks."¹

Theodosius decided to promulgate, on the 2nd of September 390, a law forbidding monks to stay in the cities, and confining them to the "deserta loca et vastae solitudines."² On the 9th of April 392, he forbade monks as well as clerics to intervene with the authorities in order to ask them to suspend the execution of criminals to whom the law refused the right to appeal.³

In July 398, his sons Arcadius and Honorius likewise repressed the indiscreet interventions of monks and clerics, who tried to withdraw "per vim atque usurpationem" some who had been condemned to deserved punishment, instead of having recourse to a legal "provocatio."⁴

§ 3. CHRISTIAN CIRCLES AND MONACHISM

The Panegyrists

Christian opinion itself was very divided on the subject. "If you go to Egypt," wrote St. John Chrysostom in one of his *Homilies on St. Matthew*, "you will find a solitude which surpasses any paradise; you will meet innumerable choirs of angels clothed in human form; numerous martyrs, assemblies of virgins, etc."⁵ Elsewhere he described the deep impression made upon the masses in the cities by monks renowned for their sanctity: "When Julian entered into the cities—which he did rarely—the crowd was greater than would assemble for a sophist, a rhetorician, or a great personage. If these men obtain such honour during a passing visit, what must be their glory in their true fatherland?"

¹ On this episode, cf. P. de Labriolle, *Saint Ambroise*, Paris, 1908, pp. 109-125.

² *Cod. Theod.*, XVI, iii, 1 (3rd of Sept. 390). This edict was revoked on the 17th of April 392 (XVI, iii, 2).

³ *Cod. Theod.*, XI, xxxvi, 31.

⁴ *Ibid.*, IX, xl, 16. Cf. Godefroy, *op. cit.*, Vol. III, p. 337.

⁵ *In Mt. Hom.*, viii. On Chrysostom as panegyrist of the monks, cf. C. Baur, *Das hl. Chrysostomus und seine Zeit*, Vol. I, pp. 91 *et seq.*

The Detractors

This popular praise had as its counterpart in various circles, in the West as well as in the East, a hostility which was always ready to translate itself into action. On the occasion of the persecution begun by Valens, some people at Antioch boasted in the public places, with bursts of laughter, about the cruelties they had inflicted on the monks. Some fathers of families said aloud that they would prefer to see their sons dead rather than "bewitched" by the "incantations" of these "execrable people," these "seducers," these "charlatans."¹ Christians even condemned the appeal of the desert, and John Chrysostom accused them of preferring that their children should stay in a city thoroughly corrupted with unnatural vices, which might be called another Sodom.²

In the *Consultationes Zacchaei et Apollonii*, written in Italy about 360 (possibly by Firmicus Maternus), the converted pagan Apollonius expresses his surprise that, even among Christians, the monks are such objects of aversion.³

Some twenty years later, St. Jerome puts on record a Roman testimony which supports those of Firmicus and Chrysostom. He tells us what bitter sayings certain Christian ladies directed against the *sanctum propositum*, the holy vocation of Paula and Melania, when these renounced the life of the world;⁴ he also tells us of the murmurs of the people who, when Blesilla was being buried, accused the monks of having killed her by making her fast, and cried out that the latter ought to be expelled from the city, stoned, or thrown into the Tiber.⁵ According to St. Jerome, if one observed a modest bearing, abstained from drinking to excess, or disapproved of uncontrolled pleasures, that was enough to make one be treated as belonging to the *monachi*, the *continentes*, the *tristes*.⁶ At Milan, St. Ambrose, learning

¹ *Hom.* xxi on *Epist. ad Ephes.*, iii. Cf. the *opusculum Against the Detractors of the Monastic Life*, ii, 6 *et seq.*

² *Against the Detractors*, i, 2 *et seq.*

³ *Ibid.*, iii. Cf. *supra*, p. 483.

⁴ *Epist.*, xlv, 4.

⁵ *Epist.*, xxxix, 6, 2 : "Genus detestabile monachorum."

⁶ *Epist.*, xxxviii, 5.

of the decision of Paulinus and Thereasia to consecrate themselves to the ascetic life, foretold the outburst of anger which would follow in high society.¹ If we pass over a few decades, we find in Africa an even more significant testimony. Salvianus describes the violent manifestations by the people of the towns, especially Carthage, "against the monks, that is, against the Holy Ones of God." This hatred is one of the causes of the disastrous invasions which have afflicted the Africans:

They curse them, they attack them, they detest them; they heap on them practically all the injuries which the impiety of the Jews heaped upon the Saviour before they proceeded to shed the divine blood. But perhaps it will be urged that they have not killed the saints, and so have not done what the Jews did. Have they in fact killed any? I do not know: I affirm nothing. . . . Is there so great a distance between those who kill and that hatred in the soul which thinks only of murders?

Salvianus adds that if some *servus Dei*, leaving the monasteries of Egypt, the holy places of Jerusalem, or the venerable retreats in the desert, should venture into the cities, with his cloak, his pale face, and his head shaven down to the scalp, he would be greeted with sneers, whistles, and insulting cries.²

Attitude of the Episcopate

In what measure did the episcopate associate itself, not indeed, of course, with this violent indignation, but with some degree of suspicion in regard to the army of monks?

A priori, a certain amount of mistrust would not have been altogether unlikely. "In point of fact, the anchorite was in himself a living criticism of ecclesiastical society. The very fact of his retirement showed that, in his view, the Church was not a suitable resting place for one who desired to be a serious Christian, and his attitude was based on an ideal of religious life which differed greatly from that of

¹ *Epist.*, lviii, 5.

² *De gubernatione Dei*, VIII, iv, 19 *et seq.*

the Church. The essential feature of Christianity was, in his view, asceticism. . . . We do not see how Anthony during his twenty years of seclusion could have been able to receive the Eucharist."¹ But in point of fact it does not seem that there was anywhere any serious manifestation of disapproval.² The retirement to monasteries was nowhere so complete that the monks could not give efficacious help to the episcopate in difficult circumstances, and then a devoted group of men constituted a support by no means to be despised. Theophilus, the bellicose Bishop of Alexandria, recruited his henchmen from among the monks.³ The bishops were satisfied with maintaining their right of control and exercising this whenever they thought it desirable. Thus, when Pachomius was spoken of as possessing the gift of "visions" and that of reading the secrets of hearts—privileges which more than one heterodox person had claimed⁴—two bishops of the Upper Thebaid asked at the Synod of Esneh (Latopolis) that he should be examined on this matter. This was the application of a principle already set forth, and which has been upheld ever since: anyone who claims to receive revelations, or to possess special powers, must submit them to the regular authority, which alone is competent to appraise them and which does so bearing in mind the fundamental point of the humility of the person in question.

For the rest, Pachomius was in cordial and respectful relations with the bishops of the dioceses in which his convents were situated. Several monks were priests or deacons. And when Athanasius composed in his *Life of Anthony* a sort of Mirror for Monks, he did not fail to point out the respect which Anthony had for the religious authorities.⁵

¹ Duchesne, *Histoire ancienne de l'Eglise*, Vol. II, p. 491.

² At most there was a certain coolness here and there. Some monks did not hesitate to despise the episcopate, and to regard it as a state "inferior" to the monastic state. Hence the explanations and clarifications of St. Athanasius in his letter to Dracontius, x.

³ Cf. Tillemont, *Histoire des Empereurs*, Vol. V, Paris, 1701, p. 324, and C. Baur, *Der hl. Chrysostomus und seine Zeit*, Vol. II, 294.

⁴ Cf. P. de Labriolle, *La crise montaniste*, pp. 126, 158, 320, 451.

⁵ Ch. xlvii. On all this matter, cf. Schiwietz, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, pp. 303 *et seq.* He has corrected the exaggerations of Harnack and Grützmacher.

Even so, a little later, the ecclesiastical hierarchy will feel the need of regulating the relations between monks and the episcopate, and of ensuring the supreme authority of the bishop. Some dubious elements slipped into the monasteries; too many monks wandered about hither and thither without any discipline; too many quarrelsome monks were disturbing the cities. The Council of Chalcedon will clearly set forth the episcopal prerogatives. But in view of its date, 451, this Council falls outside the scope of the present volume.

§ 4. THE ANTI-MONASTIC MOVEMENT IN THE WEST

Helvidius

One of the earliest literary manifestations of the anti-ascetical spirit at Rome was that of a layman, Helvidius. In order to combat the new ideas on the superiority of celibacy, he endeavoured to shake the argument in which this idea found its strongest support: he attacked belief in the stainless virginity of Mary *post partum*. He argued from the "antequam convenirent" of *St. Matthew* (i. 18); from the phrase "first-born" applied to Jesus (*ibid.*, i. 25; *Luke* ii. 7); the references to the "brethren of Jesus" (*Luke* viii. 20). He also appealed to the authority of Tertullian and that of Victorinus of Pettau. Finally, he compared the life of a virgin and that of a wife, and claimed that the latter was superior to the former. There is one allusion (§ xvi) which leads us to think that he had made use of the work of a certain Craterius, who had put forth a defence of the single state. These polemics brought forward various champions, the best armed of whom was certainly St. Jerome. We know that his reply to Helvidius, very forcefully written, can be regarded as the first Latin treatise on Mariology, and it contains most of the theses which have since become traditional within the Catholic Church.

Jovinian

The *Adversus Helvidium* belongs to the period of the second stay of Jerome in Rome (382-384). About 392-393

he took up the controversy once more, at the request of Pammachius, the son-in-law of Paula, against a certain Jovinian who had in his turn tried to prevent Eastern asceticism from taking root in Roman society. Already about 392 a Council held in Rome had condemned him, together with eight of his supporters. He had withdrawn to Milan; but St. Ambrose hastened to renew the condemnation pronounced against him, in a synod of 393. Jerome received from Rome the *Commentarioli* on these incidents, written by Jovinian; he thought them very badly written (" . . . tanta barbaries et tantis vitiis spurcissimis sermo confusus, ut nec quid loquetur nec quibus argumentis velit probare quod loquitur, potuerim intelligere." I, i). Even so, he succeeded in extracting from the work four theses, which he proceeded to refute at length.¹

In the first place, Jovinian had proclaimed the equality of merit acquired by virgins, widows and married women after baptism—provided their "works" were equivalent. His aim was to vindicate the state of marriage against its detractors, including those who, though not expressly belittling it, had a greater esteem for the single life.

His second proposition was more abstract in character, and more specifically theological. He claimed that one who has received baptism with full faith cannot after his rebirth be led into sin by the devil. There may have been in his mind some hidden connection between this second thesis and his first. For if the reception of baptism with the required dispositions is sufficient to make us the permanent dwelling place of God, it matters little which state we adopt after baptism. The selection is a matter of secondary importance only, and one should not exaggerate its value.

The third thesis of Jovinian aimed at establishing that there is no difference at all between abstaining from food and taking it with thanksgiving. It thus tended to lessen the merit of fasting, and Jovinian affirmed that this supposedly meritorious abstinence was only an unhealthy imitation of that of the priests of Cybele and Isis, or of the Pythagoreans.

¹ *Adversus Jovinianum*, I, iii.

In his fourth and last proposition, Jovinian affirmed the identity of reward in heaven for all those who have kept the faith and baptismal innocence. Hence he was bound to conclude that it is foolish to try to establish a hierarchy between the various states of life. One just person is as good as another, whatever may be the method by which he maintains himself in justice.

We need not summarise here the arguments which Jerome brings forward against the "principles" of his opponent. We will content ourselves with saying that the *Adversus Jovinianum* is a work in which Jerome's lively style is given full scope. He had not forgotten the hostility which the Roman ladies had manifested towards him in consequence of his previous propaganda, and we can well imagine that the ladies of fashion must have winced when they read his description of the failings of their sex.¹ His book indeed caused some slight scandal. Pammachius had purchased a number of copies, but in view of the impression created, he hastened to withdraw from circulation those on which he could lay his hands.² On the other hand, Domnio sent to Jerome a whole list of passages, with a request that he should correct or explain them.³ Jerome was obliged to defend himself in a sort of apologetic letter, addressed to Pammachius.⁴ In this he repeats that he did not in any way intend to condemn marriage, nor to allow a mistrust of too rich a diet and of the effects of wine to lead him into a sort of Manichaeism. He combined his defence with biting irony against his detractors.

Vigilantius

Thirteen or fourteen years later, in 406, Jerome had to break yet another lance, this time against a priest of Calagurris (in the south-west of Gaul, not far from the Spanish frontier). Jerome had personal reasons for his dislike of this Vigilantius, to whom he had previously extended a kindly welcome at Bethlehem, on the recommendation of St. Paulinus of Nola,⁵ and who had repaid him by spreading

¹ He says this himself, I, x.

² *Epist.*, xlviii, 2.

³ *Epist.*, I, 3.

⁴ *Epist.*, xlix (xlvi in Vallarsi).

⁵ *Epist.*, lviii, 11.

unpleasant rumours.¹ Vigilantius seems to have attacked, with little method or consistency, various forms of Christian piety, such as the veneration shown towards the tombs of the martyrs, the candles burnt in their honour, the vigils which were customarily kept in their basilicas, the kissing of their relics, etc. He did not spare monachism: he protested against the custom of sending money to Jerusalem for the upkeep of the monks there;² he asked: "If all were to shut themselves up or live in solitude, who then would provide for divine service? Who would win the people of this world to eternal felicity? Who would keep sinners in the paths of virtue?"³ Withdrawal to the desert seemed to him to be indeed a desertion, and not a combat.⁴ Also he mistrusted the "profession" of virginity.

As soon as Jerome received his *opusculum*, he answered it in a short but indignant diatribe, the composition of which took only one evening.⁵ He did not deprive his reader of an outline of argument, but he aimed above all at repelling and destroying his opponent. He brings up against him his father's profession,⁶ and even his name, on which he proceeds to make some puns.⁷

Other Indications of the same Hostile Current

It must not be thought that these enemies of asceticism were merely isolated individuals with an insignificant audience. Even among the clergy they had sympathisers. St. Jerome complains of some bishops, whom he does not name, who were willing to confer the diaconate only on married candidates. "They will not dispense the sacraments of Christ," he writes, "except to those whose wives are with child or who are carrying crying infants in their arms!"⁸ On the other hand, St. Ambrose had to complain of two monks, Sarmatio and Barbatianus, who, after living in the monastery founded under his auspices at Milan, had left it and gone to Vercelli, where they propagated the ideas of

¹ *Epist.*, lxi, 3-4.

² *Contra Vigilantium*, xiii.

³ *Ibid.*, xv.

⁴ *Ibid.*, xvi.

⁵ *Ibid.*, xvii.

⁶ The father of Vigilantius kept an inn: cf. xiii.

⁷ He calls Vigilantius "Dormitantius" (as an enemy of pious vigils).

⁸ *Contra Vigilantium*, ii.

Jovinian. In his *Letter 63*, Ambrose writes at length to put the Christians of Vercelli on guard against their disastrous propaganda, which is calculated to make virgins dissatisfied with their vows and married women with conjugal fidelity, and lead widows to desire to contract a second marriage. He fulminates against these enemies of fasting, these detractors of virginity; and in order the more to discredit them, he calls them on several occasions disciples of Epicurus, that apologist of pleasure, that corrupter whom the philosophers had finally rejected from their society.¹ The very insistence of the bishop, and the way in which he develops at length his exhortations and anathemas, show how anxious he was about the activity of the dissidents, which was effectively opposing his own.

§ 5. PILGRIMAGES TO THE EAST

To obtain a true conception of the influence which monachism, in spite of the opposition we have just described, had upon the imaginations and minds of people in general, we must consider the pilgrimages which involved a movement of people from the West to the East, bringing the two parts of the Roman world into ever closer contact.

First Beginnings

Pilgrimages to the Holy Land had begun quite early.² Already in the second half of the second century, Melito, Bishop of Sardis, an assiduous writer and the author of an *Apology* addressed to Marcus Aurelius, had made the journey to Palestine, desiring, as he said, to see with his own eyes the land "in which the events (of the Gospel) have been announced and have taken place."³ It would be easy to find in the third century other similar instances.⁴

¹ *Epist.*, lxiii, 20-21.

² Cf. St. Jerome, *Epist.*, xlvi, 9.

³ Cf. Eusebius, *Hist. eccles.*, IV, xxvi, 14.

⁴ E.g. a certain Alexander, bishop in Cappadocia (Eusebius, *ibid.*, VI, xi, 2; St. Jerome, *De viris illustr.*, lxii); Origen (*In Joannem*, vi, 24); Firmilian of Caesarea (*De viris illustr.*, liv), etc.

The Attraction of the Holy Places in the Fourth Century

But it was in the fourth century that this movement became widespread, under the twofold influence of the desire to visit the Holy Places, and the curiosity resulting from the narratives in circulation concerning the monks of the East.¹

It was known that Constantine's mother, Helena, had purged Jerusalem—it had become Aelia Capitolina in the second century—from the idolatrous images and sanctuaries which Hadrian had multiplied there, and she had built magnificent churches, in which the liturgical ceremonies were carried out with great splendour.² On the other hand, the constant reading of the Bible aroused in cultivated minds the desire to have direct contact with the places and events recorded in Holy Writ. Thus, as St. Jerome writes, "Just as one understands the Greek historians better when one has seen Athens, or the third book of Virgil when one has sailed from Troas to Sicily by Leucate and the Acrauceronian hills,³ arriving finally at the mouth of the Tiber, so also we understand Scripture better when we have seen Judea with our own eyes, and discovered what still remains of places and ancient towns, and recognise local idioms, even when these have changed somewhat. That is why I myself took care to travel through this land, whose name is famous in all the Churches of Christ, in company with some Hebrew scholars."⁴

In Jerome's correspondence, there is an enthusiastic letter in which his faithful friends, the Roman Patrician ladies Paula and Eustochium, describe to Marcella, who had remained in Rome, their happiness in visiting the favoured East:⁵

Here one can see the most important people from everywhere. . . . Those who are the best known in Gaul hasten to come here. From the depths of his

¹ Rome was the centre of attraction of an influx in the reverse direction. Cf. Denys Gorce, *Les voyages, l'hospitalité et le port des lettres dans le monde chrétien des IV^e et V^e siècles*, Paris, 1925, pp. 3 *et seq.*; P. de Labriolle, *La crise montaniste*, p. 245.

² Paulinus of Nola, *Epist.*, xxxi, 4 and 6.

³ The Western coast of Epirus.

⁴ *In lib. Paralip.*, Praef.

⁵ *Epist.*, xlvj, 10 *et seq.*

country which the ocean separates from our own world, the Briton, as soon as he has made some progress in religion, abandons his western sun, and comes here to seek a city which he knows only by repute and by what he has read of it in the Holy Scriptures. What shall we say of the Armenians, the Persians, the peoples of India and Ethiopia, from Egypt bordering on Palestine and so full of solitaries, from Pontus, Cappadocia, Coele-Syria, Mesopotamia, and all the crowds from the East?

Here there is no rivalry save in humility. The last comer is regarded as the first. There is no difference in clothing, nothing which seeks admiration. We dress as we please, without exposing ourselves either to praise or to blame. . . . People do not devour one another here, as is done elsewhere with sharp teeth. There is no luxury, no cult of pleasure, but so many places for prayer that one day is not enough in which to visit them. . . . Oh when will the day come when a courier will arrive, all out of breath, to tell us that our Marcella has arrived in Palestine, where choirs of monks, and swarms of virgins will spread everywhere that good news; . . . the day when we shall be able to enter with you the cave of the Saviour, weep at the sepulchre of Christ with his sister, weep there with his mother, kiss the wood of the Cross, and ascend in mind and heart with the Saviour the Mount of Olivés; see Lazarus rise again all clothed with grave clothes, and see the waters of Jordan purified through the baptism of Jesus. . . . We will go to Nazareth, and there see the "flower" of Galilee, for Nazareth means flower. Not far from there, we shall see Cana, where the water was changed into wine. We shall ascend to Itabyrium, etc. . . .

Less optimistic on some days than the enthusiastic pilgrims, St. Jerome, when in a critical mood, did not hesitate to advise his friends not to make these long voyages, the profit of which did not always seem to him to be as certain

as he once thought. Thus he wrote as follows to Paulinus of Nola:

Do not imagine that there will be something lacking in your faith because you have not seen Jerusalem, and do not think that we are better than you because we are able to remain here. . . . If the places which witnessed the accomplishment of the mystery of the Cross and of the Resurrection were not situated in an overpopulated city, in which there are found courts, a garrison, prostitutes, mummers, clowns, etc., as in other cities; if they were frequented only by solitaries, doubtless all solitaries ought to desire to have their dwelling here. But what a madness it would be to renounce the world, leave one's country, abandon the towns, and become a professed monk, merely to live far away in the midst of a population which is much denser than that of one's own country. People flock to Jerusalem from all parts of the world. This city is full of all sorts of people, and we see here such a mob of men and women that one is obliged to witness many a spectacle which one managed to avoid elsewhere, in a certain measure.¹

This was written at a moment of great irritation. A few months before, writing to his Roman friend Desiderius, Jerome had invited him to come out to the Holy Place, "to worship here the footsteps of the Saviour, and to see here in all their attractiveness the traces of the Nativity, the Cross and the Passion."²

The Attraction of Egypt

Pious pilgrimages to Egypt, the cradle of monachism, were no less frequent, and more than one pilgrim, after visiting Palestine, directed his steps towards that land of predilection. There was not much merit for those who

¹ *Epist.*, lviii, 2 *et seq.*, written in 394-5. See the most relevant texts collected by Fr. Stummer in *Florilegium Patristicum*, fasc. 41 (1935): *Monumenta historiam et geographiam Terrae Sanctae illustrantia*.

² *Epist.*, xlvii, 2: "Adorasse ubi steterunt pedes Domini pars fidei est et quasi recentia nativitatis et crucis ac passionis vidisse vestigia."

contented themselves with visiting the monasteries or the hermits installed in the Nile Delta, but the risks became great once they ventured to penetrate into Upper Egypt.

Towards the close of his *Historia Monachorum*,¹ Rufinus—or rather the unknown author he is translating—gives an account of tragic incidents from which he managed himself to escape, and even he had not dared to penetrate as far as the Upper Thebaid.

He mentions no less than eight such incidents. On one occasion he thought he would perish from weariness and thirst. On another, his feet were badly injured through walking over land bristling with sharp needles of salt. He had to pass through a bog which came up to his armpits. A sudden rise of the Nile took him by surprise. Brigands chased him for a distance of ten miles. He was nearly drowned in the river. On one day, round about the Epiphany, on the Lake "De Maria," he had to take refuge on an island, because of extreme cold and a terrible storm. Finally, there was one last incident which remained a terrifying memory: while he was on his way towards the monasteries of Nitria, he came to the edge of a pool infested with crocodiles who, stretched out on the sunny bank, had the appearance of dead beasts. But the monsters suddenly recovered their vitality and came to attack him. He had just enough time to arm himself with the name of Christ, and that stopped them at once.

Some Famous Pilgrims

During the last thirty years of the fourth century, visits to these blessed lands were greatly multiplied. Among the best known of these travellers we must mention the names of Melania "the elder" and Rufinus in 371-372 (Rufinus remained in Egypt until 377); Cassian about 385 (he remained seven years in Lower Egypt); St. Jerome in 386, Palladius in 388 (until 399), the author of the Greek redaction of the *Historia monachorum* about 394, Aetheria about 395, Sylvania, the sister-in-law of the consul Rufinus, towards the end of the century, and Postumianus, the

¹ Migne, *P.L.*, Vol. XXI, 461.

mouthpiece of Sulpicius Severus in his *Dialogues*, in 401-404. We must also mention the moving language in which St. Jerome, always so full of Biblical memories, described in *Letter* 108¹ the arrival of the Patrician lady Paula among the monks of Nitria:

The holy and venerable Isidore came to meet her with an innumerable escort of monks, many of whom were invested with sacerdotal and levitical functions. She rejoiced thereat for the glory of the Lord, while declaring herself unworthy of such honour.

What shall I say of Macarius, Arsenius, Serapion, and the other famous ascetics who are, as it were, pillars of Christ? Whose cell did she not visit? At whose feet did she not kneel? In every one of these saints she considered that she saw Christ, and all that she did for them she did with joy as for the Lord.

We possess some very interesting accounts of these journeys through Palestine, Syria and Egypt. Jerome gives us one in his *Letter* 108—a passage from which has already been quoted; in addition we have the account of Palladius in his *Lausiac History*, that of Cassian in his *Institutiones coenobiorum*, and especially in his *Collationes*, that of Postumian, in the first *Dialogue* of Sulpicius Severus, and those contained in the *Historia monachorum in Aegypto*.

The "Peregrinatio Aetheriae"

One of the most interesting of these narratives is that discovered in 1887 by the Italian Gamurrini in a manuscript of Arezzo, the famous *Peregrinatio Aetheriae*. A number of points strongly indicate that it should be dated at about the end of the fourth century.²

It is the account of a pilgrimage made by a lady of high birth, doubtless a nun, to the Holy Places. It is addressed to her "sisters" in the West ("dominae venerabiles sorores, dominae animae meae, dominae sorores, dominae lumen meum"), and is written in an affectionate and cheerful way,

¹ *Epist.*, cviii, 14.

² In 393, according to Dom Morin, *Revue bénédictine*, Vol. XXV, 1913, pp. 174-186.

conveying to them her impressions and recollections. The account is incomplete. The part which remains shows us the writer at the foot of Mount Sinai. She has come from Jerusalem, and is going back there, as it is her centre. After a lapse of time she goes to Mount Nebo in Arabia (x, 1), returns to Jerusalem, sets out for the *Ausitis regio* on the borders of Idumea and Arabia to see the tomb (*memoria*) of Job (xiii, 1), and after another stay in the Holy City, she thinks of returning to her own country. But she plans first to go once more into Mesopotamia, in order to visit the solitaries whose extraordinary life has been so much praised, and also to see the tomb of St. Thomas at Edessa (xvii, 1). She journeys, therefore, from Antioch in the direction of Mesopotamia, and once her curiosity has been satisfied ("ut sum satis curiosa," xvi, 3), she sets out for Constantinople by Antioch, Cilicia, Cappadocia, Galatia, Bithynia and the sea (xxii-xxiii). It was at Constantinople that she wrote the account of her travels (xxiii, 10). Thinking that it will be of interest to her sisters, she adds a sort of appendix concerning the liturgy peculiar to the church of Jerusalem (xxiv, 1). This supplement is in itself almost as long as the remaining portion of the narrative. The conclusion is lost.

The style of the *opusculum* is quite a simple one, and it is free from any rhetoric. The interest it has is real, but it requires further definition. The lovers of the picturesque will be disappointed. The pilgrim is not insensible to natural beauty: the strong and "terrible" flow of the Euphrates reminds her very strongly of the Rhone,¹ and she takes pleasure in describing the wide expanse she saw from the top of Mount Nebo.² But she does not cultivate the epithet "unusual": "uallem infinitam, ualde pulchram, uallem pulchram satis et amoenam, uallem amoenissimam, hortos pulcherrimos, hortus gratissimus"—these very ordinary adjectives content her.³ What arouses her curiosity almost exclusively is to contemplate the places of which she has read in Scripture or in pious legends and, as it were, to see with her own eyes the moving events of which her religious imagination is full. Guided by the monks, whom

¹ xviii, 2.² xii, 3.³ i, 1; xiii, 2; xvi, 2; ix, 4; iv, 7.

she enlists with a naïve confidence which shows that she is very sure of herself, she tells us that she persuaded them to show her "singula loca, quae semper ego juxta scripturas requirebam."¹ A prayer, or the recitation of psalms, expresses each time her thanks to God for the happiness she has thus enjoyed.

If we leave aside the purely literary aspect, the *Peregrinatio* is a document of great value. We find in it a number of topographical indications, sufficiently detailed to be of use to scholars. Philology finds therein some expressions characteristic of late popular Latin. But it is especially the history of the liturgy which is enriched. "The lady who writes these pages gives us a description in minute detail of the liturgical ceremonies and services of each day. She tells us of the chief feasts of the ecclesiastical year at a time when other writers either remain silent on the matter or else give us only a few vague and incomplete details."²

Who was the author of the *Peregrinatio*? This is a question much discussed, but it seems now to have received an answer which, if not certain, is at least "reasonable and a likely one." The pilgrim must have been of a certain rank, to judge from the consideration she met with, whether from the clergy or from the official authorities, who put soldiers at her disposal to protect her. Gamurrini suggests that she was the sister-in-law (he wrongly says "sister") of the consul Rufinus who, according to Palladius,³ journeyed towards the end of the fourth century from Jerusalem to Egypt. She was called Σιλβανία, and Gamurrini renders this in Latin as *Silvia*. A work by Dom Férotin which appeared in 1903 in the *Revue des Questions historiques*⁴ has re-opened the discussion. Dom Férotin called attention to a letter found in a MS. of the Escorial, in which a Spanish monk, Valerius, who lived in Galicia in the second half of the seventh century, addressing the monks of Vierzo ("fratres

¹ vii, 2.

² Dom Cabrol, *Etude sur la Peregrinatio Silviae*, Paris, 1895.

³ *Hist. Laus.*, lv, 1.

⁴ M. Férotin, *Le véritable auteur de la Peregrinatio Silviae ; La vierge espagnole Ethéria*, in *Revue des Questions historiques*, Vol. LXXIV, 1903, pp. 367-397.

Bergidenses"), brings forward to rouse their zeal the admirable example of the journey made to the East in spite of many difficulties by the virgin Aetheria. The way in which he describes the meritorious trials of Aetheria does make it seem likely that he is referring to the Silvia in question. But this is only a hypothesis, and not certain.¹

Conclusion

We would have to go outside the scope of this work if we were to examine here the other accounts of pilgrimages which have come down to us from the later centuries, from the fifth to the eighth. But at least we may call attention to the importance of these journeys and pilgrimages to the Holy Land and Egypt from the standpoint of the history of civilisation. They enlarged the geographical and historical outlook of the West, which then tended to become more confined through the rupture of the great Roman unity. They constituted a remote preparation for the magnificent movement of the Crusades. The cult of relics and the liturgy were both influenced by Eastern usages, and particularly by those of the church of Jerusalem. Many a legend, such as that of the Holy Grail, had a similar origin. And even the monumental, iconographical and decorative art of the Middle Ages will display Syrian and Palestinian influences.

¹ This problem has been discussed once more by Dom Lambert in a series of articles in the *Revue Mabillon*, 1936-1938. The real name of the author is, he thinks, Egeria; her country of origin Galicia. She is, he suggests, the sister of Galla, and a disciple of Priscillian.

CHAPTER II

MORALITY AND SPIRITUALITY

§ I. THE DESCRIPTIONS OF CHRISTIAN MORALS IN THE MORALISTS

IF we were to listen to certain moralists or preachers of the fourth century, we might be led to believe that the Christian society of this period was full of dangerous germs of corruption. St. John Chrysostom sometimes gives us terrible descriptions of the moral disorders at Antioch. As for St. Jerome, we know the striking and pitiless pictures he gives us of hypocritical devotees, of foolish virgins, "agapetai," the fops among the Roman clergy, etc. "It is not surprising," he wrote, "if, when I attack vice, I wound many people. I intend to punch those noses which do not smell good: I cannot help it if they are diseased!"¹

Pious souls were never satisfied with the condition of things they saw around them. Already in the first century St. Paul uttered some hard things, and similar things are found in the second century in Hermas, and in the third century St. Cyprian, not to mention Tertullian, whom we may suspect of pessimism. But in the same period there were apologists who did not hesitate to paint an ideal picture of Christian morals, in contrast to pagan turpitude.

Without claiming to give a completely accurate analysis of the whole situation, we may at least assert that the entry into the Church of great numbers of converts of varying sincerity could hardly fail to lower the moral temperature. On this point the pagan Libanios² is in full agreement with St. Augustine³ and St. Jerome.⁴ Moreover, the bitterness of

¹ *Epist.*, xl.

² Περὶ τῶν ἱερῶν, xxx.

³ *De catech. rudibus*, xvii, 26.

⁴ *Vita Malchi*, i. St. Jerome says that, since the time of the martyrs, the Church has become "potentia quidem et divitiis major, sed virtutibus minor."

some of the doctrinal disputes, in which personal considerations were sometimes more prominent than the ideas themselves, did not give a very good impression to those who witnessed them. "There are no wild beasts so hostile to mankind as a number of Christians are towards each other," wrote the historian Ammianus Marcellinus.¹ We have only to consult any collection of homilies of the time to find innumerable allusions to aberrations of the moral sense, such as ridiculous superstitions, blind attachment to astrology² and magic, disgraceful drinking bouts under pretence of honouring the martyrs, shameful levies on the unfortunate, and secret immorality.

The other side of the picture is, however, equally clear. If there were not so many testimonies witnessing to the magnificent efforts of Christian charity in the instituting of hospitals, hostels for pilgrims,³ orphans,⁴ the poor,⁵ and the aged,⁶ that of Julian the Apostate would suffice in itself. "Do you not see," he wrote to Arsacius, the high priest of Galatia, "that what has especially led to the growth of atheism [i.e. Christianity] is their humanity towards strangers, their zeal for the burial of the dead, and a simulated gravity of life? This is what we must ourselves cultivate without any pretence. . . . It would be shameful, when the Jews have no beggars, and the wicked Galileans not only look after their own but even succour those belonging to ourselves, if our own people should lack the assistance which we ought to give them."⁷

There is something else we must add. It is a fact that many people in the fourth century lived lives at least as zealous and as full of interest for us as those who lived in times much more favoured from the point of view of literary and artistic output. It was in moral philosophy, and above

¹ *Res Gestae*, XXII, v, 4.

² On this point, see Cumont, in *Revue d'histoire et de littérature religieuse*, Vol. VIII, 1903, pp. 431-436.

³ *χενοδοχεῖα*.

⁴ *ὀρφανοτροφεῖα*.

⁵ *Πτωχοτροφεῖα*.

⁶ *Γηροτροφεῖα*.

⁷ *Epist.*, lxxxiv (ed. Bidez, p. 144). Cf. the *Misopogon* (ed. Hertlein, p. 363 AB) on the charitable zeal of the "Galilean" women, which lead to "a great admiration for their impiety, in those who require their help"; and *Epist.*, lxxxix (ed. Bidez, pp. 151 *et seq.*).

all in religious belief, that these souls found their greatest help and their most cherished ideal, and this is true even on the pagan side. "Mysticism" dominated and inspired the best elements in Roman society. The rapid development of monachism throughout the East and in a part of the West; the pilgrimages which took so many travellers from all parts of the East and West to Palestine and the Holy Places, to Egypt with its ascetics, and to Rome with its catacombs and its martyrs—all these things, already studied in this work,¹ show the vitality of the faith on the Christian side.

§ 2. THE BIBLE AS THE SOURCE OF CHRISTIAN PIETY²

The chief source of Christian piety was the Bible. Of course, we must not think that Christians spent all their time reading it. St. John Chrysostom complains of the lack of interest manifested by many of the faithful, who could not even say how many epistles St. Paul wrote, or to whom they were written, as all their interests were centred in races and theatre-going.³ But in the case of innumerable souls, the Bible provided all the food of their minds and hearts; it tempered individual peculiarities, it put before them noble or touching stories, prayers, and a general conception of the world, of man, of the origin of life, and of human duty. Then, by the allegorical method so widespread at that time, innumerable applications were inferred from the letter of Scripture. But this "letter" had first to be grasped, understood and elucidated. Everything was looked for in the Bible, the *veracissima Scriptura*. Indeed, too much was sought from it, for the secrets of nature are not necessarily revealed therein, and some ideas entertained concerning the

¹ Cf. *supra*, pp. 500-512.

² Cf. D. Gorce, *La Lectio Divina, des origines du Cénobitisme à saint Benoît et Cassiodore*, Paris, 1925.

³ *Hom. in quaedam loca Novi Testamenti*, I, i.

holy Book prepared the way for serious conflicts in the future.¹

Among the most significant manifestations of Christian piety, we must examine in some detail the cultus of relics, which reached its full development in the fourth century.

§ 3. THE WORSHIP OF RELICS²

The Word "Relics"

Reliquiae is one of the many words which, after a lengthy use in profane Latin, passed into the Christian vocabulary and which, while retaining their fundamental sense, have gradually taken on a special meaning.

Reliquiae usually signified the "remains" of a deceased person. Cicero mentions in his *De Legibus*³ that "C. Marii sitas reliquias apud Anienem dissipari jussit Sulla victor." "Sylla, once he had won the victory, ordered the remains of C. Marius interred near to the Anio to be thrown to the winds." Tacitus, in his sad account of the way in which the army of Germanicus discovered the unfortunate remains of the legions of Varus, who had been annihilated by the Germans five years previously, writes: "Igitur romanus qui aderat exercitus, sextum post cladis annum, trium legionum ossa, nullo noscente alienas reliquias an suorum humo tegeret, omnes ut conjunctos . . . condebant."⁴ It would be easy to give many other examples of this use of the word which prevailed in profane Latin down to the sixth century. Thus the *Digest* frequently employs the term to signify the mortal remains of a dead person.⁵

¹ Already in the sixth century, Cosmas Indicopleustes, a great traveller who became a monk, published a *Christian Topography* in which he condemned the idea of the spherical nature of the earth and the Ptolemaic system of Astronomy from Moses and the *Book of Genesis* (see the edition with notes by Windstedt, Cambridge, 1909). Certain texts such as *Letter xxx*, 1, of St. Jerome, and certain passages in his *Commentaries* (e.g. in *Ecclesiast.*, i; *In Isai. proph.*, Prol.) tend in the same direction.

² For Bibliography, see p. 724.

³ ii, 22. ⁴ *Annales*, I, lxii.

⁵ Heumann-Seckel, *Handlex. zu den Quellen des röm. Rechts*, 9th edn., Jena, 1907, p. 504.

But from the moment when the cultus of the martyrs began to extend widely, i.e. from the Constantinian period, the specifically religious sense of the word began to predominate. But even so, the traditional meaning sometimes appears in ecclesiastical documents. Thus, when St. Jerome remarks that he has learnt that the "reliquiae" of Lea, the cherished friend of Marcella, have been taken to Ostia,¹ we must understand the term to mean "remains" and not "relics." On the other hand, it is preferable to translate as "relics" when St. Jerome says that in the twentieth year of the reign of Constantius, the "ossa" of St. Luke were transferred to Constantinople "cum reliquiis Andreae apostoli."² For the rest, we may say that the signification of the term became gradually contracted. In Gregory of Tours it has become a technical term, and it occurs as such sixty times in the *Libri Miraculorum* alone.³

Psychology of Relic Worship

If, instead of imagining hypotheses as to the sentiments underlying the cultus of relics, we consult the authoritative statements of the Church in the fourth and fifth centuries, we shall find the following explanations given:

1. The cultus is defended by arguments based on the most natural sentiments of the human heart. When a father dies, his children, if they have really loved him, cherish tenderly the clothes he has worn, the ring which adorned his finger, etc. The bodies of the saints were the organ and vessel of the Spirit, and more intimately linked with their personality than the objects just mentioned, which are nevertheless entitled to veneration.⁴

2. A relic is a protection, a "phylactery," a "munimentum"⁵ for the person who wears it. Thus, we find a piece of bone, or a tiny portion of the true Cross, worn round the neck, or enclosed in the bezel of a ring.⁶ This

¹ *Epist.*, xxiii, 1.

² *De viris illustribus*, vii.

³ Cf. Max Bonnet, *Le Latin de Grégoire de Tours*, p. 299.

⁴ St. Augustine, *De civitate Dei*, I, 13.

⁵ St. Paulinus of Nola, *Epist.*, xxxi.

⁶ See Fr. Doelger, in *Antike und Christentum*, Vol. III, pp. 81 *et seq.*

defends one from innumerable dangers which threaten one's health or even life, and conduces to one's salvation.¹

3. In this way a relic forms for the city which honours it a very useful protection against attacks by plunderers, and it is a guarantee of public safety.²

Thus, the natural sentiment of veneration, the religious sense, and collective and individual interest combined to promote this form of piety, to give it a very vigorous development.

Remote Antecedents of this Worship

Pagan antiquity had certainly not forgotten the respect due to the remains of famous men, the things which had belonged to them, and the places where they had lived. Friedrich Pfister has been able to write a volume of four hundred pages on the *Cultus of Relics in Antiquity*:³ therein he brings out the veneration shown to the tombs of great men, their images, portraits and dwellings. Rome itself was a city of relics. There one could see the hut of Faustulus, the augur's stick of Romulus, the toga woven by Tarquin's wife, and many other remains of a past dear to the imagination. So great was the respect shown towards the mortal remains of great benefactors of the human race that sometimes their relics were solemnly transported from the long unknown place where they had rested back to their native place, which gave them a triumphal welcome. In this way in 469 B.C. the body of Theseus, buried in the island of Scyros, was solemnly transported to Athens, once a miracle had revealed the exact situation of his tomb.⁴

This sentiment was so deeply rooted in men's hearts that unscrupulous charlatans already began to profit by the pious credulity of the public. Thus, the harp used by Paris was

¹ "Fidele pignus," says Prudentius (*Peristeph.*, vi, 135); "munera salutis," says St. Ambrose (*Exh. Virgin.*, ii, 4).

² St. Basil, *Hom. in sanctos XL martyres*, viii; St. Ephrem, *Sermones Exegetici*; *In Isaiam*, xxvi, 10; Theodoret, *Graec. Aff. Cur.*, *Sermo I*, 8.

³ In *Religionsgeschichtliche Versuchen und Vorarbeiten*, Bd. V, Giessen, 1909.

⁴ Plutarch, *Theseus*, xxxvi; *Cimon*, viii.

shown, together with Leda's egg, the bones of the monster to which Andromeda had been exposed, and so on.

We can now understand how powerful this sentiment would become when, to the traditional reasons for honouring the mortal remains of great men, was added a new reason very cogent in itself: the bodies of the martyrs had been the dwelling place of the Holy Spirit, who had supported and inspired them in their terrible physical sufferings. They were examples of the perfect Christian by their faith and charity, and accordingly, they were surely worthy of an eternal veneration by their brethren, as the privileged depositaries of supernatural powers.

First Christian Testimonies

Traces of this pious respect for the remains of the martyrs, for portions of their bodies, and even for things which they had possessed or with which they had been in contact, are found long before the Peace of the Church.

Already on the occasion of the martyrdom of St. Polycarp, Bishop of Smyrna about 155, the faithful, desirous of "sharing in his holy remains," collected his bones as "of greater value than precious stones or of gold of the highest price."¹

A little later, probably under Marcus Aurelius, the *Martyrium Carpi, Papyli, Agathonices* relates the following fact:² "The Christians secretly removed their remains (τὰ λείψανα), and retained them for the glory of Christ and the praise of his martyrs."

On the occasion of the struggle of Perpetua, Felicity and their companions in the arena of the amphitheatre of Carthage in 203, we find the martyr Saturus dipping the ring of the soldier Pudens in his own blood, because he had been very good to the Christians, and handing it back to him as a *pignus* and a *memoria sanguinis*.³

About 258, the *Acta Proconsularia* on the martyrdom of St. Cyprian show us the faithful putting linen cloths on the place where the bishop had been beheaded, doubtless so that these might soak up some of his blood.⁴

¹ *Mart. Polycarpi*, xvii, 1 ; xviii, 2.

² § 47.

³ *Martyrium Perpetuae et Felic.*, xxi, 3.

⁴ *Acta Procons.*, v, 4.

In the *Testament of the Forty Martyrs*, the condemned men express their desire to be buried together and, foreseeing that the faithful will quarrel over portions of their bodies, they request them particularly to leave these intact.¹

The anxiety of Christians to possess the remains of the martyrs was so notorious that, during certain periods of persecution, the authorities did their utmost to prevent the faithful from having access to the objects of their veneration, and either threw the dead bodies to the winds, or burnt them, or again cast them away to be devoured by wild beasts.²

The Fourth Century

Once the persecutions had come to an end, and the churches were able to celebrate at will the glorious past which remained so vivid in their memories, martyrs were given the most prominent place in these enthusiastic celebrations.

"Sanctus ubique beatorum martyrum sanguis exceptus est, et veneranda ossa cotidie testimonio sunt," wrote St. Hilary in 361.³ It would be superfluous to give all the facts which confirm this statement. Already at the beginning of the fourth century we find the case of a widow named Lucilla, an ardent controversialist in the Donatist quarrel, who carried on her person a martyr's bone, and kissed it before receiving the Eucharist. If she was criticised, it was not because her devotion was regarded as abnormal or superstitious, but merely because the martyr in question had not been officially recognised as such.⁴

Anyone who consults the texts of this period will find a great number of statements indicating the ardour with which the faithful gathered together the glorious remains of heroic fighters, "quae raptim sibi quisque vindicabat," as the poet

¹ N. Bonwetsch, *Das Testament der vierzig Märtyrer*, in *Studien zur Geschichte der Theologie und Kirche*, I, i, Leipzig, 1897, p. 76.

² *Mart. Polycarpi*, xvii; Eusebius, *Hist. eccles.*, VIII, vi, 7; Lactantius, *De mort. persecut.*, xxi, 11, etc.

³ *Contra Constantium*, viii.

⁴ "Necdum vindicati" (St. Optatus, I, 6). See on this passage Doelger, in *Antike und Christentum*, Vol. III, p. 245.

Prudentius says.¹ Paulinus of Nola is full of references to these pious customs.²

The Rediscoveries of Relics

One of the strangest phenomena of that time consisted in the rediscoveries of bodies of saints, often as the result of certain revelations from on high. St. Ambrose tells us in a well-known passage how, at a time when serious trouble with the court of the Empress Justina was placing him in a most difficult position, the situation of the tomb of SS. Gervasius and Protasius was revealed to him by a sort of inspiration which he describes as "prophetic":

My clergy were all trembling when I dug up the soil in front of the balustrade of SS. Felix and Nabor. I found the promised signs. Some possessed persons were brought to us for the laying on of hands, and the power of the holy martyrs was so manifest that, even before we had uttered a single word, one woman was seized and thrown down before the holy sepulchre. We found two men of an astonishing height, like those of the ancient legends. The skeletons were intact, and there was also much blood. During these two days, immense crowds assembled. In short, we arranged these remains in a suitable manner, and in the evening we transported them to the Basilica of Fausta. There a vigil was kept throughout the night, and the imposition of hands took place. On the next day, we transported the relics to the Basilica known as the Ambrosian.³

These events, which were spoken of widely in the Christian world, led to other similar ones, some of which it is difficult not to regard as suspect, for the procedure was a simple one, and it was copied for gainful purposes by "finders" who were scarcely in good faith.⁴

We must also note the important part played by the

¹ *Peristephanon*, vi, 132.

² *Carmina*, xix, 319 *et seq.*; xxi, 590 *et seq.*; xxvii, 403 *et seq.*, etc.

³ St. Ambrose, *Epist.*, xxii.

⁴ See Delehaye, *Le culte des martyrs*, pp. 70-91.

fragments of the true Cross, discovered by the Empress Helena, Constantine's mother. Already in the middle of the fourth century these had been shared out through the whole world.¹ People carried them encased in a ring or suspended round the neck by a chain.

The Care taken over Authenticity

When we recall the often disgraceful abuses and ridiculous confusions to which the cultus of relics led in the later Middle Ages, it is useful to bear in mind that, in the fourth century, certain measures to secure authenticity were carried out, at least by conscientious believers. When St. Basil was asked by St. Ambrose to send him the body of one of his predecessors in the see of Milan, St. Dionysius, who had died in exile, he was careful to give Ambrose a guarantee certifying the source of the remains. For he wrote to the illustrious Bishop of Milan in these terms:

Receive these with joy as great as the sorrow we have felt in parting with them. Let there be no hesitation, let no one express the slightest doubt. This is indeed the invincible athlete. . . . There is only one coffin which received this venerable body; no other body rested near by; the tomb was easily recognisable, and it was surrounded by the honours due to martyrs. The Christians who collected it and buried it with their own hands are the same ones who now have disinterred it. They wept as though they were losing a father or a patron; but they have put your own faith before their own consolation. The piety of those who have delivered the body, the extreme care of those who have received it, and the absence of any deceit or dishonesty, is all attested to by us. I assure you that this is the simple truth.²

But what prepared the way for the indiscretions and deceits of later times was the custom, introduced very early in the East, of dividing the bodies of the martyrs into

¹ St. Cyril of Jerusalem says this many times in his *Catechetical Discourses* of 347-348 (iv, 10; x, 19; xiii, 4).

² St. Basil, *Epist.*, cxcvii.

fragments, each one of which was thought to retain the *dunamis*, that is the efficacious activity, the saving grace, of the whole body.¹

The West, accustomed to the strong sanctions of the Roman Law directed against anyone who should disturb the repose of the dead, contented itself with sending pieces of material (*brandea*, *palliola*, *sanctuaría*) which had been in contact with the tomb of the saint, and which had accordingly received some share of its *virtus*. This rule prevailed for several centuries more.² In the East the civil regulations were not so strict, and there was a general movement of the bodies of the saints in the form of translations or of divisions of relics, without any direct opposition from the law.

The Abuses

It does not seem that the cultus of relics gave rise immediately to the strange abuses which sprang up later. But the popularity of this form of piety could not fail to encourage frauds resorted to for the sake of gain. In one of his treatises, the *De opere monachorum*, St. Augustine mentions and criticises various categories of mendicant and wandering monks, the lack of discipline among whom he regards as a veritable plague, some who "membra martyrum, si tamen martyrum, vendunt."³ He condemns this kind of transaction, and he raises doubts as to the authenticity of the "members" which these itinerant monks sell. This traffic, which had become a profitable one, must have been extensive, for the State had to deal with it and bring it under some measure of control. A law of Theodosius forbids the transference of the bodies of the martyrs, or the cutting of them into pieces, or the sale of these. On the other hand, it authorises the erection of a *martyrium* over the tomb of dead

¹ This is explained by Theodoret, *Graec. Aff. Cur.*, *Sermo* i, 8: "In the divided body, the grace is not divided, and the fragments, however small they may be, have the same virtue as the body when intact." Victorius of Rouen, *De laude sanct.*, ix, 19, and Paulinus of Nola, *Nat.*, xi, say the same.

² This is solemnly affirmed by Pope Gregory the Great in a letter to Constantina Augusta in June 594 (*Registrum*, IV, xxx, 3).

³ § xxviii.

persons regarded as saints.¹ That this regulation remained to some extent a dead letter is shown by the further developments of the cultus of which we have just described the first beginnings.

The First Opposition to the Cultus of Relics

Already in the fourth century, the cultus of relics aroused some resistance and criticism. In pagan circles, especially where the spirit of Neo-Platonism after the manner of Jamblichus was dominant, the custom of cutting up dead bodies to provide objects of devotion was regarded as a sinister profanation and as a nauseating corruption.²

Some objections were also raised on the Christian side. Towards the end of the century, Vigilantius, a priest of the south-west of Gaul, maintained that the cult of relics was nothing more than a kind of transposed paganism.³ He regarded those who honoured relics as *cinerarii* and *idolatrae*, and this all the more because, in his view, it was not a case of treating these relics with respect, but indeed with a real but unlawful adoration. To this St. Jerome replied thus:

No, we do not adore the relics of the martyrs, any more than we adore the sun, the moon, the angels, the archangels, or the seraphim. . . . We honour them in order to adore Him whose witnesses they were (*martyres*); we honour the servants in order that this honour given to them may be passed on to the Master who has said: "He who receiveth you, receiveth me."⁴

¹ *Cod. Theod.*, IX, xvii, 7 (26th of Feb. 386): "Humatum corpus nemo ad alterum locum transferat; nemo martyrem distrahat, nemo mercetur. Habeant vero in potestate, si quolibet in loco sanctorum est aliquis conditus, pro ejus veneratione quod martyrium vocandum sit addant quod voluerint fabricarum."

² See P. de Labriolle, *La Réaction païenne*, pp. 420, 432.

³ "Quid necesse est tanto honore non solum honorare, sed etiam adorare, illud nescio quid, quod in modico vasculo transferendo colis?" (phrase from Vigilantius, quoted by St. Jerome, *Adv. Vigil.*, ix). "Quid pulverem lintamine circumdatum adorando oscularis?" (*ibid.*).

⁴ *Epist.*, cix, 2.

§ 4. THE EXAGGERATIONS OF ASCETICISM

Another aspect of Christian piety in the fourth century deserves to be pointed out, with moderation but, nevertheless, quite plainly. We are referring to the attitude of reserve in sexual matters which bordered on scruples, and sometimes amounted to a sort of aversion for the things of the flesh. Popular literature, such as the apocryphal *Acts of Apostles* (in which Gnosticism often left its mark)¹ and again the histories of the monks, delight in dealing with very delicate matters such as the heroism of young married people who separate from one another on the very evening after their marriage,² or who decide to observe perpetual continence.³ They praise the firm decision of wives who have left their husbands to escape a subjection which horrified them,⁴ etc. The theme of the disadvantages of married life (an age-long theme which more than one pagan author had already exploited by way of satire or from the point of view of masculine egotism)⁵ was once more developed, and resulted in enthusiastic apologies for virginity. Even among the less adventurous thinkers we detect a sort of contempt for the physical actions bound up with the propagation of the species, and a deep disgust for the impure desires which accompany them.⁶

§ 5. THE WISDOM OF THE AUTHORITIES

The Council of Gangres

To get an idea of the moral difficulties, the dissensions

¹ For examples, see *Bulletin d'anc. litt. et d'archéol. chrét.*, 1911, pp. 18 et seq.

² Cf. Socrates, *Hist. Eccles.*, IV, xxiii (the story of Amoun). Cf. Palladius, *Hist. laus.*, viii.

³ Cf. St. Jerome, *Epist.*, lxvi, 3; Palladius, *Hist. laus.*, lxvii, 1.

⁴ The discourse of Melania the Younger to her husband Pinianus, in Palladius, *Hist. laus.*, lxi, 2. We have the inverse case: that of a husband who wished to quit his wife against her will: Cassian, *Coll.*, XXI, viii-ix (Theonas).

⁵ Cf. P. de Labriolle, *Les satires de Juvénal, étude et analyse*, Paris, pp. 192-197; also *Gospel of St. Thomas*, in Migne, *Dict. des Apocryphes*, Vol. II, p. 1015.

⁶ This feature is evident in Augustine; cf. *Soliloq.*, I, 9, 17; I, 14, 25; *Sermo*, ccxii, 2; cli, 8; *Conf.*, X, xxx, 42; *De Gen. ad litt.*, XII, xv, 31; *De civitate Dei*, XIV, xvi, etc. Cf. also St. John Chrysostom, *De virgin.*, xiv.

and the social troubles brought about from time to time in family circles in consequence of the way in which chastity was sometimes advocated, it suffices to glance at the canons of some of the provincial councils. These are very revealing, in spite of their juridical brevity.

Thus for example we have the Council of Gangres in Paphlagonia, held in the middle of the fourth century at a date which it is difficult to determine because of the lack of sufficient information concerning the bishops who were present at it.¹ In their *Ecclesiastical Histories*, Socrates and Sozomen, in the fifth century, affirm that the Eustathius mentioned in connection with this Council was none other than the Eustathius who was metropolitan of Sebaste in Lesser Armenia, and was venerated by St. Basil as one of the founders of monachism in those regions, until these two bishops were divided by the Trinitarian controversies and Basil found himself the object of insulting accusations by his beloved master, supported by forged documents. Socrates regards Eustathius as personally responsible for the deviations condemned by the Council of Gangres, while Sozomen is much more favourable towards him, and would seem to place the responsibility rather upon some foolish disciples.²

However this may be, as a result of senseless propaganda, this far off diocese of Asia Minor seems to have passed through a strange crisis. Not only was marriage there theoretically condemned, but married people, however honourable their lives were in fact, were treated as pestilential persons. They were regarded as without any hope of salvation. People would not pray in the house in which they lived.³ Those priests who had married before their ordination and who retained their wives (as the ecclesiastical discipline of the time allowed) were the object of the scorn of the faithful: the altars at which they celebrated the Liturgy were deserted, and the liturgical actions which they carried out were regarded as abominable.⁴ Indoctrinated by

¹ Mansi, *Concilia*, Vol. II, col. 1095 *et seq.*

² Socrates, *Hist. eccles.*, II, xliii; Sozomen, *Hist. eccles.*, III, xiv. The Council itself does not attack Eustathius so much as his followers.

³ Canon 1; Socrates, *loc. cit.*

⁴ Canon 4; Socrates, *loc. cit.*

the preachers, many wives left their husbands, and after a certain time some of these imprudent women fell into adultery.¹ Others repudiated their sex, cut their hair short, and dressed as men.² There were some who, "under pretext of asceticism,"³ abandoned their children as useless burdens in a life which should be free from earthly bonds. Nor was it only families which were thus broken up. The Eustathians went about proclaiming that the rich were excluded in advance from the kingdom of God;⁴ they urged slaves to refuse all obedience to their masters, under colour of safeguarding the better thereby the freedom of their prayers.⁵ Next, with the narrow spirit characteristic of sectarians, they began to have their own conventicles, their own fasts, their own costume; they despised the common life of the faithful, abstained from attending the "synaxes," and refused to take part in the ordinary commemorations of the martyrs,⁶ but nevertheless they claimed, in virtue of their moral superiority, an undeserved part in the fruits offered in the Church.⁷

After anathematising these various abuses, the bishops of the Council decided that it was necessary to issue a statement of principles, so that there could be no misunderstanding as to their true intentions. In it they assert that they have no intention of condemning asceticism, or continence, or virginity, but only "novelties" contrary to the Scriptures and to the rules of the Church. This statement is drawn up with studious care and moderation.

To sum up, we must admire the exact sense of reality which inspired the middle course taken by the episcopate in these times of occasionally indiscreet enthusiasm for the single life. The exaggerated spiritualism, traces of which we have found in so many *opuscula* which were at that time being widely read, could hardly fail by its apparently heroic character to exert a certain influence, and even pressure, on the hierarchy. If the bishops had encouraged this intem-

¹ Canon 14.

² Canon 17; Sozomen, *Hist. eccles.*, III, xiv.

³ Canon 15.

⁴ Sozomen, *loc. cit.*, and the Synodal Letter which follows the Canons.

⁵ Canon 3.

⁶ Canons 5, 6, 19, 20.

⁷ Synodal Letter and canons 7 and 8.

perate zeal, could Christianity have continued to be suitable for the majority of normal people ?

The Council of Laodicea

We find a similar anxiety manifested once more in Asia Minor, at Laodicea, a town in Pacatian Phrygia, on the occasion of a conciliar assembly. This showed itself in a reasonable and moderate ruling which, without "extinguishing the Spirit," reproved the exaggerations which were being wrongly based upon its inspirations.

It is unfortunate that we cannot fix exactly the date of this Council of Laodicea *ad Lycum*, any more than we can determine that of the Council of Gangres; but that it was held in the fourth century admits of no doubt. The ancient collections give it sometimes one position in the conciliar series, sometimes another, and there is no agreement between historians or canonists as to the time when it was held.¹ The problem is indeed complicated by the fact that no synodal letter accompanies the canons, and the signatures of the bishops present are also lacking. The fifty-nine canons are set forth in a very brief form, and are introduced by two or three monotonous formulae which give the impression of a summary of the original text. The whole is preceded by a preface in three lines, with some variant readings: "The holy council, gathered together from various provinces of Asia at Laodicea in Pacatian Phrygia, has passed the following ecclesiastical regulations."

Even if the original text has not come down to us, as seems likely, there is no room for doubt as to the authenticity of this Council. The historian Theodoret, who composed (about 450) his exegetical commentaries at Cyr in Syria, appeals to it on two occasions in connection with the cultus of angels, and invokes its authority to show that this cultus is unlawful.²

We cannot paraphrase here this long series of disciplinary enactments, which deal with various questions of eccle-

¹ Before Nicaea (Baronius); between 343 and 381 (Tillemont, Dom Ceillier, Hefele); in 363 (Pagi); after 381 (Boudinhon).

² *In col.* ii, 18, and *ibid.*, iii, 17. Cf. Canon 35 of Laodicea.

siastical organisation, liturgy, etc. We will select only those prescriptions which concern Christian life and morals.¹

The Council displays a marked concern for the conduct of the clergy. It forbids them to practise usury, and even to lend at interest,² thus renewing a prohibition already enacted by the Council of Nicaea. It also forbids them to frequent inns, and specifies that this enactment affects not only priests but also deacons, subdeacons, lectors, singers, exorcists, doorkeepers, and likewise those whom it describes by a curious expression as "the group" or "order" of ascetics (τὸ τάγμα τῶν ἀσκητῶν).³ It likewise forbids clerics of whatever degree to remain present at weddings or banquets at the time when the "games" begin.⁴ Moreover, all Christians ought to abstain on such occasions from leaping or dancing (βαλλίζειν ἢ ὀρχεῖσθαι).⁵ Churchmen must also take care not to bathe at the same time as women; the prohibition is extended to the laity, for this practice is "the main criticism which can be levelled against the pagans."⁶

The question of agapes was also discussed by the Council. We know that these funeral banquets in honour of the martyrs gave rise in many places to incidents which caused anxiety to the competent authority. A well-known passage in the *Confessions* of St. Augustine shows how vigorously St. Ambrose forbade the custom at Milan because of the abuses to which it gave rise, and also because of their only too obvious similarity with the pagan *parentalia*.⁷ The Council does not go so far as that, but it orders that at least these banquets should not take place in the churches, and that the clergy should abstain from taking home what remained.⁸

The Council also expresses its ardent desire to keep women away from liturgical actions reserved for the clergy, and from priestly prerogatives. This preoccupation would be difficult to understand, did we not know of certain feminine attempts to be admitted to the office of doctrinal

¹ On the disciplinary canons, see *infra*, p. 600, n. 3.

² Canon 4. ³ Canon 24. ⁴ Canon 54. ⁵ Canon 53. ⁶ Canon 30.

⁷ St. Augustine, *Conf.*, VI, ii, 2. The Manichaean Faustus criticised Catholics because of this resemblance.

⁸ Canons 27 and 28.

teaching and to the administration of the sacraments. Their exclusion from the *jus docendi* and from the priesthood seemed to them all the more unfair in that the pagan religions welcomed their ministrations and often opened their doors wide to them. The success of several sects was in part due to the prominent place which they allotted to women. But, faithful to the precepts of St. Paul, the churches remained firm on this matter.¹ Thus, the imposition of hands (χειροθεσία or χειροτονία) which various Eastern churches ordered to be given to deaconesses when they entered on their functions seems sometimes to have led to great difficulties. That was because it seemed to incorporate these ladies into the ranks of the clergy, and at the same time raised them above "virgins" and "widows" who had not had any such ordination. The eleventh canon of Laodicea is expressed in such vague terms that we do not gather whether the bishops intend to condemn the principle itself of an "installation" (καθίστασθαι) of this kind, or merely order that it should not take place in the church itself so that too much importance should not be attached to this ceremony. In another canon, the 44th, they specify that "women are not to approach the altar," thus excluding them from any "ministerium leviticum," and even from any handling of holy things.

Montanism, in which Maximilla and Prisca had played so prominent a part, still counted many followers in Asia. Canon 8 regulates the question of the invalidity of baptism received in this sect, and orders that converts from it are to be rebaptised. It is possible that the important place it allotted to women in worship may have led the Asiatic Church to pay particular attention to feminine encroachments in religious matters.

Various other canons reveal to us the real state of morals, and some ways in which they had been relaxed. Thus canon 36 implies that magical practices, then very widespread, were not unknown among the clergy themselves; that there were clergy who gave themselves out to be

¹ For further details, see P. de Labriolle, *Mulieres in ecclesia taceant*, in *Bulletin d'anc. littér. et d'archéol. chrét.*, Vol. I, 1911, pp. 3-24; 103-122; 292-298.

magicians, astrologers, "mathematicians"; who made "phylacteries," i.e. amulets for the protection of health or life or to ward off evil spirits. There were also some Christians who "judaised," just like the pagans in the time of Juvenal,¹ and who remained completely idle on the sabbath. The Council severely reminds these that it is on Sunday that a Christian should abstain from working, and it anathematizes those who persist in observing the Jewish custom.

Finally, we have two rules which go further still, and which mark an important stage in Christian morality. Canon 1 regulates the question of the lawfulness of second marriages. Is it lawful or not to re-marry? The question seems to us now not a very important one, and it is strange that, for many centuries, it was discussed by eminent authorities, and was a crux for so many people. But though the discussions on the lawfulness of a second marriage have practically lost all their interest, they still have their value from the historic point of view, and clearly indicate the power which the ascetical principle long retained in the Primitive Church. The Council adopted a solution which was certainly a benign one for the period: after a short delay, when the persons in question have shown by their prayers and fastings the purity of their intentions, those who have married again may be admitted to communion.

Canon 2, though not quite clear in its phraseology, seems certainly to decide in a benevolent and humane manner concerning the reconciliation of sinners. Whatever may have been the fault committed,² any sinner who repents and who really alters his interior dispositions (μετανοία) and manifests his repentance by deeds (ἐξομολόγησις) will, after a penance proportional to the fault, be reconciled to the Church. Hence there will no longer be a fault whose forgiveness can be questioned, and no more penances of indefinite length.

This simple selection from the decisions of Laodicea will suffice to show its importance, its comprehensive character, and the great prudence which it displayed. The Council did not wish the ideal to be made obligatory; it did not desire to

¹ *Satires*, xiv, 96 *et seq.*

² This is how we may understand ἐν διαφοροῖς πταίσμασιν.

make the kingdom of God inaccessible to the masses. The distinction between precept and counsel is one of those stressed most strongly by Christian moral teaching in the fourth century.¹

§ 6. THE LIMITS OF CATHOLIC ASCETICISM.

PRISCILLIANISM²

Origin of Priscillianism

If there was one attitude towards life which was sure in advance to win Christian sympathies, it was precisely that called *ἐγκρατεία* in pre-Constantinian times, or *ἀσκησις* as it was currently called in the fourth century. The Christian Society had from its beginnings provided many examples of it. Even in an exaggerated form, bordering on a sort of *hedonophobia*, contempt for earthly things, possessions and passions was regarded as an actual sign of chosen souls. But on one condition only! This was that such repudiation of the flesh should keep within the limits laid down by the teaching of Christ and St. Paul, and that it should never be based upon a sort of enmity towards matter, as though this were an evil principle, or upon a sort of hatred of the created world. Once these metaphysical postulates appeared, the Catholics suspected a Gnostic or Manichean corruption, and this put them on their guard. In his attempts to reform Spanish Catholicism, Priscillian had experience of this, for an accusation of this kind was immediately made against him, and his followers never succeeded in exculpating themselves from it.

The Facts

The Priscillianist episode has always been regarded by Church historians, whether Catholic or not, with particular interest. Priscillian has indeed been regarded, rather arbitrarily, as the first victim of the "secular arm," that is, of the power of the State put at the service of the Church.

¹ See the characteristic passage in Eusebius of Caesarea, *Prepar. Evang.*, I, 8; St. Optatus on the parable of the Good Samaritan, VI, 4; St. Ambrose, *De officiis ministrorum*, I, xi.

² For Bibliography, see p. 725.

The facts are clear, and it will suffice to give a brief account of them.

Born in Spain towards the middle of the fourth century, noble, rich and of high culture, Priscillian began to propagate his teaching about 370-375, particularly, it seems, in the neighbourhood of Merida and Cordova. He made many converts among educated people and especially among the female sex. Two bishops, Instantius and Salvianus, joined him. This little society had its private meetings and its secret conventicles. Its members flattered themselves that they were aspiring to a higher perfection through the means they had chosen. They renounced sense pleasures and even earthly possessions. They multiplied their fasts beyond their strict obligations, and fasted even on Sundays. They did not consume the sacred host in the church itself, but took it away with them. Though not despising the Sacred Scriptures, they joined to these several apocryphal works, i.e. non-canonical ones, and made great use of them. The more advanced among them, the *electi*, claimed to possess special spiritual illumination and the gift of prophecy, which gave to their interpretation of the sacred text an inestimable value.

The propaganda of Priscillian spread rapidly in Lusitania, Betica, Galicia, and even in the south of Gaul. But it soon encountered strong episcopal resistance. Hyginus, Bishop of Cordova, was the first to express his disapproval. Two other bishops, Hydacius of Merida and Itacius of Ossonoba, took up the fight in turn, and displayed an extraordinary zeal in their efforts to destroy Priscillian, even having recourse to violence and to all sorts of treachery. In the beginning of October 380, a council assembled at Saragossa had to deal with this dispute, and it condemned, if not Priscillian himself, at least some of the ideas attributed to him.¹

¹ Hydacius and Itacius claimed that the Council had condemned by name the bishops Instantius and Salvianus and the laymen Helpidius and Priscillian. This was expressly denied by the Priscillianists. It is probable that all these names were mentioned during the discussions, but that the final decisions, i.e. the "canons" (they have come down to us in a very brief form) did not mention names in connection with the ideas condemned.

Not satisfied with this half measure, Hydacius and Itacius, whose methods had been strongly condemned by some of their clergy, had recourse to the imperial power, and they obtained from Gratian in 382 a decree of banishment against the "Manichaeans," a rather vague term which, as then used, included the Priscillianists themselves.

Priscillian, who had just been consecrated Bishop of Avila by Instantius and Salvianus, was compelled to withdraw to Aquitaine. There once more he made many disciples: Euchrotia, the wife of the rhetorician Delphidius (a colleague of Ausonius) and her daughter Procula joined him. On the other hand, Delphinus, Bishop of Bordeaux, who had been present at the Council of Saragossa, forbade him to stay in his episcopal city. Priscillian thereupon decided to plead his cause before the Pope. He set out for Italy, with several of his followers. But a *placet* presented to Damasus was of no benefit to him: the Pope refused to receive him, and St. Ambrose at Milan equally kept aloof. Nevertheless, thanks to the good offices (possibly rewarded) of Macedonius the *magister officiorum*, and of Volventius the proconsul of Spain, he obtained the revocation of the edict passed by Gratian, returned in triumph to Spain, and Itacius, his worst enemy, had to flee immediately.

Meanwhile, Maxentius had been proclaimed Emperor by the British legions towards the beginning of 383, and was anxious to win the sympathies of the Catholic clergy. Accordingly, he ordered the matter to be brought before a synod assembled at Bordeaux. Itacius had intrigued for this. Instantius was the only one to address the assembly. He was deprived of his episcopal see. As for Priscillian, he refused to recognise the competence of the Bordeaux Council, and appealed from it to Maximus himself. This was an unwise step, for the usurper was in need of funds, and could hope to benefit greatly by a confiscation. Priscillian was taken to Trèves and there condemned to death, according to the prefect Evodius, together with four of his followers, including Euchrotia, and executed. Sulpicius Severus gives us the reasons for his condemnation: ". . . convictumque maleficii nec diffitentem obscenis se studuisse

doctrinis, nocturnos etiam turpium feminarum egisse conventus, nudumque orare solitum. . . ."¹ Thus, he was accused of immorality and magic—grave crimes in view of the severity of the Roman legislation in the fourth century against the *magicae artes* and the *maleficia*.² The question of heterodoxy was regarded as having been already settled by the Council of Bordeaux. Nevertheless, according to the letter of the Emperor Maximus to Pope Siricius, the "confessions" of the accused had revealed their connections with the Manichaeans.

It would be going too far to say that this unfortunate affair not only aroused bitter dissensions in Spain but also had great repercussions in the Christian world outside that country, as some have in fact suggested.³ St. Augustine confesses that until about 395 he had never heard of it.⁴ But the excessive zeal displayed by Hydacius and Itacius, supported by some court bishops, to ensure a bloody end to the affair, certainly scandalised those who were aware of it. St. Martin and St. Ambrose gave strong expression to their disapproval; the former, who had done his utmost to prevent blood from being shed, consented to "communicate" with the followers of Itacius only on condition that the Emperor should withdraw the order already published to persecute the sect in Spain. The latter "separated himself from the communion of the bishops who were calling for the death of some unfortunate persons, even though these had deviated from the Faith" (these are his own words),⁵ and thereby he incurred the anger of Maximus. After the fall of Maximus, Hydacius had to give up his see,

¹ *Chron.*, II, 1, 8. The words "nudum orare solitum" will be understood if it is borne in mind that partial or complete nudity was one of the conditions required for magical practices. See W. Kroll, *Ant. Aberglaube*, Hamburg, 1897, p. 21; Duemmler, in *Philologus*, Vol. LVI, 1897, pp. 5 et seq.; art. *Nacktheit*, in *Realencyclopädie* of Pauly-Wissowa (1935).

² See J. Maurice, *La terreur de la magie au IV^e siècle*, in *Revue histor. de droit français et étranger*, 1917, pp. 108-120; and Martroye, *La répression de la magie et le culte des Gentils au IV^e siècle*, in *ibid.*, 1930, pp. 669-701.

³ E. Ch. Babut (*op. cit.*, p. 28; pp. 183-184) seems to exaggerate the effects it produced.

⁴ *Vienna Corpus*, Vol. XVIII, p. 150, ll. 11-18.

⁵ *Epist.*, xxiv, 12.

and Itacius was deposed. There was also great indignation on the pagan side. In his *Panegyric* on Theodosius in 389, the Gallic rhetorician Latinus Pacatus Drepanius, a friend of Ausonius, refers with horror to the brutal bishops "who assisted in person at the tortures, and feasted their eyes and ears with the sufferings and groanings of the accused."¹

The Würzburg Treatises

The curiosity of the learned was accordingly much aroused when there appeared in 1889, in Vol. XVIII of the *Corpus Scriptorum ecclesiasticorum latinorum*, under the editorship of G. Schepps, eleven treatises which the editor himself attributed to Priscillian. These treatises were contained, without an author's name, in a manuscript of the fifth or sixth century in the Library of the University of Würzburg. They had attracted the attention of the librarian Ruland, who made a copy of them. This came into the hands of the historian Döllinger, who did not publish them, but suggested that Priscillian must be the author of them. Döllinger's conclusion was accepted by Schepps.

The hopes aroused by this discovery have been dashed to the ground. In the first place, the style of the collection is very different from what one would expect in a writer whom Sulpicius Severus describes as "facundus . . . , disserendi ac disputandi promptissimus," etc. Lengthy, obscure, and involved elucubrations, scarcely lightened here and there by a few specimens of rather vehement argumentation—that is all we find in these treatises. In the second place, the doctrinal enigma of Priscillianism is scarcely made any clearer by this long-awaited publication: the foremost historians of dogma had to admit as much almost immediately after Schepps's publication. From the tiresome and dull pages there emerge certainly a few suspect statements concerning the right to interpret Scripture freely in the name of the gift of prophecy, the scope of which God has in no wise limited,² and on the use of apocryphal works, which the author desires to be incorporated into the enlarged Canon of Scripture.³ But these do not add much to our information.

¹ St. Ambrose, *Paneg. latini*, xii, 29.

² Schepps, *op. cit.*, p. 32.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 44, l. 10; 52, l. 11; 53.

The Orthodoxy of Priscillian

The result of this setback has been twofold. If it is so difficult to find the "heresy" in a characteristic form in the writings of Priscillian, perhaps his orthodoxy does not deserve the criticisms which have been aimed against it? E. Ch. Babut has maintained strongly and forcibly the paradox of the historical rehabilitation of Priscillian. Running through the dossier of Priscillianism, he distinguishes between two groups of documents; on the one hand, there is what he calls the "original" dossier, comprising, amongst other things, the treatises published by Schepps.¹ If we had only this group, "the condemnation of Priscillian would not merely be unjustified but indeed inexplicable."² On the other hand, there are the antagonistic documents which arose especially after 400, and which impute to Priscillianism an extraordinary number of errors.³ According to

¹ This "original" dossier comprises: 1. The *Canons*, based on the Epistles of St. Paul (ed. Schepps, in *Vienna Corpus*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 109-147); 2. The eleven treatises attributed by Schepps to Priscillian (*ibid.*); 3. The *Acts* of the Council of Saragossa (380) (Mansi, Vol. III, col. 633; Hefele-Leclercq, *Histoire des Conciles*, Vol. I, 2nd Part, p. 986); 4. The *De Haeresibus* of Filaster, written about 383 (ed. Marx, in *Vienna Corpus*, Vol. XXXVIII, p. 45); 5. St. Ambrose, *Epist.*, xxiv, 12 (Migne, *P.L.*, Vol. XVI, 1039); xxv (Migne, *P.L.*, Vol. XVI, 1040); xxvi, 4 (385) (Migne, *P.L.*, Vol. XVI, 1042); 6. A letter from the Emperor Maximus to Pope Siricius (probably in 386) (Migne, *P.L.*, Vol. XIII, 591; *Vienna Corpus*, Vol. XXXV, p. 90); 7. The *Panegyric on Theodosius* by Latinus Pacatus Drepatius, § 28 and 29 (389) (Migne, *P.L.*, Vol. XIII, 477; ed. Baelhrens, *Paneg. lat.*, xii, p. 217); 8. St. Jerome, *De viris illustribus*, cxxi and cxxiii (392) (Migne, *P.L.*, Vol. XXIII, 711); 9. Two writings by Ausonius on Delphidius, *Commem. Professororum*, v (about 385) (ed. Schenkl, pp. 5-6).

² Babut, *op. cit.*, p. 15.

³ The "secondary" dossier (here completed, with the addition of dates and references) comprises: 1. Letter lxxv of St. Jerome (after 398) (Migne, *P.L.*, Vol. XXII, 687; *Vienna Corpus*, Vol. LV, p. 32); 2. The *Acts* of the Council of Toledo (400), Mansi, Vol. III, col. 997; Hefele-Leclercq, *Histoire des Conciles*, Vol. II, 1st part, p. 122; 3. The Letter from Pope Innocent I to the Fathers of the Council of Toledo (Migne, *P.L.*, Vol. XX, p. 485); 4. Sulpicius Severus, *Chronic.*, II, xlii-li (400-403) (ed. Halm in the *Vienna Corpus*, Vol. I, p. 99); 5. St. Augustine, *De natura boni*, xlvii (405) (Migne, *P.L.*, Vol. XLII, 570; *Vienna Corpus*, Vol. XXV, p. 887); 6. St. Jerome, *In Isaiam*, xvii, 64 (408-410) (Migne, *P.L.*, Vol. XXIV,

Babut, Priscillian was above all "a critic and an innovator,"¹ who "sincerely sought a compromise between the liberal tendencies of his own personal religion and the requirements of orthodoxy,"² and who finally fell a victim to "the machinations of worldly bishops who were alarmed at the rigour of his precepts and the purity of his ideal."

This is an ingenious plea, but it gives rise to more difficulties than it solves. That, in a certain sense, Priscillian was victimised hardly admits of doubt. And that, moreover, there were bishops opposed to asceticism is testified by many witnesses.³ But when we bear in mind the great interest and curiosity aroused on all sides by these novel forms of life, it is difficult to believe that the persons concerned would have succeeded in turning men like Pope Damasus, St. Ambrose and St. Martin against Priscillian if he had merely aimed at "fleeing from the world and the flesh, and living in the society of God."⁴ The disapproval expressed by Ambrose and Martin for some unworthy methods employed against him did not in any way imply an adhesion, even with reserves, to Priscillianism. Ambrose certainly was not content to rely on superficial information concerning the sect, for he took the trouble to write against it a work, now lost,

622); 7. Idem, *Epist.*, cxxxiii, 3-4, *Ad Ctesiphontem* (Migne, *P.L.*, Vol. XXII, 1150); 8. Orosius, *Commonitorium de errore Priscillianistarum* (414) (Migne, *P.L.*, Vol. XXXI, 1211, and Vol. XLII, 165; *Vienna Corpus*, Vol. XVIII, p. 147); 9. St. Augustine, *Epist.*, clxvi, to St. Jerome, *De origine animae*, iii, 7 (415) (Migne, *P.L.*, Vol. XXXII, 720; *Vienna Corpus*, Vol. XLIV, p. 545); 10. Idem, *De anima et ejus origine* (end of 419) (Migne, *P.L.*, Vol. XLIV, 475; *Vienna Corpus*, Vol. LX, p. 303); 11. Idem, *Contra Mendacium* (420) (Migne, *P.L.*, Vol. XL, 517; *Vienna Corpus*, Vol. XLI, p. 467); 12. Idem, *De haeresibus ad Quodvultdeum* (428), III, 70 (Migne, *P.L.*, Vol. XLII, 44); 13. Idem, *Epist.*, ccxxxvii *Ad Ceretium* (date unknown) (Migne, *P.L.*, Vol. XXXIII, 34; *Vienna Corpus*, Vol. LVII, p. 526); 14. Letter from Turibius of Astorga to the Spanish bishops Idacius and Caponius (a little before 440) (Migne, *P.L.*, Vol. LIV, 693); 15. Idem, *Libellus and Commonitorium* (extract in Leo the Great, *Epist.*, xv (447) (Migne, *P.L.*, Vol. LIV, 367); 16. Isidore of Seville, *De viris illustribus*, xv (seventh century) (Migne, *P.L.*, Vol. LXXXIII, 1092), contains a summary of a work by Itacius against Priscillianism.

¹ Babut, *op. cit.*, p. 167.

² *Ibid.*, p. 128.

³ Cf. *supra*, p. 503.

⁴ Babut, *op. cit.*, p. 125.

which converted Paternus of Braga from it.¹ This mistrust and opposition, which manifested itself immediately, must have been aroused by causes other than mere jealousy on the part of unheroic souls towards others of high aspirations.

The secret nature of the Priscillian confraternity, the mystery with which it was surrounded, and the lack of openness in the methods which it recommended, were scarcely calculated to win for it the goodwill of prudent men. Dictinius, Bishop of Astorga, who abjured the doctrine of the master at the first synod of Toledo in 400, had written various works which had been in circulation for some time; one of these, entitled *Libra*,² was a defence of lying, *occultandae religionis causa*. Augustine, who knew this *Libra*, either directly or perhaps in a summary which had come into his possession,³ has given us an indignant refutation of it. This defence of lying was apparently based on the examples of "the patriarchs, prophets, apostles and angels."⁴ Augustine vehemently condemns the Priscillianists for calling themselves Catholics "in order to hide their poison,"⁵ and for maintaining that verbal statements matter little provided one keeps the truth in one's heart.⁶ This criticism would be difficult to understand if the Priscillianist doctrine had not contained various theses opposed to the common *regula fidei*.

¹ This seems to follow from a declaration made by Paternus in connection with the Council of Toledo (Mansi, Vol. III, col. 1006): "In hanc vocem confessionis primus erupit (Paternus) ut sectam Priscilliani se scisse, sed factum episcopum liberatum se ab ea lectione librorum sancti Ambrosii esse iuraret."

² *The Pound*. It contained twelve questions, just as there are twelve ounces in the Roman pound. The expression used in this way was doubtless suggested to Dictinius by a passage in the *Passio Thomae*, ed. Bonnet, *Supplem. codicis apocryphi*, Vol. I, Leipzig, 1883, p. 146.

³ Through Consentius, to whom the *Contra mendacium* is addressed. There is no real reason for doubting the good faith of Consentius, as Babut does, *op. cit.*, p. 288. See Davids, pp. 269 *et seq.* The *Contra mendacium* is more than a refutation of the Priscillianist errors: it gives a paraphrase of the Scripture texts on which the Priscillianists based their theory of the lawfulness of lies, and argues against their interpretation.

⁴ *Contra mendacium*, ii, 2.

⁵ *Ibid.*, iii, 4.

⁶ *Ibid.*, vi, 14.

Priscillian or Instantius ?

But how can we determine this doctrine, and penetrate through the oratorical precautions of the "sectaries" in their apologies, and the accusations drawn up against them by those who opposed the heresy ? This is all the more difficult in that we cannot be certain that Priscillian was the real author of the treatises attributed to him by Schepps. Here we come to the disturbing thesis maintained by Dom Morin in 1913.¹

Of the eleven treatises, eight are little more than homilies devoid of any historical value. The three first, i.e. the *Liber apologeticus*, the *Liber ad Damasum episcopum*, and the *De fide et apocryphis*, have quite a different character. Scholars generally agree that the *Liber apologeticus* is a defence presented at the Council of Bordeaux in 384. But in that case, remarks Dom Morin, it is impossible that Priscillian could have written it. For in point of fact, Priscillian denied the competence of the ecclesiastical judges; he did not wish to be heard by them, but appealed instead to the emperor.² Some other person must on this occasion have pleaded the cause of the Priscillianists, and Sulpicius Severus gives us his name: "Instantius prior iussus causam dicere. . . ."

In this view, then, the Würzburg treatises would not be by Priscillian, but should be attributed to Instantius. There is another indication which strengthens this conjecture. We read in the *Liber ad Damasum* (p. 46, l. 111) the following phrase: "Nos tamen non omittentes in causa fidei sanctorum iudicium malle quam saeculi. . . ." These words would fit Instantius, who agreed to defend his cause before the bishops assembled at Bordeaux. How could we attribute them to Priscillian, seeing that he denied the authority of the ecclesiastical tribunal, and appealed—not without loss—to a secular tribunal ?

The hypothesis of Dom Morin is very well reasoned. It explains, in addition, the literary mediocrity of the Würzburg treatises, and the mild degree of heretical "depravity" which they, rather surprisingly, display. It has met with

¹ *Pro Instantio*, in *Revue bénédictine*, 1913, pp. 153-172.

² Cf. Sulpicius Severus, *Chron.*, II, xlix.

opposition,¹ but it is gradually gaining ground. If it finally triumphs, all that will remain of Priscillian's work is the *Canones in Pauli apostoli epistulas*,² a sort of theology of St. Paul consisting of citations and references, which was long thought to have been composed by St. Jerome, and which was subsequently revised, when the error contained in it had been recognised, by a bishop named Peregrinus, "juxta sensum fidei catholicae." This is certainly a slender foundation for an attempt to reconstitute the doctrine of one whom so many witnesses regard as a heresiarch.

The Heterodoxy of Priscillian

This delicate task has nevertheless been attempted, and a careful analysis has brought to light some suspect statements which make it scarcely possible to regard Priscillian as a mirror of orthodoxy, in spite of the repeated protestations of his partisans and their verbal distinctions.³ In the midst of a number of irreproachable affirmations, we find some disturbing features, such as a rather incorrect idea of the Trinity, in which Christ differs from the Father only in name; a certain claim to the privilege of election which put the elect beyond any criticism; and a systematic recourse to the uncanonical Scriptures—a recourse which is supposed to be justified by the canonical books themselves.⁴ Those who had direct experience of the sect also accused it of many other things, in particular, of having close connections with

¹ See especially Josef Martin, *Priscillianus oder Instantius*, in *Historische Jahrbuch*, Vol. XLVII, 1927, pp. 237-251. Martin points out that in the *Liber apologeticus* the speaker nowhere claims to be a bishop, whereas Instantius was invested with this office. It could be urged in reply that the critical situation in which he and his followers were placed might well have led him not to make too much of his office. G. Krueger is evidently shaken (*Theologische Litteraturzeitung*, 1913, p. 654; 1931, p. 180); Davids (*op. cit.*, p. 32) and A. d'Alès (*op. cit.*, p. 32) plainly agree with Dom Morin.

² Migne, *P.L.*, Vol. XX, 1019-1062; ed. Schepps, p. 109.

³ The treatises of Schepps, the statement by Filaster (who wrote, be it noted, about 383), the *Libra* of Dictinius, the Priscillianist works known later on by St. Augustine and Orosius, the fragment of the letter of Priscillian quoted by Orosius (*Common.*, in *Vienna Corpus*, Vol. XVIII, p. 153), provide us with data which are fairly consistent, and are enough to provide a basis for a probable conclusion.

⁴ Cf. A. d'Alès, *art. cit.*, pp. 131 *et seq.*

Manichaeism, a penchant for astrology, moral disorders, etc. But the very careful language of the *opuscula*, and declarations emanating from the sect itself, allowed little to appear which would corroborate these accusations. But what leads us to think that they were not pure inventions is the fact that spiritual anarchy became progressively more pronounced in Priscillianist circles, and led, as we shall see, to serious difficulties for the ecclesiastical authorities in the course of the fifth century.

§ 7. CHRISTIAN TRAINING IN THE FOURTH CENTURY

We shall show later on¹ that, according to the documents at our disposal, the Christians of the first centuries had no separate schools in which the traditional culture could be given under special supervision. Children and young people whose family circumstances enabled them to take part in the *honestiora studia*, frequented the schools of the grammarians and rhetoricians without distinction of creed. Among the masters there were some who were Christians: these imparted the same intellectual training as their pagan colleagues, and employed the same methods to educate the minds of their pupils.

In addition, there was the strictly religious teaching, which took place in church and was the object of much care. In the midst of his many heavy burdens, the exercise of public preaching was regarded as one of the primary duties of a bishop,² and the sermon played a prominent part in the life of the faithful. But religious instruction naturally took on more didactic forms, both when it was addressed to minds already won to Christianity, and when it aimed at winning others to it. We can get a good idea of this pedagogical system, thanks to some characteristic documents which we select from a great number: for instance, *Letter cvii*, in which St. Jerome outlines a plan of studies for the little

¹ Cf. p. 558.

² St. Ambrose, *De officiis*, I, i; St. John Chrysostom, *In I Tim. hom.*, x, 1; *De sacerdot.*, iv, 8; vi, 1.

Paula; the *De mysteriis* of St. Ambrose; and the *De catechizandis rudibus* of St. Augustine.¹

“*Letter CVII*” of St. Jerome

The young Paula was the daughter of Laeta and Toxotius, himself the only son of the Patrician lady Paula. Even before her birth her parents had decided to consecrate her to God. On the advice of Marcella, Laeta requested St. Jerome, who was then some sixty years old and lived at Bethlehem, to draw up a plan of education for the little girl. Jerome willingly acceded to this request, and he summed up his pedagogical ideas in *Letter cvii*, addressed to Laeta.

Without adhering to a methodical order, he takes the child at the very moment when she is going to begin to learn to read, and he makes certain observations which are full of sound commonsense. Thus, he does not advocate too harsh a discipline. Compliments, and little presents are indispensable in order to stimulate the first efforts of the pupil. Emulation will also arouse a zeal which tends to flag. Above all, one must make lessons loved, and not associate them with painful memories. Even from the beginning, a competent master should be chosen for Laeta, for “we must not despise as small that without which great things are impossible.”

Naturally, Jerome insists on the necessity of preserving the child from all dubious or undesirable contacts. He does not like the idea of piercing her ears, or accustoming her to use white or red cosmetics, or putting round her neck strings of pearls and gold, or dyeing her hair red: “That would be as it were a foretaste of the fires of hell.” She should get used to the idea of getting up in the night for prayer and the singing of psalms. She must live quietly, and never enter the basilicas of the martyrs or the churches except with her mother.

As for her education properly so called, this she can find entirely in the Holy Scriptures. But she must not read them casually: St. Jerome goes out of his way to explain the order

¹ The *Catechetical Discourse* of Gregory of Nyssa has already been studied in Vol. I, pp. 254 *et seq.*

in which the books should be read. She should begin with the Psalter, and end with the *Canticle of Canticles*. As for the apocryphal works, although he does not forbid these, he advises her to mistrust them. "She should know that these are not by the writers whose names they bear, also that they contain many things which are imperfect, and that it is very difficult to find the gold in the dross."¹ The writings of St. Cyprian, St. Athanasius and St. Hilary will complete her education in the Faith.

This was in fact the education of a future nun, which would be continued under the direction of Jerome himself in the convent at Bethlehem. In regard to children not destined for the religious life, Jerome considered he had a right to be more eclectic. He explained Virgil to them, the comic and lyrical poets, and the historians.² Moreover, another letter, written about ten years later,³ shows that he was a little anxious about his previous requirements. He wondered whether his programme had not been too austere, and if the Bible and nothing but the Bible was not too strong a food for a child's mind. And now he recommends some indulgence, and suggests that one need not be too strict in the matter of sweetmeats of honey, or bouquets, or pretty dolls. "Advancing age gave Jerome," as Raymond Thamin has well said, "the instincts of a grandfather."⁴

The "De mysteriis" of St. Ambrose

In his *De mysteriis*,⁵ Ambrose addressed himself to

¹ *Epist.*, cvii, 12.

² Rufinus, *Apol. adv. Hieron.*, ii, 8.

³ *Epist.*, cxxviii. Gaudentius had asked him for some advice on the education of the young Pacatula.

⁴ *Saint Ambroise et la morale chrétienne au IV^e siècle*, Paris, 1895, p. 399.

⁵ We have two *opuscula* of St. Ambrose, both dealing with practically the same subject, the *De mysteriis* and the *De sacramentis*. The majority of modern critics (Foerster, Ihm, Schermann, Dom de Puniet) agree with the Benedictines in denying to Ambrose the authorship of the *De sacramentis*; but there are some discordant voices (e.g. that of Faller, in the *Zeitschr. für kathol. Theologie*, Vol. LIII, 1929, pp. 41-65). On the other hand, the authenticity of the *De mysteriis* is no longer questioned. The sources used by the author of this *opusculum*, namely the writings of Cyril of Jerusalem and Didymus, are the ones which Ambrose himself utilises for preference. And some developments are found in a form which hardly differs in other works which are certainly Ambrosian.

catechumens who have already received Baptism and the Eucharist. He did not wish to instruct them while they were being put through the tests for the "Mysteries," but preferred to leave their souls in full contact with the emotions which accompanied this progressive initiation.

The moment has now come to speak to you of the Mysteries, and to explain to you the sacraments. If prior to your baptism we had thought it right to unveil them to you when you had not as yet been initiated, this would have been, not a revelation, but rather a betrayal. Moreover, the light of the Mysteries shines much clearer when one is not already instructed, than when difficult explanations have previously preceded it.

But now that the various ceremonies have taken place, and the catechumens still have a vivid recollection of them, Ambrose decides to explain to them the signification of the ritual acts which have taken place before them and upon them, and also to remind them of the gravity of the undertakings they have embarked upon. He knows that the feeble human mind has difficulty in penetrating beneath appearances, and discovering beneath their veil the most essential truths. He therefore aims at forestalling objections, or the doubts of minds which are too restricted in their outlook or too exclusively attached to externals.

Do not, then, believe merely with the eyes of the body. That which is invisible can be seen much better: for what is visible is temporal, but what is not seen by the eyes but discerned only by the soul and the mind is eternal.¹

Again, apropos of baptism:

This prophecy [the reference is to the story of Naaman the Syrian in *IV Kings* v. 1 *et seq.*] has been made known to you in order that you may not believe only in what you see, and that you may not go on to say to me: "Is this, then, that great mystery which the eye has not seen, nor the ear heard, nor has it entered into the heart of man? (*I Cor.* ii. 9). I see some water,

¹ *De mysteriis*, iii, 15.

such as I have seen every day. Is it indeed this that is going to heal me? I have gone down into it often, and I have never been healed." But know now that water does not heal without the Spirit.¹

Similarly in the case of the Eucharist:

See, now, which is the more excellent, the bread of angels, or the flesh of Christ, which is the Body of Life. . . . You will perhaps say: "I see something different. How can you say to me that it is the Body of Christ that I receive?" We still have to prove this point. There are many august examples we can use. Let us prove that this is not something which nature has produced, but which the blessing has consecrated; and also that the power of the blessing is superior to that of nature, for by the blessing, nature itself is transformed. . . . Before the blessing by the holy words, we speak of it as another substance, but after the consecration his body is present. He himself speaks of his own blood. Before the consecration it is differently named; after the consecration it is called blood. And you say: "Amen," i.e. "Yes, that is true." Let your inmost soul be in agreement with what your mouth utters, and let belief concur in you with the words you pronounce.²

What St. Ambrose never tires of trying to bring home to his catechumens is that there is nothing meaningless in what they have witnessed. Everything has a mysterious significance and a certain effect; everything is an instrument of that moral regeneration which was prefigured by so many Scriptural events, and the newly baptised person ought most carefully to guard the memory and benefit of these things, and never reveal them to the profane. Paul Lejay remarks³ that "we no longer possess any ritual or treatise of initiation into the pagan mysteries, but we can get an idea of them by reading the *De mysteriis* of St. Ambrose, or the *De sacramentis* which emanates from the same circle. All the ceremonies are so many stages through which the uninitiated

¹ *Ibid.*, iv, 19.

² *Ibid.*, ix, 51-52.

³ *Revue d'histoire et de littérature religieuses*, 1905, p. 580.

person gradually approaches the Mysteries. Repeated monitions help him to open his eyes and his soul to the revelations of the great vigil. In that solemn night, from the moment when he descends into the piscina till the one in which he is admitted to the table of the faithful, he goes through the whole cycle of these Mysteries, which he is enjoined to keep henceforth as a most profound secret. His regeneration is above all the opening up of a new world."

The "De Catechizandis Rudibus"

This *opusculum*¹ is addressed to a deacon of Carthage, Deogratias. The title signifies: "*The Art of catechising those who are ignorant of Christian Doctrine.*" Deogratias had informed Augustine of the embarrassment and discouragement he had more than once experienced in his work as a catechist, and had asked him for advice and a method to follow. Augustine begins by consoling him, and tells him that his case is not at all exceptional. That thought is always more advanced than its expression is a fact known to all who speak or write, and there is no need to worry because one can only ill express what one feels very strongly:

I myself am almost always dissatisfied with what I say. I would prefer something better; I enjoy this something internally before I try to express it in words. And when I realise the inferiority of this outward expression, I am unhappy, because my language so imperfectly expresses the sentiments of my heart.²

The important thing is to love what one does; and as a rule, the pleasure one derives from the office of pedagogue passes on to the listeners, and becomes a measure of the interest they take in us. There is nothing so infectious as boredom, unless it is the alacrity of one who teaches with joy.

For the teaching of Holy Scripture, and especially of the Old Testament, experience suggests certain principles which it is good to adopt. In the first place, we should not aim at narrating or even summarising all the facts included in it,

¹ Migne, *P.L.*, Vol. XL, 309-348. Edition with commentary by J. P. Christophe, Washington, 1926.

² *De catechizandis rudibus*, § 2.

but we should choose a few, the most wonderful, or the most affecting, extracting all their sweetness, and contenting ourselves with brief allusions to the rest. We should stress this essential idea, that everything in Scripture down to the coming of Christ is a figure of what is realised in Christ and his Church. Once this truth is grasped, it matters little what details are forgotten. We should also get the catechumens to understand that the Redemption was essentially a work of love, and that human love should answer the divine love by a full and hearty obedience to the divine law. Each individual should be questioned as to the personal motives which have led him to the faith, so that he may the more easily see God's guidance in the modalities of his particular experience. Lastly, we must not hesitate to dwell on the promises of the resurrection, so ridiculed by the pagans and the sceptics, and also on the sanctions of the after-life. At the same time, we must not forget to warn the *rudi* against the scandal which they may receive from the weaknesses of those who are already in the Church.

Such is the general method which Augustine advocates. But he also takes the trouble to provide for and to study some special cases.

There is, in the first place, the case of a well-educated man (*liberalibus doctrinis excultus*)¹ who becomes a Christian. It is probable that a postulant of this kind will already have studied the faith for some time. We should not weary him by making him go through the rudiments again. But it will be wise to ask what books he has read, and how he came to aspire to the faith. If by chance he has been reading heretical works, we should instruct him on this matter, basing ourselves on the ground of the authority of the Universal Church. Some authors who died Catholics nevertheless favoured heresy in certain pages of their writings; he should also be shown to what extent their opinions are incompatible with Catholic orthodoxy.

More delicate still is the case when the catechumen is an intellectual, a former pupil of grammarians or rhetoricians, already accustomed to delve into grave questions.² The first

¹ *Ibid.*, § 8.

² *Ibid.*, § 10.

thing to do with such a one is to give him a desire for Christian humility, to show him that it is more serious to sin against morals than to sin against grammar. If we succeed in dissipating his classical prejudices, and get him to realise the seriousness of human life and the primacy of action over subtle intellectual matters, a great step will have been made. As for Holy Scripture, the only way to foster a taste for it in people of this kind is to present it as a mysterious book, full of deep meaning, in which the mind can roam at large. This is a significant passage in St. Augustine's work, which reveals to us the state of mind of educated pagans, and also explains the attachment of Christian commentators to the allegorical method of exegesis.

We must make them see how great is the usefulness of these things hidden beneath a veil and which are accordingly called mysteries; and how these obscure enigmas sharpen our love for the truth, and dissipate the boredom and unattractiveness which characterises all points too easily elucidated.

Lastly, Augustine deals at length with the mental attitude the catechist ought to try to cultivate in order to react against his own dryness and even his laziness. He shows how one can regain the attention of a somewhat sleepy audience, and how to hold it. To conclude the treatise, he gives a specimen of the "instruction" of candidates devoid of culture: everything here is simple, direct, practical, and very well adapted to the popular mentality.

§ 8. THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE LITURGY¹

Variety of Liturgical Forms

The fervour of Christian piety in the fourth century was bound to influence the actions and rites whereby the Christian puts himself into touch with God, in other words, the Liturgy, the school of religious life, the nourishment of the faith, and the interpreter of mysteries.

It would be a mistake to think that liturgical forms were

¹ For Bibliography, see p. 726.

already the same everywhere. Each diocese, or at least each country, had its local peculiarities. We can distinguish between the Syrian liturgy (that of Antioch and the surrounding country) which spread to Constantinople and Caesarea; the Egyptian liturgy; the Roman liturgy; and lastly the Gallican liturgy, used in the north of Italy, in Gaul, Spain, and Great Britain. The differences took a long time to diminish, but the tendency was towards unification, not diversity.

We shall not attempt here to give a complete description of the liturgical usages: it will suffice to mention a few interesting features proper to the fourth century.

The Mass

There is much controversy as to the moment when the word "Missa" began to be employed for the Eucharist.¹ The term belonged to secular language, but it was not in current use. We find it in the *Theodosian Code*, in the sense of "dismissal."² "Missa" is to "missio" the normal term, what "offensa" is to "offensio," "tracta" to "tractio," "defensa" to "defensio," "extensa" to "extensio," "remissa" to "remissio," etc.³

What were the expressions in current use to designate the Holy Sacrifice? They were very varied. It was

¹ O. Rottmanner, *Ueber neuere und ältere Bedeutungen des Wortes Missa*, in *Theolog. Quartalschrift*, Vol. LXI, 1889, pp. 531-557 (*Geistesfrüchte aus der Klosterzelle*, Munich, 1908, pp. 135-156; Kellner in *Theol. Quartalschrift*, Vol. LXXXIV, 1902, pp. 427 *et seq.*; Funk, *ibid.*, Vol. LXXXVI, 1904, pp. 50 *et seq.*; P. Lejay, in *Revue d'hist. et de litt. rel.*, Vol. II, 1897, p. 288 and Vol. VIII, 1903, p. 512; Hugo Koch, in *Der Katholik*, Vol. LXXXVII, 1907, pp. 239-240 and 1908, pp. 114-127; Kellner, *ibid.*, 1907, pp. 431-432.

² *Cod. Theod.*, VI, xxvi, 3: "... equorum venire iussorum missam facere." Similarly *Digest*, xlviii, 5, § 40, 3. In Commodianus, *Carmen Apolog.*, 77, the word can be taken in the sense of "relief" (of a sentinel). We must not quote Suetonius, *Calig.*, xxv, as does Du Cange: the text has "brevique missam facit (uxorem)," "missa" is here a participle.

³ We find *ascensa* for *ascensio* in the *Sacramentary of Verona* (ed. Feltoe, p. 20, l. 8): "This is a case of derivation, consisting in substituting the feminine form of the participle for the verbal substantive, and which is still found in the Romance languages: the 'remise,' the 'dette,' the 'levée'..." (P. Lejay, in *Rev. d'hist. et de litt. rel.*, Vol. II, 1897, p. 288).

called "actio," "dominicum," "oblatio," "sacramentum," "sacrificium." As for the term "missa," this had certainly not entered into the customary vocabulary of the liturgy in the fourth century. When St. Augustine uses the term, he gives it the meaning of "dismissal." For instance, in *Sermon xlix*, 8 the reference is only to the dismissal of the catechumens, who were called upon to withdraw from the church after the first prayers, the "collect" and the bishop's sermon. The right to be present at the Eucharistic Offering was reserved for the faithful properly so called. The same seems to be true of the *Peregrinatio Aetheriae*, in which the word occurs very often, and again of Cassian, etc.

The only fourth-century text which causes some real perplexity is a passage in a letter from St. Ambrose to his sister.¹ In this the bishop gives an account of his difficulties with the Empress Mother Justina, and the command he received to give up the Portian Basilica of Milan, and afterwards the "New Basilica":

On the following day—it was a Sunday—after the reading [of the Bible] and the sermon, once the catechumens had been dismissed, I explained the Creed to a few *competentes*² in the baptistery of the basilica, when I was suddenly told that some *decani*³ had been sent from the Palace to the Portian Basilica, that veils were being hung there,⁴ and that part of the populace was proceeding thither. However, I did not interrupt my ministry, but I began to celebrate Mass (*missam facere coepi*). While I was offering the holy sacrifice (*dum offero*), I learnt that the people had just taken away a certain Castulus, whom the Arians recognised as a priest, etc.

The liturgical term *missa* cannot signify here the usual dismissal of the catechumens, for Ambrose has stated that

¹ *Epist.*, xx, 4-5.

² *Competentes*: candidates for baptism (in Greek, Φωτιζόμενοι). The catechumens took this name forty days before Easter.

³ The *decani* formed part of the Palatine militia, and carried out offices very similar to those of the lictors of the Republic.

⁴ These *vela* indicated that the building was to be regarded as the property of the Emperor.

these had already been sent away. If we are able to keep the meaning of exclusion, then it can only be the *competentes* who are here called upon to depart in their turn. But it must be admitted that the "dum offero" certainly seems to indicate the continuing of an act already begun, and this would be precisely the "missam facere coepi."

One would not hesitate to adopt this second interpretation were it not the fact that this sense of "Mass" is very rare indeed in the fourth century. A doubt must therefore remain, because of the absence of parallel examples. Instances multiply later, from the end of the fifth century. Moreover, it is easy to understand how the meaning of "missa" came to evolve: dismissal, formula of dismissal (*Ite, missa est*), and then, by "synecdoche," the whole ceremony which included two such dismissals, one of the catechumens, and the other for the rest of the faithful.

The *schema* of the Holy Sacrifice may be traced thus: The first part of the Mass began with the reading of portions of the Scriptures and the singing of psalms. A few churches read accounts of the passions of martyrs on the occasions of their feasts. Then there followed the "collect," a prayer in which were "collected" the desires of the faithful present. Next the bishop spoke, either from his throne or from the ambo. After the sermon the catechumens were instructed to withdraw. The penitents and the "energumens," i.e. those "possessed" by devils, withdrew at the same time. Then began the Mass of the Faithful. After various rites and prayers, which differed according to the locality, the deacons took from the bread and wine brought by the people the part required for the oblation, the remainder being reserved for the clergy and the poor. A deacon read aloud the names of the bishops and the benefactors of the church. The celebrant read prayers (*offeritorium*) over the wine mixed with water; he thanked God for his gifts, and uttered three times the *Sanctus*. The essential part of the Sacrifice now began. The *epiclesis* invoked the Holy Spirit in order that the gifts offered in sacrifice might become the flesh and blood of Christ. After the consecration, there was a prayer for the dead. The bishop or priest first received communion; then the faithful, standing upright,

with bowed head, received the consecrated bread and wine. After the prayers of thanksgiving, the celebrant pronounced the *Ite, missa est*. In the East the formula was Πορεύεσθε, ἀπολύεσθε ἐν εὐχαρίᾳ.¹

Church Chants

The usage of liturgical singing goes back further. Although the Church drew from Holy Scripture the greater part of its liturgical psalms, she had quite early made use of other chants, resulting from individual inspiration.² But already in the third century these innovations caused some anxiety, and in the fourth century the Council of Laodicea forbade psalms written by private persons.³ The singing of psalms, begun as a solo and taken up towards the end by the congregation, continued to form part of divine service. But a new custom came into being at Antioch towards the middle of the fourth century. Two ascetics, Flavianus the future Bishop of Antioch, and Diodorus the future Bishop of Tarsus, divided the faithful into two choirs, who answered each other. The innovation met with success, and spread to various churches of the East,⁴ in spite of opposition from certain ecclesiastics, who were hostile either to the faithful joining in, or else to the principle itself of singing in church.⁵

St. Ambrose adopted it in 386 at Milan, in tragic circumstances. The soldiers of the Empress Justina had surrounded the Portian Basilica, in which the bishop was imprisoned with a multitude of the faithful. To keep this assembly

¹ See St. John Chrysostom, *Hom. III adv. Judaeos*.

² Tertullian, *Apolog.*, xxxix, 18: "... Ut quisque de scripturis sanctis, vel de proprio ingenio potest, provocatur in medium Deo canere." Cf. St. Justin Martyr, *I Apol.*, xiii, and the testimony of Eusebius of Caesarea, *Hist. eccles.*, V, xxviii.

³ Canon 59 (Hefele-Leclercq, *Histoire des Conciles*, Vol. I, 2nd Part, p. 1025).

⁴ Cf. Socrates, *Hist. eccles.*, VI, viii; Theodoret, *Hist. eccles.*, II, xxiv; St. Basil, *Epist.*, ccvii, 2-4.

⁵ Cf. the *De Psalmody bono*, attributed to Nicetas de Remesiana, § 2 (ed. Burn, Cambridge, 1905, p. 68): "Scis nonnullos, non solum in nostris, sed etiam in orientalibus esse partibus, qui superfluum nec minus congruentem divinae religioni aestiment psalmodum et hymnorum decantationem. Sufficere enim putan quod corde dicitur, lascivum esse si hoc lingua proferatur."

occupied, Ambrose arranged for them to sing psalms and hymns, in two alternating choirs. The result was wonderful, as we learn from the *Sermon against Auxentius*:¹

Some say that I have bewitched the people with the verses of my hymns. True: I do not deny it. I have there a fine magical chant, more powerful than any other. For what can be more powerful than the confession of the Trinity, thundered out each day by the voice of a whole people? All strive thus to proclaim their faith. They have learnt to celebrate in verse the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit. And now those are become masters who could scarcely be disciples.

Elsewhere again Ambrose writes:

How can I understand all the beauty of life, as the Creator lives it? What is this roaring of waves, if not the roaring of the people? Hence the sea and the Church have rightly been compared together. The Church is inundated with the floods of people who enter, and whom she pours out through her doors; then, during the prayer, there mounts from all the people, like a wave, a great shout, when the responses to the psalms, and the singing of men, women and children thunder out like the waves which crash against one another and burst into pieces.²

The biographer of Ambrose tells us that the new method prevailed from now on, not only at Milan but in almost all parts of the West.³

The Festival of Christmas

The origins of the feast of Christmas present some rather difficult problems.⁴ Unequivocal witnesses state that in the

¹ § 34.

² *Exameron*, III, v. 23.

³ *Vita Ambrosii*, xiii. A very clear confirmation of what St. Augustine says in *Conf.*, IX, vii, 15.

⁴ Cf. Combefis, in Migne, *P.L.*, Vol. VIII; Mommsen, *Corp. inscript. lat.*, Vol. I, p. 448; Duchesne, *Origines du culte chrétien*, 5th edn., p. 271; E. Vacandard, *Etudes de critique et d'histoire religieuses*, 3rd series, Paris, 1912, pp. 3 et seq.; Bernard Botte, *Les origines de Noël et de l'Épiphanie, textes et études liturgiques*, Louvain, 1932; Cabrol-Leclercq, art. *Nativité*, in *Dict. d'Archéol. chrét. et de liturgie*, Vol. XII, col. 905-921.

East the birth of Jesus was celebrated at the same time as his baptism and the coming of the Magi, on the 6th of January, the Feast of the Epiphany.

The Epiphany does not seem to have been known in the West before the Council of Nicaea. In the fourth century it came to form part of liturgical usage. Thus, on the 6th of January 361 in Gaul, the future Emperor Julian decided that it was good policy to take part in this feast, "pretending," as his admirer Ammianus Marcellinus tells us, "to adhere to the Christian cult, from which he had for some time secretly separated himself."¹

The birth of the Saviour was celebrated in Rome on the 25th of December. We find the first mention of this date in the Roman Calendar drawn up, or at least published, by Furius Dionysius Philocalus in 354.² When did it begin to be celebrated on the 25th of December? No document tells us. In any case it was not so celebrated as yet in 243, for the *De Pascha Computus* drawn up, according to the express statement of its author, in the fifth year of the reign of Gordian, under the consulate of Arrianus and Papus (ii, 22), and therefore before Easter 243, makes no mention of it.

There was thus a divergence in the fourth century on a rather important matter, between the practice in the East and that of the West.

How had these two dates, 25th of December and 6th of January, been determined, in the absence of any certain tradition?

Mgr. Duchesne gives this explanation of the choice of the 6th of January: "Sozomen mentions a Montanist sect which celebrated the Pasch on the 6th of April instead of the 15th of March, for the reason that, as the world had been created at the Equinox, i.e. according to them on the 24th of March, the first full moon of the first month had been fourteen days

¹ *Res Gestae*, XXI, ii, 4-5. St. Ambrose must have found Christmas and the Epiphany already observed in Milan, according to H. Frank, *Zur Geschichte von Weihnachten und Epiphanie*, in *Jahrbuch für Liturgiewissenschaft*, Vol. XII, 1932, pp. 145-155.

² We read there, in the Table called *Depositio martyrum*, "VIII Kal. jan. natus Christus in Betleem Judee."

later, on the 6th of April. Now, between the 6th of April and the 6th of January there are exactly nine months, just as there are between the 25th of March and the 25th of December. The Greek date for the Nativity, the 6th of January, thus fitted in with a Paschal reckoning based on symbolical and astronomical considerations altogether similar to those from which the date of 25th December had been inferred."¹

As for the choice of the 25th of December, there are two explanations given. The first is a modern hypothesis, cleverly constructed, but without any explicit support in the texts. The second can appeal to a certain number of patristic texts which make it less surprising than it would seem to be at first sight.

1. In the first hypothesis, this date of the 25th of December was the result of certain astronomico-symbolical calculations which had their starting point in the supposed date of the death of Christ. The exact day of this was not known. But among various divergent opinions, that which put his death on the 25th of March had strong supporters (Tertullian, Hippolytus, the *Acts of Pilate*, very much in vogue in the fourth century, etc.), though it was certainly arbitrary.² It coincided with the Spring Equinox, the day on which the Universe was thought to have been created. Once this date was obtained in this way, that of the birth of Jesus was deduced from it. It was supposed that the Incarnation took place on the same day as the Passion, i.e. the 25th of March, and therefore the birth took place nine months afterwards, on the 25th of December.

2. Another solution: one of the Biblical images which specially appealed to Christian authors was the one which compared the Messiah to a "sun" of truth, justice, etc. This simile occurs often in ecclesiastical writers. It is accordingly possible that, in virtue of this metaphor so familiar to men's minds, the birth of Christ was made to

¹ *Origines du culte chrétien*, 5th edn., p. 279.

² In the years 29 and 35, the 25th of March fell on a Friday, but that Friday could not have been either the day of the Jewish Pasch or the day following it, because of the phase of the moon. The 25th of March in other years did not fall on a Friday.

coincide with the rebirth of the sun in the winter solstice, and this all the more because on the 25th of December there was celebrated the festival of the *Sol invictus*, a term which designated both the Baal of Palmyra and the god Mithra, so popular since the third century.¹ Hence this was one way of establishing against this oriental cult a competitor which would eventually supplant it altogether.

If this conjecture is correct, we should have here one of the first Christian attempts to conquer a pagan cult, not by destroying it directly, but by replacing it by another, which would gradually draw away the faithful from the former. In the measure that paganism was gradually to lose its hold upon men's souls, the Church would go further: it incorporated many a pagan feature into Christian worship, giving it a new signification. Several liturgical institutions are in fact the prolongation of certain ancient customs. And just as, more than once, Christian churches were built upon the foundations of ruined pagan temples, or even with their materials, so also Christianity incorporated and adapted to its own use this booty from outside. As Renan wrote: "Mankind acts in that way: assembling old and broken fragments, reduced to dust, it constructs a new building, full of originality: for mankind, the spirit is everything and the matter is nothing."²

The date 25th of December was adopted in part of the East, though not without difficulty, towards the end of the fourth century. In these places the Epiphany became merely the feast of the Baptism and of the "Holy Lights." Already the Greek Church had handed on to the Latin Church this feast of the Epiphany, which in the West never had the character of a festival of the birth of Jesus.

¹ Leo the Great (*Sermo*, xxi, 6) still complains that on Christmas Day some address their prayers to the "new" sun, and not to Christ.

² *Etudes d'histoire religieuse*, p. 58.

CHAPTER III

CHRISTIAN CULTURE¹

§ I. RELATION BETWEEN CHRISTIAN AND PAGAN CULTURE

Intellectual Formation of Christian Writers

THE intellectual formation of the majority of Christian writers in the fourth century did not differ from that of the pagan writers of the time. If we examine closely the Christian texts of the early centuries, we find that, if there are any explicit references to special teaching, these are always connected with some strictly religious subject, consisting of a more or less detailed introduction to the study of the Bible and the *depositum fidei*. There is never any question of separate scholastic establishments. There were indeed Christian grammarians, Christian rhetoricians, but children of all kinds attended their classes, just as the pagan rhetoricians comprised amongst their pupils a good number of young people belonging to Christian families. So true is this that, when the Emperor Julian promulgated on the 17th of June 362 his well-known edict depriving Christian masters—grammarians, rhetoricians, and professors of medicine—of the right to teach,² even pagans protested against this measure, which was tantamount to an attempt to impose for the first time on teachers a sort of State orthodoxy. It was only in consequence of this prohibition—which did not have its full effect, in consequence of the premature death of Julian—that the question of a distinct teaching presented itself to Christian opinion. In any case this teaching could not be properly organised until the fifth century.³

¹ For Bibliography, see p. 726.

² Cf. Vol. I, p. 235.

³ On this whole question see the series of articles by G. Bardy, *L'Eglise et l'enseignement pendant les trois premiers siècles*, in the *Revue des Sciences religieuses*, Strassburg, Vol. XIII, 1932, pp. 1-28 *et seq.*; Vol. XIV, 1934, pp. 525 *et seq.*

It was accordingly natural that, trained as they were by the same methods and in the same disciplines, both Christians and pagans displayed in a great measure the same tastes, the same habits of mind, and the same faults. True, the culture of a given epoch does not depend solely upon the educational ideas of the time. Nevertheless, these always constitute an important factor, and it was a fundamental one in the Roman world, by reason of the stability of this educational system down to the Barbarian invasions. From the time of Quintilian—that is, from the second half of the first century of our era—the teaching in the schools remained practically the same, and it set its mark on a long series of generations. The periods of intellectual decline only accentuated and increased, sometimes to a degree of absurdity, the defects for which this scholastic formation was in part responsible, and which were already manifest in more favourable times.

The Cult of Virgil

All know, for instance, the cult which the pagan scholars of the fourth century paid to Virgil, the scrupulous care with which they studied him, down to the smallest detail of the text, and the piety with which they committed his verse to memory, in order to be able to use it whenever the occasion presented itself. Let us consider a writer such as St. Ambrose. It cannot be said that he was a great master of style. He was praiseworthy above all as a man of action. But what is quite evident is that he knew his Virgil as well as any pagan scholar. His mind was full of him. Sometimes he quotes him literally, but much more frequently he utilises him, adapts him to his subject, and transposes Virgilian expressions; he combines these with Biblical phrases and imitations of other authors, and thus decorates and heightens the style of his own phraseology. No less than four hundred and eighteen of these imitations have been found in his writings, of which two hundred and twenty are based on the *Aeneid*; in addition there are two hundred and

forty-eight probable imitations, of which one hundred and eighty-three relate to the *Aeneid*.¹

Furthermore, in the second half of the fourth century, a Christian lady belonging to the highest rank of the aristocracy and with close consular connections, the poetess Proba, undertook the task of narrating in Virgilian hemistiches the chief events of the Old Testament down to the Deluge, and those of the New Testament down to the Ascension. She hoped thereby to help her children to retain "Bible History" more readily in their minds. This was a chimerical aim if ever there was one, and the difficulties in the way were really insurmountable. Proba was compelled to substitute for the names of persons mentioned in Holy Scripture vague designations such as *Deus*, *Dominus*, *Magister*, *Heros*, *Vates*, etc. The name of Moses alone managed to be included in her verse, thanks to its consonance with the *Musaeus* of Virgil. Again, it was too difficult a task to express in profane hemistiches the virginal conception, the flight into Egypt, the Crucifixion, etc., even by altering the cases and persons, as Proba sometimes did, or again by taking prosodic liberties which Virgil would never have allowed.

The attempt was childish, and doomed to fail from the first. But it at least shows the reverential admiration with which Virgil was regarded by all, Christians and pagans alike.

The Place of Rhetoric

Again, do we not find indications of the influence and effect of "rhetoric," understood in an unfavourable sense, amongst the writers of the Church? By way of reaction against the empty endeavours of their contemporaries, they asserted over and over again that style has no importance in itself, that rhetoric is only a mistress of error, that barbarisms and solecisms matter little provided one makes oneself understood, and hence that, far from being ashamed of their *rusticitas*, they preferred it to the vain vesture of

¹ Cf. Sister Mary Dorothea Diederich, *Virgil in the Works of St. Ambrose*, Dissertation at Catholic University of Washington, 1930.

thought. But in saying this they were not really sincere. Far from rejecting the technique which they pretended to despise, they carefully conformed to it, for the most part. Not only were they careful to write well, but they cultivated certain methods which had really come from the schools.

Ambrose, for instance, in his sermon on Naboth, eloquently condemned the rapacity of the rich of his time, and the way in which they oppress the poor. His language is indeed vivid, penetrating, and passionate, and it shows his sincere emotion in presence of great abuses. He affirms that he had seen with his own eyes a poor man dragged away to prison because he could not pay a sum which he did not possess, and who, when set free by a happy chance, decided to sell his children because he could not feed them. The chapter in which Ambrose describes the perplexities of the father, who wonders which of his two children he must sell first, is a perfect specimen of the pathos of the schools. But further, this thing "seen" is in fact a thing "read": Ambrose is copying without saying so a development found in St. Basil.¹

We recognise the same technique of the schools in certain pages of the extensive literature on monasticism, such as those which describe some discussions between two married people, one of whom wishes to remain continent, or thinks of embracing the religious life.² What could be less fictitious, apparently, than these conflicts which troubled so many souls, and caused so much suffering? Even so, the accounts are presented to us in the conventional form of themes of *controversiae*.

St. Jerome was profoundly affected by the same influence. When a young student at Rome he had attended the lectures of the famous Donatus, and he delighted to recall as an adult his childish emotions of earlier days, and to quote the various commentaries which he had used as manuals. From this careful and wholly traditional training he derived his taste for ingenious expressions and for well-turned phrases. He also derived from the same source a certain

¹ St. Basil, *Hom. in illud Lucae* "Destruam, etc."

² Cf. the singular case of Theonas and his wife, in Cassian, *Collat.*, XXI, ix *et seq.*; cf. Palladius, *Hist. Laus.*, lxi, 2 (Melania the Younger and Pinianus).

propensity for verbal exaggeration, and even for invective, which fitted in well with his own temperament.

This tendency constituted a great danger for him, especially when he had to deal with questions calling for circumspection and tact, such as those which arose out of his ascetical propaganda in Roman circles. More than once he dismayed his best friends by certain hyperboles, which those who disliked him did not fail to bring up against him. He also scandalised posterity. Thus in the nineteenth century the critic Villemain waxes very indignant over a passage in Jerome's well-known letter to his friend Heliodorus: "If (opposing your vocation) your father lies down on your doorstep in order to retain you, trample on him and go your way (*per calcatum perge patrem*)." "Religious ferocity!" exclaims Villemain.¹ "Pure rhetoric!" we reply.² We have only to go to the *Controversiae* of Seneca the elder to realise that St. Jerome is here displaying a reminiscence of a feature much admired in the schools. A father was supposed to desire to retain at all cost his son who was leaving for the front, and the rhetorician Latro attributes to him this supreme objurgation: "In order to march to the enemy, trample under foot the body of your father—*Ut ad hostem pervenias, patrem calca*."³

Even in St. Augustine, the writer most sincerely detached from literary vanity and a desire to write well—although when he chose he could be the most consummate artist—it would not be difficult to find traces of similar preoccupations. We must bear in mind that he had long exercised the profession of rhetorician, after teaching grammar in his native land. If we consider only that part of his work in which he most deliberately avoids any affectation or cultivated style, namely his sermons, we find that, on some more solemn occasions, he employs from beginning to end of his homilies antithetical constructions, in which the members are opposed symmetrically to other members with a

¹ *Tableau de l'éloquence chrétienne au IV^e siècle*, p. 329.

² Jerome himself says, towards the end of one of his most virulent treatises, the *Adversus Helvidium*, xxi: "Rhetorici sumus et in morem declamatorum paululum lusimus."

³ *Controv.*, I, viii, 15.

regularity which brings out the conclusion of each, and rhythmic cadences founded on accent.¹

The Content of the Literary Categories

Generalising the points we have just made, we may say that the "forms" of Greco-Latin Christian Literature are closely connected with the corresponding forms of pagan literature. The manner of presentation in dialogue, biography, chronography, funeral oration, letter, and even in Biblical exegesis, is bound up with a long-standing tradition. Similarly, we find in poetry the epigram, invective, the cento, the epithalamium, the *propempticon* (address to a friend setting out on a journey), the didactic poem, and the epic and lyric (the last mentioned being represented by the hymns of the Church). This dependence is limited only by the susceptibilities of the Christian spirit: i.e. it stops where to go further might in some way compromise either the doctrinal teaching or the moral principles of Christianity. Thus, in the Christian epithalamium or bridal song, there are no traces of the passionate language or bold appeals with which a Catallus or a Claudian inflamed their own compositions: all is purified and idealised, and transported to a much more ethereal sphere. In the same way, Christian history usually abstains from employing certain methods which were current in pagan historical writings, such as fictitious discourses.² It was certainly not literary impotence which prevented Christian writers from rivalling a Sallust or a Tacitus. What prevented Lactantius, for instance, the rhetorician who had grown old in his art and was thoroughly familiar with oratorical methods, from attributing to Constantine, Licinius or the other princes of whom he writes in his *De mortibus persecutorum*, harangues of the kind so much in fashion? He did not do so, and no other Christian historian did so. Their respect for exact truth, and their deliberate

¹ For instance, *Sermo clxxxiv*, for Christmas; *Sermo cxcix*, for Epiphany; *Sermo cxxx*, for Easter Eve. Cf. the special edition which Lietzmann has given of these texts, in *Kleine Texte für Vorlesungen und Uebungen*, no. 13.

² An exception will be provided by the very long discourse which St. Athanasius attributes to Anthony, in his well-known *Life* of the first hermit. This discourse gives a summary of all Anthony's teaching.

intention not to misrepresent in any way the bloody or glorious story of the Faith, led them to prefer facts and documents to ambitious compositions. And so a mediocre mind and not very competent writer, such as Eusebius of Caesarea, was able to compose in his *Ecclesiastical History* a work of the highest importance, whereas he would have spoilt it if, putting aside his diligent scissors, he had decided to cultivate eloquence after the manner of the pagan models which were so highly praised.

A certain critical sense, which is here identical with the religious sense, thus preserved Christian writers in general from immoderate or compromising imitations. The departures from this general rule are rare. For instance, in Lactantius, a memory of the *Verrines* of Cicero is somewhat coldly introduced in connection with the crucifixion of Jesus.¹ Arnobius praises Christ with the same phraseology which Lucretius had used to praise Epicureus.² These mistaken tactics were exceptional. A sure instinct led Christian writers to borrow only the framework and the literary technique, while introducing and permeating them with a new spirit.

We may even go further. Under the Christian influence, certain literary "genera" already in existence, the origin and use of which we find in Greco-Roman writings, developed and flourished in an unexpected fashion. For instance, history, which certainly did not find a new Polybius or a new Tacitus, nevertheless widened its perspectives by freeing itself from a too narrowly Greek or Roman outlook. Moreover, it became permeated with philosophy, and invited the reader to see the permanent action of Providence in the lives of individuals and of nations. Again, autobiography was henceforth regarded not as merely the account of the external and active aspect of one's life, but as the history of a soul, with its combats, its falls, its attempts at reform, and its constant struggle against evil. Similarly the *Acts* of the Martyrs, which some have vainly tried to link with certain pagan prototypes: in these, especially the ones written in the first centuries, which are the most moving of

¹ *Inst. div.*, IV, xviii.

² *Adv. Nationes*, I, xxxii. Cf. Lucretius, *De rerum natura*, V, 1 *et seq.*; 471 *et seq.*; 592 *et seq.*, etc.

all, we certainly find a new spirit manifested. Unfortunately, by the fourth century rhetoric had already begun to spoil their beautiful and original simplicity.

§ 2. SUPERIORITY OF CHRISTIAN LITERATURE IN THE FOURTH CENTURY

Subjects treated by Christian Writers

Apart from the innovations just mentioned, Christian writers largely exploited the intellectual treasures bequeathed to them by the previous centuries. They made use of them with little more reserve or scruple than that shown by pagan writers. If their works are richer in substance, it is because new matter and a variety of fresh subjects were dealt with in them. Dogmatic controversies, liturgical festivals, memories of the persecutions, textual criticism, commentaries on the Bible, moral guidance, and ascetical methods—Christian writers of prose and poetry were able to make good use of all these newly-opened sources, which remained closed to the heirs of the purely pagan tradition.

Let us take, for instance, two contemporary poets, the pagan Claudian and the Christian Prudentius. From the point of view of talent and creative spontaneity, these are practically on a level, and neither of them would deserve high rank from the literary point of view. Yet the reading of the works of Prudentius, in spite of the weakness of execution, and the mistakes of a taste which is too uncertain of itself, is incomparably more attractive than the reading of Claudian. The latter offers us only a collection of common-places, dead legends, and a pedantic imagery which arises only out of erudition and no longer affects our imagination. We look in vain in him for a fresh impression, a direct view of things, or a truly spontaneous piece of writing, unless perhaps we find it in certain invectives which are decidedly vivid. Prudentius similarly sets forth no new aesthetic; he scarcely strays outside the well-beaten paths; he remains closely attached to the poetic tradition, and writes in a quite artificial language and in a learned idiom which fails to revivify itself by the springs of spoken Latin. He pushes the

love of classical phraseology so far as to designate Christian things by terms traditionally used in the service of paganism.¹ But, having conceived the bold idea of making the "passions" of the martyrs the subject of a series of lyrical verses, he is able to combine with his accounts, almost invariably too lengthy, some precise and picturesque descriptions of sanctuaries, catacombs, and church decorations, from which those interested in the past have derived much information. His *Psychomachia* itself, however far removed it may be from our own mental outlook, with its abstractions which fight against and injure each other, has a special interest when we remember how much the painting, sculpture, stained glass, tapestries and mosaics of the Middle Ages profited by this strange poem.

In contrast to the verbal sterility of the pagan intellectuals such as Servius, Macrobius or Symmachus, the best of the Christian writers retain the advantage of really having something to say. Literature is not for them a mere mental exercise, or a way of doing the honours to their talent: their whole moral being is engaged in their writing. And in the case of a few of them, a strong personality goes outside the age-long technique, and displays an undeniable originality. It will suffice if we here sketch with a rapid pen some of these great Churchmen.

St. Ambrose

Read consecutively at the present time, the work of Ambrose presents much less interest than the work of a St. Augustine or a St. Jerome. It has neither the depth of the former, nor the warm imagination, impassioned energy and scientific ability of the latter. Apart from a few letters, the reading of his works is often tiresome: he is a writer of the second rank. It was inevitable that his art should suffer from his custom of writing books at the same time as composing sermons, by means of a few adaptations and connecting links.

¹ He calls the devil "tartareus minister"; Purgatory is "cavernosus Avernus"; Paradise "caelestis arx"; and the Church "Christi atria." He describes Sodom as being destroyed together with its "tabularia" (i.e. its archives), its "forum," "balneae," "templa," "madidae propinae" (the taverns with running wine), etc.

Furthermore, he had reached the episcopate without previous theological training or particular formation. He had, as he himself admits, to "teach before he had learnt."¹ He was, in consequence, obliged to obtain the necessary training without delay, and for that he went for preference to Greek writers. Philo and Origen were his masters in matters of exegesis. For moral and dogmatic teaching he made use of the best known of the Greek ecclesiastical writers of his time, Athanasius, Basil, Cyril of Jerusalem, Didymus, Epiphanius and Gregory of Nazianzum, eagerly obtaining their works even when these had only just appeared. In this way he acquired a rather hasty and somewhat varied culture, though one which indicates in him, in place of any marked originality, a remarkable power of assimilation.

For the rest, it was not in his books that he put the best of his activity or the best of himself. He revealed himself and manifested the lucidity and energy of his will above all in his practical action. It was this that won for him the admiration of his contemporaries, with some rare exceptions,² and also that of posterity. A few centuries later he was counted, together with Jerome, Augustine and Gregory, among the four great Doctors of the Church.

We do not know the exact date of the birth of Ambrose: it was somewhere between 333 and 340. His family was a Christian one. It had included amongst its members one martyr, the virgin Sotheris, put to death during the Diocletian persecution. Ambrose's father held at Trèves the important office of praetorian prefect amongst the Gauls. When he died, his widow took to Rome her three children, Ambrose, Satyrus and Marcellinus. We have hardly any information concerning the boyhood of Ambrose, but it is certain that he received the intellectual formation customary for the youth of his rank. He passed through the school of grammar and that of rhetoric, and like so many others he received the impress of this special discipline and never lost it. A Latin translation of the *Wars of the Jews* of the historian Josephus, which he must have made about 370, a few

¹ *De officiis*, I, i, 4.

² St. Jerome was rather severe in his regard. Cf. P. de Labriolle, *Saint Ambroise*, Paris, 1908, p. 26.

years before his elevation to the episcopate, shows that he was anxious to enrich his model with oratorical features and striking *sententiae*. Later still, when he had achieved a mastery of theology, he would delight to describe the details of some romantic stories, veritable Christian *suasoria*, such as the little flamboyant and edifying Christian romance which he narrates in Book II of *De virginibus* (iv, 22). Throughout, numerous reminiscences of Sallust, Cicero, Virgil, etc., illumine his style.

His father's example was bound to encourage him to take up the same *cursus honorum*. He attached himself to the person of Sextus Petronius Probus, Praetorian Prefect of Italy, from 368 to 376, and his powerful protector held him in such esteem that he soon had him named Governor of the Province of Liguria-Emilia, with a consular title.

Ambrose thereupon installed himself at Milan, the episcopal see of which was at that time occupied by Auxentius, who belonged to the Arian party. When Auxentius died shortly after Ambrose's arrival, the choice of a successor was the occasion of great debates among the Christians of Milan, some of whom were followers of Arius, while others held firmly to the orthodox faith. The contesting factions assembled together in the basilica to discuss matters. Ambrose, who feared that there might be trouble, thought it his duty to go there in person to maintain public order. All liked him and revered him, and his presence was a guarantee of peace. "He was haranguing the crowd," we are told by Paulinus, his biographer, "when a child suddenly cried out: 'Ambrose for bishop!' The whole assembly repeated the cry, and immediately the conflict between Arians and Catholics gave place to a marvellous and unbelievable unanimity."¹ Ambrose certainly was not expecting such an honour. His first movement was to beg to be excused. But though so unexpected, the choice seemed to all to be so excellent that he had to resign himself to it. The bishops of Italy, and then the Emperor Valentinian gave their approval. Ambrose received baptism (hitherto deferred, according to the

¹ *Vita Ambrosii*, vii.

custom of the time), and eight days afterwards, the priesthood (1st of December 373).

Since the end of the third century, Milan had been regarded as the second city of the West after Rome. The poet Ausonius praises the beauty of its buildings, its circus, and its theatre. "*Mediolani mira omnia*—at Milan everything is splendid," he declares. The Emperors chose this city as their residence in the second half of the fourth century: Valentinian I, Gratian, Valentinian II and Theodosius in turn made frequent stays there. From this fact alone, Ambrose found himself in almost constant contact with the masters of the Roman world. That was for him particularly fortunate. He always excelled in making the best of characters and circumstances for the greater good of ideas which were dear to him, and especially for practical action.

For almost twenty years, from 378 to 397 (the date of his death), he exercised a preponderating influence, and was linked with the Emperors Gratian, Valentinian II and Theodosius in a friendship which certainly had its periods of coolness and even its times of danger, but yet remained robust and sincere.¹

In his religious policy, he had a threefold aim. First, he wished to protect the Church against all violence or unwise action on the part of the State; the Emperor had, in his eyes, no right either to lay hands on sacred edifices, or to pronounce on matters of faith instead of the bishops. Next, he desired to compel the civil power to respect the moral law, even in acts not possessing a specifically religious character, and he was prepared to secure this by inflicting the censures of the Church wherever necessary. Such was the principle which governed his action in the matter of Thessalonica, where he compelled Theodosius (the matter admits of no doubt) to make amends. Finally, his aim was to bring about a close union between the Church and the State so that, far from putting the various cults on an equal footing, the State should ever display, though without violence or the shedding of blood, its special and unique favour to Catholic

¹ Cf. J. R. Palanque, *Saint Ambroise et l'Empire romain*, Paris, 1933.

worship and discourage all others. This enchanting vision of a Christian empire haunted his mind; but centuries were destined to elapse before it could be realised.

Of his works, we will mention only one treatise, because of its exceptional historical importance, the *De officiis ministrorum*.

This work was certainly written after 386, as is shown by an allusion in it to the persecution of the Catholics due to Justina, the Empress-Mother, in 385-386. Ambrose was thus in full possession of his pastoral experience when he wrote this work, in which he says, indeed, that he is not aiming at giving a *Summa* of Christian morals, but which is, nevertheless, a work of great importance.

For the general plan, Ambrose copies the *De officiis* of Cicero, in spite of some digressions required by his special point of view. The first book deals with rectitude (*honestum*), and the four cardinal virtues and duties which depend upon this. Book II deals with the Useful, and duties which derive from it. Ambrose here develops the idea of the *Summum Bonum*, which Cicero had treated only in his *De finibus*. The third book deals with the conflicts between the Upright and the Useful. In the detailed treatment, and sometimes in the very expressions, Ambrose follows his model closely.

The main interest of a study of the *De officiis ministrorum* is that it shows how Ambrose utilises that treasury of ancient wisdom, the *De officiis* of Cicero: what he rejects, and what he retains.

Although Ambrose owes so much to Cicero, he treats him rather coolly. He manifests no pleasure in regard to pagan philosophy, even when he is most obviously making use of it. For him, whatever good there is in this philosophy was originally derived from Hebrew wisdom, and in practically the whole of its affirmations it needs to be modified and corrected according to Christian principles.

In reality, the very basis on which it is founded is absolutely different from that of Christian morality. The latter is only a portion of a vast dogmatic edifice: the pagans, however, were not aware of duty in its religious aspect as the expression of the will of God.

Accordingly, if Ambrose borrows from Stoic morals, of

which Cicero was the most eloquent interpreter, a number of ideas, such as the distinction between reason and the passions, the insistence upon the "sovereign good," the classification of the virtues (wisdom, justice, fortitude and temperance), the division of duties into absolute duties and duties as means, the value attributed to the judgement of conscience, etc.—it is only on condition that these are penetrated by a very different spirit, and justified by reasons of which Cicero could have no conception. Thus, for instance, in temperance, Ambrose introduces the Christian concept of *modestia* or *verecundia*, so unfamiliar to the pagan mind. In the same way, in his eyes wisdom implies piety, for the search for the truth is necessarily linked with the practical knowledge of God, and so on. Each moral idea thus takes, when passing through the Christian mind, a new meaning, a new efficacy, and a new bearing.

Certainly Ambrose's work is far from being faultless. The composition is defective, the exposition wanders, and Ambrose has a tiresome way of substituting Scriptural quotations for his own thought. We would prefer more substantial and more vigorous developments. Here, as elsewhere, and even more than elsewhere, Ambrose retains the very loose method which he had acquired through preaching sermons. Next, we must ask whom precisely he was addressing: the clergy only, or Christians as a whole? There is room for hesitation sometimes, and hence we find a certain lack of clearness and unity. Lastly, several of Ambrose's conceptions do not present all the clarity desirable. For instance, in one place he praises virtue in the Stoic manner, as if even in this world there were nothing lacking to the wise man, i.e. to one who is virtuous. But very soon the transcendental idea reappears: virtue is not the supreme good in itself, it is only the means of attaining to the supreme good, i.e. to life eternal. Divergent elements presented themselves to his thought and he was not always able to harmonise or to fuse them together.

And yet, however disappointing in some respects the *De officiis ministrorum* may be, the treatise will always attract the attention of the historians of human thought, for nowhere else are we shown more plainly the extent to which the basic

doctrines of Christianity, such as belief in Providence, faith in Jesus Christ, and hope in the immortality of the soul and in the risen life beyond the tomb, have removed or transformed many moral problems.

St. Jerome

At a time when already ecclesiastical dignities were coming to imply of themselves a certain influence and prestige, St. Jerome was characterised by his determination to accept nothing more than the priesthood, and to eliminate from his life anything which might in any way interfere with his complete independence.¹ He was born of Christian parents in the neighbourhood of Aquileia and Emona (now Lubiana), in the *confinium* or corner of the Eastern frontier of Italy where it met the boundaries of Dalmatia and Pannonia. Jerome went at an early age to Rome, and went through an excellent course of study there. Numerous travels took him to Aquileia, Gaul, and then to the East. In 373 he set out with a group of friends across Thrace and Asia Minor and installed himself at Antioch, whence, having vowed asceticism, he departed for the desert of Chalcis. There he remained three years, and it was there he had his famous vision. In an ecstasy he was, it seems, transported before the tribunal of the Judge—God himself:

So dazzling a light came from those round about that I fell prostrate and did not dare to lift my eyes. I was asked as to my profession, and I replied: "I am a Christian." Then he who presided said: "You lie: you are a Ciceronian, and not a Christian: where your treasure is, there is your heart also. . . ."

That there is in this account a certain amount of fiction does not need to be said. But there can be no doubt that the scruple which Jerome thus dramatised, concerning the impregnation of Christian minds by pagan culture, was to him, as to many other educated Christians in the first centuries, a source of much anxiety.

Jerome returned to the West by way of Antioch and

¹ On St. Jerome, cf. F. Cavallera, *Saint Jérôme, sa vie et son oeuvre*, Louvain and Paris, 1922, 2 vols.

Constantinople, and once more took up his residence in Rome, becoming secretary to Pope Damasus. There he made some very close friends—especially female—and also some tenacious enemies, destined to remain with him throughout his life. In the end he decided to leave “Babylon, in which one cannot be a saint with impunity,” and to return to the East. It was at Bethlehem, in the monkish cell he called his Paradise, that he wrote the greater part of his works.

If one had to think of sanctity in the somewhat conventional manner of gentleness and sweetness, St. Jerome was indeed a saint out of the ordinary. His ardent imagination, his strong though disciplined passions, and his violent and volcanic temperament link him at all points with human nature in the real. But what Christian ages have most admired in him is neither the vigour of his polemics, nor the classical turn of his style, nor his epistolary art, but his erudition. This astonished his contemporaries, and it has remained his special title to fame in later ages. A knowledge of languages: Greek, Hebrew and Chaldaic; a wide and deep knowledge of Biblical archaeology; a close familiarity with the Greek and Latin commentators, whether contemporary or earlier—these constituted the equipment and resources which enabled him to carry out a work of the first importance, which was defective only in that it lacked a longer period of preparation.

By his revision and translations of the Scriptural books, which he began in 384 at the request of Pope Damasus and continued with some interruptions until after 400, he unified and fixed the text in which Christians read the Word of God. We need not emphasise the ever growing authority of the Vulgate, and the official approval given it in the sixteenth century by the Council of Trent. It eliminated in a great measure, though not completely, the old Latin version known somewhat incorrectly by the name of the *Itala*. There are some books of the Bible the Latin translations of which were not revised by Jerome (*Wisdom*, *Ecclesiasticus*, *Machabees I* and *II*, and *Baruch*), or which were only hastily revised (*Acts*, the *Epistles* of St. Paul, and the *Apocalypse*). He made two translations of the *Psalter*,

one from the Septuagint and the other according to the Hebrew. He collated the text of the *Gospels* with the earliest Greek manuscripts he could discover. Finally, he translated for the first time from the Hebrew the canonical books of the Old Testament. Not content with thus establishing an improved Latin text of the Sacred Scriptures, he also did his best to facilitate their understanding by a series of commentaries, in which he made good use of Origen, and which contain some excellent material rather too hastily worked up.

His *Chronicle*, translated from Eusebius of Caesarea and continued by himself, remains one of the basic works and source-books for researches into the past history of humanity. His *De Viris illustribus* presents us, we may say, in a series of biographical notes, with the first history of Greco-Latin Christian literature. His *Letters* bring to life again the society of his time, with its faults, severely and cruelly described, but also, in some select circles, with its taste for asceticism, its warm interest in the Scriptures, and the painstaking effort made to understand them. Choice passages abound in this vivid correspondence, written in a Latin which is picturesque and full of life. His polemical writings, against Helvidius who attacked the doctrine of the perpetual virginity of Mary, against Jovinian who criticised asceticism, and against his erstwhile friend Rufinus with whom he quarrelled over Origenism, combined great dialectical power with a bitter and caustic style. There could not be a more vigorous personality than that of Jerome, nor one which, even after so many centuries, still manifests through the written word its liveliness and its forcefulness.

St. John Chrysostom

Antioch was the birthplace of the illustrious orator whom Villemain has called "the most splendid mind of the new society planted in the ancient world."¹ The addition "Chrysostom" ("golden-mouthed") was finally affixed to

¹ On St. John Chrysostom, see : A. Puech, *Saint Jean Chrysostome et les mœurs de son temps*, Paris, 1891 ; C. Baur, *Johannes Chrysostomus und seine Zeit*, 2 vols., Munich, 1929-1930.

John's name only towards the eighth century, but even during his lifetime his eloquence was a tremendous attraction to those who were privileged to listen to him. John inspired confidence by his high virtue. It was known that, though born in a rich family and with the promise of a very brilliant career, he had quite early turned to asceticism, and had even made a long retreat in the mountains around Antioch; and that far from seeking ecclesiastical dignities, he had always tried to escape them in the measure in which his conscience allowed. He had the rough frankness of an apostle, but also an apostle's profoundly disinterested zeal.

Was he a good statesman? We may wonder whether, in the course of his quarrels with the minister Eutropius and the Empress Eudoxia, he did not indulge in some useless temerities. He did not pride himself on throwing any really new light on theological matters, but his exegetical comments retain their value in the interpretation of St. Matthew, St. John, and above all St. Paul. Where he did stand out was in the analysis of men's souls, their weaknesses and their faults, and the vain excuses with which men defended their mediocrity.

It suffices to read the two opuscula entitled *Πρὸς τοὺς ἔχοντας παρθένους συνεισάκτους*¹ and *Περὶ τοῦ τὰς κανονικὰς μὴ συνοικεῖν ἀνδράσι*.² These deal with an abuse, traces of which are found here and there during the first two centuries, but which in the third century had spread throughout the Christian world, in spite of admonitions by ecclesiastical authorities, soon to be echoed by conciliar canons. Some "brothers" and "sisters" associated together and made profession of virginity without abandoning the secular life. These couples lived in one and the same house and even shared the same room; they rendered to each other all the services required by life in common, but it was understood that this almost complete intimacy would respect the limits laid down by agreement at the beginning.³

¹ Migne, *P.G.*, Vol. XLVII, 495 *et seq.*

² *Ibid.*, 513 *et seq.*

³ On all this question, see P. de Labriolle, *Le "Mariage spirituel" dans l'antiquité chrétienne*, in *Revue historique*, Vol. CXXXVIII, 1921, pp. 204-225.

Great scandal arose thereby. The practice was severely criticised, and sometimes even brutally, by men such as St. Cyprian, the author of the *De singularitate clericorum*, and by St. Jerome. The two admonitions of St. John Chrysostom manifest the delicacy of an upright and truly religious mind which does not seek to humiliate those who are going astray but only to bring them back to the right path. But how well he refutes the childish sophisms of the offenders! What marvellous dialectical skill he employs to show that their pretended invulnerability is a snare; and that, underlying all this relationship supposed to be motivated by mutual aid and reciprocal consolation, there is an attraction which has nothing in common with the "charity" praised and recommended by the Apostle! While declaring that he is himself willing to believe in the innocence of the *subintroductae* (γυναῖκες συνεισάχτοι) and their protectors, John repeats that it seems to him impossible to persuade others to share this benevolent view, for appearances are so much against it. His main complaint is that these people egotistically forget the respect due to souls, and the duty of not providing material for criticism, even though unjust, if such criticism injures the greater interests of the Faith.

Chrysostom was an incomparable moralist, who utilised in the service of the reform of morals an eloquence which is sometimes passionate, as when he urges human egoism to conquer itself, and sometimes wonderfully tender and gentle. Without taking refuge in vague warnings, but at the same time without useless severity, he managed to bring about a revival of the evangelical ideal, first in the frivolous and corrupt society of Antioch and then in that of Constantinople.

This active moral campaign was supported by a vivid description of the morals and customs of his time, and it compelled him to give descriptions which certainly were not included for their own sake, but which illustrated his precepts, and are still of great interest to us now.

The moral teaching of John has its severe aspect, especially in questions connected with marriage, but usually it is well adapted to real life, of which it reflects the infinite variety. There could hardly be a more supple or fuller dialectic, or richer developments, although his emphasis and

his repetitions are in some respects no longer to our taste.

From the point of view of literary form, John remained faithful to the education he had received. It was his master Libanios who obviously guided him in his choice from among the models presented by the classical age, and his preference was for Plato and Demosthenes. John was indeed attracted to Plato by the poetical bent of his own imagination, and towards Demosthenes by his desire to prove and his aim to convince. But usually he avoided empty flourishes of style, and the "figures of speech" serve only to deepen certain impressions on the minds of those who were listening to him. Though a great scholar he remained essentially a popular orator.

John died on the way to exile, of fatigue and misery, when an order emanating from the court of Constantinople transferred him from the confines of Armenia to a new place of deportation.

St. Basil

We have already pointed out the great part played by St. Basil in the stabilisation of Eastern monachism, and how he excelled his predecessors in giving a real moral unity and a "soul" to the monasteries of his obedience.¹

We are thus prepared to recognise in him a remarkable example of a man of action, and an expert in the management of men and in the organisation of life.

He was puny, nevertheless, of precarious health (he died at the age of forty-nine), and by natural disposition he was timid to the extent of changing colour when anyone entered the room where he lived and worked. But with this he combined an extraordinary authority which emanated from his whole person, and which was evident even in his youth. Here is a somewhat curious indication of this. His father, a well-known rhetorician of Neocaesarea in Pontus, had sent him to Athens to complete his studies. The schools of Athens still had at that time some measure of their ancient renown, and the student population was very great. The

¹ Cf. Vol. I, p. 337. On his part in the Arian matter, cf. Vol. I, pp. 331 *et seq.*, and Bibliography, Vol. I, p. 406.

scholars, who came from all nationalities, were accustomed to impose upon new arrivals a certain number of more or less unpleasant tests. First they were obliged to take a bath, to which they were led in the midst of a ridiculous procession; then they received a sort of "university baptism," and after that they were regarded as belonging to the brotherhood. The natural reserve of the young Basil made it very difficult for him to agree to undergo the clowning of this initiation. And so great was his personal prestige already, and his air of serene and powerful gravity, that a mere request by his comrade Gregory of Nazianzum sufficed to make the student body decide to excuse him, by a unique and unprecedented privilege, from the traditional ceremonial.

Later on, the Emperor Valens, a convert to Arianism, who was accustomed to inflict upon clergy and monks sufferings which were often cruel, did not dare to do anything against Basil. He felt in his regard a sort of reverential fear, and allowed himself to be overcome by his unconquerable and quiet strength.¹

There is something mysterious about this personal, incommunicable gift of authority. It implies in general a vigorous orientation of all the powers of the soul in one and the same direction; a complete self-possession, even at the price of a secret struggle; a detachment from unworthy passions or egoistical ambitions the bonds of which so often paralyse men's souls and make them slaves. Basil possessed all these characteristics.

When circumstances forced him to abandon contemplation and study, and threw him into practical action, he showed himself equal to the new tasks which his very sensitiveness made so painful to him. He was one of those great bishops whose vigilance extend far beyond the circle of theological preoccupations. During a famine which devastated Cappadocia in 367 or 368, whereas the civil authorities were overcome by a disaster so unprecedented, Basil took in hand the task of feeding the people: organised subscriptions, compelled the stockholders to open the warehouses in which they were hiding commodities, opened

¹ Cf. Vol. I, p. 329.

canteens for the people in the public squares, and even himself undertook the task of distributing hot soup to the hungry with the help of his own servants. Then he went to the church, and in the presence of an immense congregation he thundered against the egotism of certain rich people, their criminal speculations and the monstrous abuse of their greed;¹ but he never suggested to the poor who listened to him that they should be envious or take part in sedition.

When we examine his letters, we find many in which he pleads on behalf of poor people, or else on behalf of villages and towns, remissions of taxes, or the righting of injustice or of mistakes.

Had he a real aptitude for philosophical research? One may ask this question when one compares the scientific commentary which he undertook to give of the first chapter of *Genesis*, in his *Hexameron*, with the "profane" sources which he consulted. He does not hide his scorn for the thinkers of Greece, and he takes pleasure in emphasising their contradictions. But what would remain of his own paraphrases, if we removed all that he borrows from the former?² It would be something if he always understood his authors correctly; but more than once he wrongly interprets their ideas, urges against them inconclusive arguments, and reproduces inexactly the data which he borrows from them.³ Do these faults arise from the fact that Basil worked at second hand, using some commentary on the *Timaeus*, such

¹ See *Homily VII; Homily on Psalm xiv* (Migne, P.G., Vol. XXIX, 263).

² He takes from the *Timaeus* of Plato a portion of his exposition of the orthodox doctrine on the creation. The idea he forms of time as an image of eternity likewise comes from the *Timaeus*; the same is true of his idea of the necessity of a divine power which upholds the world, etc. In regard to Aristotle, his debt is even greater: Basil takes from the Stagirite his ideas on the qualities of the elements, the stability of the earth, the nature of the heavens, and the classifications of birds and fishes. He adopts the Stoic theses concerning the final conflagration of the world, the goodness of our natural inclinations, and the economic and social utility of the sea. He utilises the polemics of Posidonius against Epicurus on the real size of the sun and moon, etc.

³ These misrepresentations have been well set forth in the thesis of Yves Courtonne, *Saint Basile et l'Hellénisme*, Paris, 1934.

as that of Posidonius,¹ or else manuals containing summaries of the opinions of the great philosophers? It would not be easy to prove that, but the employment of such compilations had become customary to such an extent at that time that it would be wrong to exclude this hypothesis. Logical training, by reason of its encyclopaedic character, remained necessarily rather superficial. In any case we cannot fail to notice the success which Basil often achieved in adapting the "results" of Greek science to the data of the Bible, even though he seems to pass over some of the less precarious of these results.² That there was a certain measure of the chimerical in his concordism may not have been obvious for many centuries. But in any case, in dealing with the "Hellenists" of his time and the objections which they advanced, Basil could scarcely have employed any other method.³

His dependence, then, upon Greek thought, more or less corrected to bring it into agreement with Holy Scripture, cannot be called in question in matters philosophical and scientific. It is equally plain that he does not abstain from employing methods of rhetoric in the form of his writings. He may indeed regard as pure vanity the cultivation of style, and make declarations such as this: "We do not seek to conform ourselves to your choice of terms" (he is addressing the rhetoricians), "and we do not trouble to arrange our own in a harmonious manner: there are no word-parers amongst us."⁴ But even so, the effect of his early training (as Libanios had told him beforehand)⁵ would never be lost. We find once more in his prose all the refinements of peculiar technique, and even the most artificial ones, consisting in the placing of words, a symmetrical arrangement of the portions of a sentence, and a harmonious combination of

¹ This is the explanation given by Gronau in his book *Poseidonios und die jüdisch-christliche Genesis-exegese*, Leipzig and Berlin, 1914.

² In Astronomy, remarks Courtonne (*op. cit.*, p. 144), he writes as though he were ignorant of Hipparchus and Ptolemy.

³ This has been well shown by O. Ring, *Das Basiliius problem*, in *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*, Neue Folge, Vol. II, 1932, pp. 365 *et seq.*

⁴ *Hexameron*, VI, ii.

⁵ *Epist.*, cccxl.

syllables. We can say that at the most he uses rather more discretion and moderation than the sophists of his day.¹

His twofold culture, Christian and profane, enabled him to make a judicious choice when he had to express his views on the much-discussed question of the utilisation of pagan authors by Christians. Many Christians regarded these authors with mistrust and antipathy.² The thought of the desirability of a complete rupture with the detested past had a great attraction for certain minds. It was necessary to counter these tendencies, for if they had prevailed, they would have reduced the Christian *élite* to utter spiritual impotence.

Among the sermons of St. Basil there is wrongly included a famous *opusculum* in which the Bishop of Caesarea explains to his young nephews "the way to profit by Hellenic letters." This is the precise title of this little treatise, often reprinted from Renaissance times, and which has always been cherished by lovers of ancient authors.³ In point of fact, we do not find the subject developed therein with the fullness and precision that could be desired, and, indeed, the problem of the assimilation of the two cultures is not properly set forth. Basil proceeds to discuss it not very methodically, but with pleasant good nature and an abundant display of humanism. Nevertheless, some important principles emerge from his treatment. Basil considers that, even in the profane literature so much criticised, not all is bad from the moral point of view: poets, orators and historians have found themselves able to praise the good in it, and it provides an abundance of precepts and examples calculated to ennoble the soul of a young man. But Basil urges that a choice must be made, and suspect parts eliminated. Provided such an expurgation is made, Basil holds that young men will greatly benefit by being conversant with profane literature. This will give them, as it were, a first formation, which they can complete later on by a study of Holy Scripture; it will accustom their untrained eyes to support

¹ Cf. Courtonne, *op. cit.*, Part II.

² Cf. St. Gregory of Nazianzum, *Orat.*, xliii, 11.

³ Edited with French translation by Fernand Boulanger in *Collection des Universités de France*, Paris, 1935.

more easily the dazzling light of the teaching of Scripture. In other words, pagan literature is for the young Christian of the fourth century what the science of the Egyptians was for Moses, and that of the Chaldeans for Daniel. It was useful as a preparation and initiation into a higher study, which is precisely that of the Old and New Testament.

Basil's point of view is thus somewhat peculiar, and must be allowed to be a somewhat narrow one. But when we bear in mind the suspicions and susceptibilities with which he had to reckon in this matter, we are the more inclined to praise the generosity of his intentions.

If, moreover, we remember that Basil played an important part in the defence of the Trinitarian formulae of Nicaea—although some have thought that he introduced into the word *homoousios* an idea somewhat different from that of Nicaea, namely that of a *parity* instead of a *unity* of essence¹; and if we also bear in mind that the doctrine concerning the Holy Spirit also owes much to him, and that he introduced into the liturgy of the Mass some formulae which came to be used throughout the East,² and lastly that his tremendous correspondence³ bears witness to his many-sided activity, we can hardly fail to regard him as one of the foremost personalities of the Eastern Church.

St. Gregory of Nazianzum

Compared with Basil, Gregory of Nazianzum, who was a few months older than he, and his dearest friend, appears rather as a dreamer, condemned to a life of activity to which he resigned himself with difficulty, and from which he escaped as often as the opportunity to do so presented itself.⁴

Batiffol has summed up his temperament in the following words: "Gregory suffered from the contradiction of a soul

¹ For a good discussion of this paradox, cf. F. Naeger, *Die Trinitätslehre des hl. Basilus d. Gr.*, Paderborn, 1912; J. Tixeront, *Histoire des Dogmes*, Vol. II, pp. 76 *et seq.* See also Vol. I of the present work, pp. 337 *et seq.*

² Cf. F. Probst, *Liturgie des IV^e Jahrhunderts*, Munster, 1893, pp. 377-412.

³ Cf. General Bibliography in Vol. I.

⁴ On the activity of Gregory of Nazianzum, cf. Vol. I, pp. 338, 362, 373 and Bibliography, p. 406.

made for meditation, writing and solitude, and a destiny consisting of combats and difficulties in which, being a Cappadocian, he became involved. He was inferior to Gregory of Nyssa as a thinker, inferior also to Basil as a man of action; he was a man of feeling, sensitive, inconstant, and yet attractive in spite of everything. He was also an elegant orator, thoroughly Attic, and, above all, a clever and vigorous advocate of the Nicene doctrine, our most classical writer, and our most sober exponent of doctrine."¹

Gregory was the son of a bishop, and was born in the neighbourhood of Nazianzum (or Diocaesarea) in Cappadocia. He received the best education available for a young man of that time, first at Caesarea in Palestine, then at Alexandria, and lastly at Athens, where his friendship with Basil became a particularly close one. It was Basil who baptised him when eventually he returned to his own country, about 355-356. In 362 he was ordained priest by his father, whom he assisted for a time in the administration of his diocese. Basil consecrated him Bishop of Sasima about 372; but Gregory could never bring himself to reside in that noisy and rough frontier post. In 374 he succeeded his father in the episcopal see of Nazianzum. At the end of a year, ever, he found his duties as administrator so overwhelming that he gave them up and went to live as a solitary at Seleucia in Isauria.

In 379 Basil died; Gregory pronounced his funeral oration only towards the end of 381 at Caesarea. In the meantime his reputation as an orator had caused him to be called to Constantinople, where the orthodox, encouraged by the advent of Theodosius, were renewing the struggle for the faith of Nicaea. There he pronounced his five famous discourses on the divinity of the Logos,² which won for him the title of "the Theologian." Ratifying the choice of the bishops gathered at the Oecumenical Council of Constantinople, Theodosius conferred upon Gregory the dignity of patriarch (380), but his right to the see was contested. Gregory, disheartened, resolved to resign; after a short stay

¹ *Anciennes littératures chrétiennes. La littérature grecque*, p. 238.

² Edition with commentary by A. J. Mason, Cambridge, 1899.

at Nazianzum he retired to his family estate, and died there about 390.¹

Gregory's eloquence is a perfect specimen of oratory as recommended by the stylists of his day. He borrows from the school his methods of development, his hyperbolae, his brilliant descriptions, his habit of naming things only by the most general terms, his balanced phrases, his "clausulae," and sometimes his nonsense. But he sometimes writes very beautifully and touchingly, as is shown for instance in his funeral oration on Basil.² As for his two *Invectives against the Emperor Julian*, written about 365, these are inspired by a spirit of strong retaliation, which modifies and corrects the tameness of the rhetoric which he found so tempting.

We must not forget, moreover, that Gregory of Nazianzum was by a natural inclination of his dreamy soul a poet also, and indeed, according to Wilamowitz-Mollendorf, "the most remarkable poet of that time." In 382, less than twenty years before the *Confessions* of St. Augustine, he wrote a poem in 1,949 iambic trimeters about his own life. We find in it many felicitous passages, especially in the first part, but the requirements of metre constitute too heavy a burden, and didactic or dogmatic preoccupation unfortunately affect the exposition of facts.

This complex mind, with its contradictory tendencies, and which had such difficulty in finding its equilibrium or in maintaining it, was one of the most interesting presented to us by Christian Hellenism in the fourth century.

St. Gregory of Nyssa

This Gregory was one of the brothers of St. Basil, and about a year younger than the latter. Of the three "Cappadocians" he probably had the greatest aptitude for scientific research, and the greatest ability to follow out an idea with tenacity and to analyse it deeply. He set out to complete the work of Basil, and especially his *Hexameron*, in respect of the creation of man. He defended this well-known treatise against certain critics in his *Ἀπολογητικὸς περὶ*

¹ On his last years, cf. *infra*, p. 611.

² Text and French translation by F. Boulanger in the *Collection Hemmer-Lejay*, Paris, 1908.

τοῦ Ἐξαμήρου. He also carried on the fight begun by Basil against Eunomius, and he helps us to know the latter better by giving us ample quotations from him.

His life was a very eventful one. He had already taken the first steps in the ecclesiastical hierarchy when he decided to marry. His young wife died, and he then returned to his early vocation. After a stay in the monastery which Basil had founded on the banks of the Iris, he became bishop of the little town of Nyssa in the Eastern part of Cappadocia. The Arians of the place succeeded in compromising him with the Governor of Pontus, on the pretext that he had dissipated some ecclesiastical possessions. Demosthenes (such was the name of this "Vicar") had him deposed by a synod which met at Nyssa. He was even going to arrest Gregory, but the latter managed to escape. He did not return to his diocese until two years later, in 378, after the death of Valens, and then he was welcomed back with joyful demonstrations. After Basil's death, he was regarded as the living incarnation of the soundest orthodoxy.

Gregory dealt with many subjects; he tried, in the manifold questions of exegesis, morals, and ascetics which he discussed, to give explanations capable of satisfying not only faith but also reason. He displayed an idealism based upon Platonist sources, and he had a very pronounced bent, derived from Origen, for allegorical speculations, being convinced that Holy Scripture gives to the believer something more and better than the mere knowledge of facts. His treatise *Against Fate* is important if we wish to understand the powerful seduction which Astrology then had upon men's minds. As for his *Catechetical Oration*, this has been analysed in our first volume,¹ and we have seen how cleverly he gives apposite answers to the manifold difficulties of aspirants to the faith. His *Dialogue on the Soul and the Resurrection*, in which he pretends to be talking with his sister Macrina is, it has been said, "a sort of Christian *Phaedo*." Rarely were the Neoplatonist and Christian spirits associated in a more complete or a happier combination than in Gregory's strong and keen mind. As for his style, L.

¹ Vol. I, p. 254.

Méridier has remarked: "Gregory writes absolutely like a sophist, and the sophistic technique can be studied in him quite as well as in Libanios."

§ 3. CHARACTERISTICS OF FOURTH-CENTURY CULTURE

Criticisms directed against the Literature of the Time

The existence of these fruitful manifestations of activity constitute the most attractive feature of the Greco-Latin Christian literature of the fourth century. Recent historians of antiquity, however, are not very favourable to the literary merits of this epoch.¹ They apply phrases such as the following: "a radical poverty of thought" and "the deceptive religion of form"; they say it is a literature reduced to the position of "a pastime for educated minds," "an absurd cult of the written word," a "servitude to the masterpiece of the past," in which men's minds were condemned to repetition, and the strict copying of a model or an accepted example; it was a case of obsession of memories of the school, and of well-turned phrases, etc., so that we are dealing not so much with a renaissance, but rather as a period of twilight, preceding total darkness.

Evaluation of these Criticisms

We cannot say of this severe verdict that it is altogether unjust. Certainly culture was not despised in the fourth century; we may even say that there have been few periods in which it enjoyed such an unquestioned prestige, or in which men of letters, the representatives of learning, or the rhetorician, were so highly honoured by public opinion, or so fostered by public authority. But from the second century the quality of this culture began to deteriorate, and the terrible political crisis of the third century accentuated this decline. Some remarks of St. Augustine are very significant

¹ C. Jullian, *Hist. de la Gaule*, Vol. VIII, pp. 253, 285; F. Lot, *La fin du Monde antique et le début du moyen âge*, ch. ix.

on the ignorance of the public he was addressing.¹ And in the mental equipment of Augustine himself, there are certain *lacunae* for which the spirit of his time can be regarded as in great part responsible.²

In spite of all this, the critics quoted above argue rather as though the whole thought of the fourth century was, so to speak, incarnate in the absurd writers of the *Augustan History*, in the composers of harangues, formal grammarians, the more or less artificial letter writers, and the poets who plagiarised Virgil. We might urge that they overlook the fine group of men of action who, by word and by pen, fought for their Faith, and did not fail to take part in any of the current mental combats; they forget also the profound spiritual vitality and ardent religious zeal which then characterised the minds of both pagans and Christians. These facts suggest a picture different from that of a stunted and sterile age, which had no other aim than that of saying skilfully and well what in fact was not worth saying at all.

The New Cosmopolitanism

Here is another new feature which must be put to the credit of this period. The literary rivalry and vanity which in other times had divided the Greek East from the Latin West tended to disappear as a result of religious pre-occupations, and these dominated the other tendencies to such an extent that the latter lost almost all their power of inhibition.

This calls for a word of explanation.

The Greeks had always had a great admiration for the Roman power, and they took a great interest in the history of Rome. Already in the second century before Christ,

¹ In *Letter cxviii* to Dioscorus, § 9 *et seq.*, Augustine shows that in Greece as in Africa the dialogues and letters of Cicero were practically unknown, and that ancient Greek philosophy was scarcely heard of. When in his sermons he alludes to the Epicureans or the Stoics, he thinks it necessary to explain who these were (*Sermo CCLVI*, vii, 7; *GLV*, ii, 3). He himself deplores this *incuria bonarum artium* (*Epist.*, i, 2).

² He knew Greek, but did not feel himself at home in that language; he took little interest in art, the sciences, law or medicine; the Bible was for him the book containing all secrets, the *unum necessarium*, and he rejected any critique of it in the light of profane histories.

Polybius had written of "the greatest political evolution of Antiquity, the submission of the whole civilised world to the arms of Rome."¹ In the first century, Dionysius of Halicarnassus had written his *Roman Archaeology*, giving an account of Roman history down to the commencement of the first Punic War. In the third century of our era, Dio Cassius, a very much Romanised Bithynian, had recorded the Roman annals down to his own time.

On the other hand, the Greeks had a pronounced contempt for the Romans from the intellectual and literary point of view. They knew that Latin literature had arisen from the imitation of Greek works which had constantly influenced them, and that Greek thought and Greek art had contributed to the formation of those famous men of whom Rome was so proud. The consciousness of their own former superiority, however diminished and questionable it might have become, caused them to despise the productions of the Latin mind.²

Accordingly, they paid little attention to the Latin works, and it was only very occasionally that a Latin work was translated into Greek. We know of scarcely more than the translation of the *Georgics* of Virgil made by a certain Arrianos under Hadrian, the *Histories* of Sallust rendered into Greek by Zenobius about the same time, and one or two manuals of grammar or history utilised in the fourth century for scholastic purposes.³ That is very little, compared with the large number of Greek works which were translated into Latin.

Now, under the influence of Christianity, the work of translation received in the fourth century a wide extension, and was not affected by any narrow nationalism; and this precisely because the purely spiritual aim and the desire to

¹ M. Croiset, *Histoire de la littérature grecque*, Vol. V, p. 262.

² Dionysius of Halicarnassus, in his notes on the Attic orators, even when his subject would lead him to compare Roman eloquence with Greek, speaks only of the latter, as though he had never heard the names of Cicero and Hortensius. Under Hadrian, Apollonius Dyscolus wrote a series of works on the theory of language without seeming to suspect that there existed a Latin language. Cf. E. Egger, *Mémoires d'Histoire ancienne et de Philologie*, Paris, 1865, p. 266.

³ E.g. the *Grammar* of Dositheus (cf. Schanz, *Römische Literaturgeschichte*, Vol. IV, i, p. 177), and the *Breviarium* of Eutropius (*ibid.*, p. 79).

profit by anything which would benefit men's souls or clarify doctrine, relegated to the background any such susceptibilities.

Thus we find a powerful development in the exchange of ideas between the East and the West, a double current, stronger certainly from the East to the West but manifest also in the other direction, and this brought about a wider diffusion of important works, whether written in Latin or in Greek, and their spread among a cosmopolitan public.¹

Conclusion

To sum up, the fourth century witnessed a praiseworthy effort to save and enrich the legacy of the past, just on the eve of catastrophes which were to cause such havoc to the Empire. Its zeal was often lacking in skill, and its results were mediocre, but a veritable piety in regard to the *res romana* animated the minds of the *élite*. And Christianity provided a strong support for a literature which was addicted to borrowing, and which was thereby temporarily refreshed and renewed.

§ 4. CHRISTIAN ART IN THE FOURTH CENTURY²

Culture includes one element which we must not omit to mention, namely, the artistic creative work of architects, sculptors and painters. What was the contribution of Christianity in this domain in the fourth century?

Art in Christian Life during the First Three Centuries

It is clear that "art" occupied only a subordinate place in Christian interests during the first three centuries. Mistrust rather than interest or sympathy characterised the Christian attitude towards it. That is easy to understand. The Old Testament was not very favourable to plastic representations of the Divinity. The religion inculcated by the prophets was a religion without vain images, and was

¹ Some Latin works not translated into Greek were nevertheless read also in the East. Cf. Sulpicius Severus, *Dial.*, I, xxiii.

² For Bibliography, see p. 726.

both monotheistic and spiritualist.¹ The Primitive Church inherited from the Jewish theocracy a contempt and fear of idols. The condemnation of anthropomorphism in art became one of the commonplaces of Christian apologetics. And it would not be at all difficult to find certain statements which, if taken literally, would be tantamount to a proscription of the very principle of artistic imitation.²

But among those who were converted to the faith several were familiar with the pictorial and plastic works of art which filled the cities of the time. It was not easy to get them to repudiate art entirely. Sculpture indeed, too closely associated with pagan statues, was practically neglected. But on the other hand, the catacombs of Rome, Naples, etc., were treated with decorative *motifs* (the vine, the seasons, the dove, the peacock, etc.) closely connected with the pagan technique of the time, which was cosmopolitan, abstract, and capable of being adapted to any end. Then, from the second century, more or less expert hands tried to depict Biblical scenes such as the three children in the fiery furnace, Moses striking the rock, Noe and the ark, Jonas and the whale, and various incidents or conventional symbols, presented in such a schematic manner that we are sometimes in doubt as to their real signification.

If we had to consider these attempts merely from the aesthetic point of view, it would be difficult not to agree with the judgement formulated by Dom Leclercq: "Christianity, during the period preceding the triumph of the Church, inspired workers in art, but did not produce a single real artist."³ But if we study them from the iconographical point of view, as representing certain beliefs, they have a greater interest, and have given rise to numerous discussions.

¹ See for instance *Deut.* iv, 28; *Jeremias* x, 3 *et seq.*

² E.g. Tertullian, *De Spectaculis*, xxiii, 5: "God forbids any reproduction of the real, and *a fortiori* any copy of his image. The Author of Truth does not like that which is false, and all fiction is in his eyes an adulteration of the truth." Clement of Alexandria, *Strom.*, VI, xvi, 147; VII, v, 28, etc. See W. Elliger, *Die Stellung der alten Christen zu den Bildern in den ersten vier Jahrhunderten*, with corrections by A. Knoepfler in *Mélanges Herling*, pp. 43 *et seq.*

³ *Le Vie chrétienne primitive*, Paris, 1928, p. 69. This work contains sixty plates devoted to primitive Christian art.

Did the Christian art of the catacombs aim at inculcating a dogmatic teaching, as was commonly thought some fifty years ago, and as certain critics (Joseph Wilpert, Karl Künstle) are still inclined to believe? Did it merely paraphrase, in symbolical scenes borrowed from the Bible, the idea of deliverance from death, i.e. the Resurrection (Victor Schultze, E. Le Blant)? Should we look for the influence of liturgical formulae of prayer, and in particular that of the *Commendatio animae quando infirmus est in extremis* (E. Le Blant, Wilhelm Neuss)? Or ancient Christian poetry (J. Ficker)? Or liturgical selections read during the Eve of Easter (Karl Holl)? All these problems are much discussed. It would doubtless be preferable not to attempt to unify at all cost the signification of these paintings, and it would be better to classify them according to their subjects (the dead man freed from death; the salvific effect of penance; the Last Supper, the Last Judgement, etc.).

Development of Christian Art in the Fourth Century

What is certain is that the first *entente* between the Church and the Roman State constituted the starting point of a new era for Christian Art. Already before the Diocletian Persecution, Christianity had enjoyed a semblance of liberty which had encouraged the faithful to do much in the way of construction. "How," writes Eusebius of Caesarea, "can one describe the innumerable conversions to the Church, the crowds in the assemblies in each city, and the great congregations in the houses of prayer (προσευκτηρίαις)? Indeed, because of these things, henceforth people could no longer be content with the edifices of earlier days, and in every city great churches were being built."¹ Once the persecution had ceased, and the atmosphere became more favourable than it had ever been before, there was a tremendous increase of religious constructions—basilicas, churches, baptisteries, *memoriae* in honour of the martyrs—throughout the whole Roman world.² Emerging from its long period of insecurity, Christianity displayed itself in the full light of day, and Christian art freed itself from the simple and popular character in which it had hitherto been confined.

¹ *Hist. eccles.*, VIII, i, 5.

² Eusebius, *Hist. eccles.*, X, ii, 1.

The Technique of the Epoch

Naturally, the Christian artists of the fourth century employed, as did their predecessors, the methods which were then current, and the models which they saw before their eyes. The technique of this epoch was in general mediocre, especially in painting and sculpture. It has often been remarked that, in the Arch of Constantine, near to the Coliseum, between the Palatine and the Caelius, the conception is very weak and the execution clumsy. "It seems that, in this Arch, the sole preoccupation of the artist was to heap together pell mell, without considering taste or style, the greatest possible number of decorative elements."¹ The Arch of Constantine bears witness to another popular fashion of the time, that of robbing ancient monuments in order to construct or decorate new ones. According to the archeologist Uggeri, the Romans at the beginning of the nineteenth century called this Arch the "Aesop's Pie," because it was clothed in ornamentation taken from elsewhere."² It certainly seems that, apart from the frieze, which commemorates in a well-known inscription the victory of Constantine as due to an *instinctus divinitatis* and his own genius, the decoration consists of elements taken from earlier constructions of the first and second centuries.³ On several occasions, the Imperial constitutions forbade the transportation of statues, marbles, or columns from their original situation to some other place.⁴ But even those who promulgated these laws provided examples of their violation. The reason for this weakening of artistic powers was largely financial. The Empire took a long time to recover from the terrible crisis of the third century. The profession of artist implied a long apprenticeship, and those who decided to adopt it must have weighed the possibilities of being able some day to derive

¹ Homo, *La civilisation romaine*, p. 405. A detailed description will be found in E. Rodocanachi, *Les Monuments antiques de Rome encore subsistants*, Paris, 1920, pp. 133-141.

² Rodocanachi, *op. cit.*, p. 141.

³ This point has sometimes been contested; cf. *ibid.*, p. 138, n. 1.

⁴ Constitution of Constantine, 27th of May 321 (*Cod. Just.*, VIII, x, 6); that of Constantius II, 2nd of Feb. 357 (*Cod. Theod.*, XV, i, 1); that of Valentinian I, 1st of Jan. 365 (*ibid.*, XV, i, 14).

their subsistence from it. In the periods of hardship and penury orders would be rare, and an artist would scarcely be able to live. He would discourage by his example, and sometimes also by his counsel, those who were inclined to follow in the same path. And in this way art itself would accentuate its decadence, or continue only in banal and commercial forms, keeping to tradition.

The only kind of art which escaped this general decline was architecture. This retained the taste for the grandiose, and even for the colossal. That is evident from the remains of the tremendous palace which the Emperor Diocletian had built at Salona in Illyria for the time following his abdication, and in which Eastern influence is very manifest.¹ Another example is provided by the vaulted basilica of Constantine in Rome, which is about 110 yards in length and about 70 yards wide, and is carried on a high basement dominating the *Via Sacra*.

The Plan of Christian Churches

According to a theory much in favour among historians of art, the first Christian churches reproduced the general plan of the civic basilicas, which were great halls used for various purposes and especially for judicial discussions. This general idea is not altogether wrong, but it calls for some modification.²

The civic basilicas built by the Romans were in some cases related to an Eastern type (as, for instance, the Basilica Julia), and in others to the Hellenic type (as in the Basilica of Pompey, and the Basilica Aemilia). The latter type consisted of a long hall in three divisions, with or without apses, with or without peristases, but always fronted by a vestibule with two columns, and covered with a roof sloping in two directions.

The Eastern type comprised two different plans: a building with a wide front, open at the side, sometimes fronted by a portico with columns, above which the

¹ Cf. Hébrard and Zeiller, *Spalato, le palais de Dioclétien*, Paris, 1912.

² Cf. on this question Bréhier, *Les origines de la Basilique chrétienne*. We here summarise his ideas.

construction was raised in such a manner as to permit the entrance of light; or else a narrow and deep hall, furnished with a door at its two ends. The roof was always flat. The rivalry between the Hellenic type and the Eastern type continued throughout the imperial period, and there were inevitable mutual borrowings.

Now, while it may be correct to say that the Christian church reminds us of the plan of the civic basilica, it must be added at once that the basilica in question is that of the Hellenic type. The only Eastern element retained by the Christian edifice is the high elevation of the central nave, permitting the entrance of light into the building. Moreover, Leroux has established¹ that, long before the Christian epoch, various pagan sects and confraternities had already adopted the Hellenic type of civic basilica for their places of worship.² Christianity thus merely adopted and continued an existing tradition, accommodating it to the requirements of its liturgy.

Furthermore, it is possible that new discoveries may reveal some more original attempts than the mere adaptation of the classic basilica to new uses. Some indications already make us think that this hypothesis is not at all a chimerical one³; but it would be a mistake to question the normal connection between the religious architecture of the fourth century and the secular architecture of the time. Christian artists naturally utilised, as they had ever done, what they found at hand. There can be no doubt, for instance, that the Christian baptistery, with its octagonal form, was copied

¹ See Bibliography.

² E.g. the sanctuary of the Kabirs at Samothrace, the Baccheion at Athens, and the Pythagorean Basilica at the Porta Major.

³ P. Vincent, of the French Archaeological School at Jerusalem, gave an account on the 26th of July 1935 to the Academy of Inscriptions, of recent discoveries by the officials of the Government of Palestine in charge of Antiquities, in the Basilica of the Nativity at Bethlehem. Excavations made by architects have shown that the original Constantinian building was in no wise a copy of a civic basilica. To a short basilica was attached a polygonal building, the sides of which measured about nine yards, with a central circular construction supporting a baldachino over the altar of the Nativity. See *Comptes rendus des Séances*, 1935, pp. 350-361, especially p. 359.

from the usual arrangement of the Roman baths, and in particular from the *Frigidarium*.¹

The Decoration of Buildings

The erection of great buildings suggested an innovation which did not always meet with approval, but which was so obviously useful that, in the end, it triumphed over the resistance it had encountered. It seemed a good idea to decorate the bare walls, not only for the sake of pleasing the eyes, but also for the instruction of the faithful. A whole Bible in pictures appeared on the walls of churches, recalling the lives of the patriarchs, the glory of Christ, and the trials of the martyrs. Often an inscription in verse set forth the meaning of the pictures, "ut littera monstret quod manus explicuit," as Paulinus of Nola says. We have a poem of Prudentius, the *Dittochaeon*, which consists entirely of paraphrases of this kind. Here are the subjects of some of the works of art briefly commented on in the work (we do not know in which church or churches they were found): Adam and Eve, the Tree of Mambre, the Tomb of Sarah; Joseph and his Brethren; Moses receiving the Law; the House of Rahab the Harlot; the Captivity of Israel; Mary and the Angel Gabriel; the Angels announcing the good news to the Shepherds; the Massacre of the Innocents; the Raising of Lazarus; the Passion of the Lord; the Vision of St. Peter, etc. The details of these historical scenes is of great interest for the study of the development of Christian iconography.²

"The Art of the first three centuries had done little more than raise the hopes of the faithful to a future life; henceforth Christian art becomes a complete system of instruction, a theology in pictures, an illustrated apologetic. It is the 'City of God' made visible to all, and intelligible to the least educated."³ "The figure of Christ, which had hitherto appeared only occasionally, now became the centre of this

¹ See proof in Doelger, *Antike und Christentum*, Vol. IV, Munster, 1934, pp. 182 *et seq.*

² Other accounts in Gregory of Nyssa (Migne, *P.G.*, Vol. XLVI, 737) and Gregory of Nazianzum (Migne, *P.G.*, Vol. XXXV, 1037).

³ L. Bréhier, *L'Art chrétien*, p. 107.

new art, just as it absorbed the attention of the theologians."¹ Jesus was no longer the beardless youth represented in the artless frescoes of the catacombs. He is clothed in the toga or pallium, and his head is surrounded by a luminous nimbus,² the whole having an air of authority and majesty.

State of Mind of some Opponents

So strong was the traditional hostility towards the representation of divine things that some energetic criticisms and even some formal prohibitions tried to prevent the spread of these innovations. Canon 36 of the Council of Elvira in Spain, about 300, is quite unambiguous: "Placuit picturas in ecclesia esse non debere, ne quod colitur et adoratur in parietibus depingatur.—It has seemed good to decide that there shall be no paintings in the churches, so that what is honoured and adored be not depicted on the walls."³ The reason is mentioned, and it excludes the fantastic explanations advanced by some modern historians. Eusebius of Caesarea seems to think that the pagans alone conceived the idea of carving a certain statue of Christ which he saw at Caesarea Philippi in Phoenicia.⁴ In a letter to Constantia, Constantine's sister, he expresses his indignation that people have dared to depict the image of "the divine and spiritual Essence." He recalls the command by which God forbade "facere imaginem neque eorum quae in caelo, neque eorum quae deorsum sunt in terra." And he adds: "Nonne per totum orbem terrarum haecce profligata sunt et procul ab ecclesiis expulsa, et nobis solum non licere tale quid facere, apud omnes divulgatum est?"⁵ We find in the course of the fourth century some echoes of the same repugnance

¹ P. de Jerphanion, *La Voix des Monuments*, p. 42.

² Cf. A. Krücke, *Der Nimbus und verwandte Attribute in der frühchristl. Kunst*; Dom Leclercq, art. *Nimbe*, in *Dict. d'Archéol. chrét. et de Liturgie*, 1935.

³ Hefele-Leclercq, *Hist. des Conciles*, Vol. I, 1st part, p. 240, and note 4.

⁴ *Hist. eccles.*, VII, xviii, 2-4. We must note that in the second century Celsus already criticised Christians for refusing to carve the image of their God (Origen, *Contra Celsum*, VII, 62).

⁵ Mansi, Vol. XIII, col. 313 and 317; Pitra, *Spicil. Sol.*, Vol. I, pp. 383 et seq.

towards pictures, as, for instance, in Asterius, Bishop of Amaseus in Pontus, who condemns certain excesses in the artistic decoration of churches,¹ and in St. Nilus, one of the great theorists of asceticism, who is more definitely hostile,² and possibly also in St. Epiphanius.³

But, in spite of everything, the instructional advantages of these decorations were seen to be so great that they counterbalanced the arguments against them. The Cappadocians did much to bring out these advantages. St. Basil wrote in his *Homily on the Forty Martyrs*:⁴ "That which the language of history teaches by means of the ear, design which is silent shows by imitation." In his *Eulogy on the Martyr Theodore*,⁵ Gregory of Nyssa is even more explicit. He remarks that all who enter the chapel built in honour of Theodore admire its beauty, its ornamentation, and the series of tableaux in which a painter has represented the heroic acts of the martyr and the torments he underwent:

The artist has depicted all this by the art of colours, as in a book which possesses a tongue. For mute design is able to speak from the walls upon which it stands, and it renders very great service. As for the one who has arranged the stones of the mosaics, he has made worthy of history the soil upon which we tread.

The decisive word will be spoken later on by Pope Gregory the Great: "If we allow paintings in churches, it is in order that those who do not know how to read may at least be able to discern with their eyes on the walls what they are unable to read in books."⁶

Mosaics

We have seen that St. Gregory of Nyssa, in the passage just translated, mentions mosaics. These were widely used from the fourth century for the decoration of walls and floors. Mosaics in enamel were more and more substituted for

¹ *Hom. de divite et Lazaro ; In laudem S. Euphemiae.*

² *Ep. ad Olympiodorum eparchum*, iv, 61.

³ Karl Holl accepts the authenticity of the fragments quoted in the *Acts* of the Council of Constantinople (Mansi, Vol. XIII, col. 291 and 335).

⁴ *Hom.* xix.

⁵ Migne, *P.G.*, Vol. XLVI, 757.

⁶ *Epist.*, cv, to Serenus, Bishop of Marseilles.

frescoes, which were too fragile, and for mosaics in marble, which were used only for floors. Rome became one of the most important centres of their manufacture. This method of ornamentation is one of those which were given full scope in this period, and used to the happiest effects. Employed as it was in many places,¹ it gave a particularly good example of its power of expression in the famous mosaic in the Basilica of St. Pudentiana, decorated during the pontificate of Pope Siricius (384-399). In this Christ appears in glory, surrounded by Peter and Paul and the other Apostles, and this great tableau is merely the happy arrangement of coloured cubes, pieced together with skill. It is probably the first masterpiece produced by Christian art.

Sarcophagi

We must mention also the sarcophagi, with their bas-reliefs with the most varied motifs, in which decorative elements, devoid of any religious signification (tritons, hippocampi, winds, heaven and personified rivers, etc.), are combined with specifically Christian representations (the crib of Bethlehem, the Gospel miracles, Jesus among the Apostles, etc.). It is mainly in Gaul and Italy that we find specimens of sarcophagi of Christian inspiration. The chief workshops for their manufacture were at Rome, Arles and Ravenna.

Conclusion

On the whole, Christian art remained in the fourth century as it had been previously, i.e. in close relations with secular art, the decadence of which was already noticeable. Even when the subject treated, for instance, on the sides of sarcophagi, was taken from Biblical History, this connection remained very evident. The whale of Jonas resembles the marine monster who tried to devour Andromeda chained to her rock. The Ark of Noe is made like the coffer in which Danae and her son Perseus were put into the sea by Acrisios. These analogies and similarities might be

¹ See a list in the article *Mosaïque* in the *Dict. d'Archéol. chrét. et de Liturgie*, col. 98 *et seq.*

multiplied.¹ But from the fourth century, Christian iconography, accentuating a movement already begun, developed in a direction more strictly Scriptural and theological. For the summary and often obscure symbols of the catacombs were substituted scenes which are at once intelligible, and dogmatic representations which would appeal to the least educated.

And far from having their end in themselves, these works of art had as their object the instruction of minds and the good of souls, while at the same time they gave a new beauty to the sacred edifices which were rising in all parts of the Christian world.

¹ P. de Jerphanion, in *La Voix des Monuments*, p. 38, writes thus apropos of the *orante* of which we find the pagan replica in the Basilica of the Porta Maggiore: "The idea is different. And why should Christianity have refused this kind of appropriation? It did not think itself obliged wholly to create anew the language which was to express its most essential and its newest dogmas. It did not hesitate to introduce into its worship some rites borrowed from the condemned cults. It was not necessary for art to adopt a more severe attitude. And certainly it did not do so." See on the other hand the not very generous appreciation by C. Jullian of the Christian artists of the fourth century (*Hist. de la Gaule*, Vol. VIII, p. 289).

CHAPTER IV

THE METROPOLITAN SEES AT THE END OF THE FOURTH CENTURY¹

§ I. PROVINCES AND "DIOCESES"

Ecclesiastical Divisions of Territory

BY the end of the fourth century, the Church had made more definite and precise the organisation and functioning of its hierarchy. Following the establishing of the fundamental principles at Nicaea in 325, old usages were confirmed and new rules drawn up by several councils, and finally by that of Constantinople in 381. On the whole, the ecclesiastical divisions of territory tended more and more to be modelled upon the administrative divisions, but there were exceptions and differences which resulted either from local traditions or else from the varying conditions of Christian development in East and West.

1. *The Bishopric*

The basic ecclesiastical unit is the city, the residence of the bishop (*sacerdos*). The rule normally followed is that "the authority of the bishop is bound up with a particular territory, i.e. that of the city with its surrounding villages and countryside."² Thus we find that, while attempts were at first made to subject the *chorepiscopi* of the villages of Asia Minor more closely to the jurisdiction of the bishop of the neighbouring city, the institution itself disappeared almost entirely in the course of the century.³ We still find bishops

¹ For Bibliography, see p. 728.

² P. Batiffol, *La paix constantinienne*, p. 114.

³ On the *chorepiscopi*, see *History of the Primitive Church*, Vol. IV, pp. 982-3. The Council of Antioch in 330 (cf. Vol. I, p. 116) subjected them to the bishop of the city (canons 8 and 10). The Council of Laodicea (cf. *supra*, p. 528) forbade the institution of *chorepiscopi* in mere hamlets, and enacted that they should be replaced by simple *periodeutai*, or visiting priests

established in villages in Egypt and Africa, in spite of the decree of Sardica,¹ and the survival of this custom explains the great number of bishoprics in these two countries, while everywhere else, at least in the East, the number of episcopal sees tended rather to diminish after the Constantinian epoch.²

2. *The Province and the Metropolitan*

Above the city, there is the province. Here again the Christian organisation adopted the plan of the civil administration. There were fresh subdivisions of provinces, and the number of these was greatly increased by Diocletian and his successors; there were in all a hundred and twenty at the commencement of the fifth century.³ The Council of Nicaea officially laid down the principle of this organisation, in conformity with customs already existing in the East and which gradually spread in the West. Henceforth, a close solidarity united all the bishops of a province, and the authority and jurisdiction in the latter belonged without exception⁴ to the metropolitan, the bishop of the capital of the province.⁵

Coming now to the matter of episcopal elections, the clergy and people of the city who were previously supreme⁶ henceforth find their functions reduced. All the bishops of the province were called to take part in the choice and consecration of the new pastor; the presence of at least three of them was necessary, and in the absence of the metropolitan, his agreement was at least required.⁷ When, as sometimes

(canon 57). The chorepiscopate will reappear in Gaul in the following centuries, but with a somewhat different character: here the *chorepiscopi* will be rather coadjutors of the bishops throughout the territory of the latter. On the application of the rule bishopric=*civitas*, cf. *infra*, p. 635, n. 7.

¹ Canon 6.

² Conjecture of Harnack, *Mission und Ausbreitung des Christentums*, Vol. I, p. 391.

³ According to the *Notitia dignitatum*. But some subdivisions, especially in the East, seem to be later than the death of Theodosius.

⁴ For instance, in Africa, possibly in Spain, and also in Italy (cf. *infra*, pp. 627, 634 and 656).

⁵ Cf. canons 4, 5, 6 of Nicaea; canon 9 of Antioch.

⁶ Cf. *History of the Primitive Church*, Vol. IV, p. 975.

⁷ Cf. canons 4 and 6 of Nicaea, 19 of Antioch.

happened, the election was withdrawn from the free choice of the bishops, this was with their assent, or even according to their expressed wishes. Thus, the prelates of Upper Italy allowed the people of Milan in 373 to choose the consular official Ambrose,¹ and again at Constantinople in 381 and also in 398, the bishops assembled together in the capital during the vacancy in the see abandoned the election and transferred the nomination to the Emperor.² We may regard the precedent created by this intervention of the populace or of the prince as regrettable, but the agreement of the lawful electors made such actions perfectly valid; and they were, moreover, followed by ritual consecrations carried out according to the canons. In the course of the century, there seem to have been very few irregularities in this matter, judging from the very small number of complaints which have come down to us.³ There were some other practices which were more frequent, though they had been formally forbidden by the canons of Nicaea, namely, the intervention of one bishop in the domain of another,⁴ absenteeism,⁵ or translation from one see to another.⁶ The selection of a bishop already engaged elsewhere, which was often brought about by intrigue,⁷ was especially denounced as a scandal. Even if ambition was not the original cause of the translation, it was regarded as a serious infidelity, a sort of adultery by the pastor in question, who was bound to his church by quasi-matrimonial bonds. This explains to some

¹ Cf. Vol. I, p. 359. In the case of Ambrose there was a more serious irregularity in the choice of one not yet baptised, contrary to canon 10 of Sardica.

² On the election of Nectarius, cf. Vol. I, p. 374, on that of John Chrysostom, see a later volume.

³ Such disputes were numerous previous to Nicaea, if we are to believe Eusebius, *Mart. Palest.*, xii. But if this state of things had continued to exist, it would have been revealed in the course of the polemics arising out of Arianism.

⁴ Cf. canons 16 of Nicaea, 3, 5, 13, 18 and 22 of Antioch; canons 3, 13, 15 and 18 of Sardica; Canon 2 (§§ 1 and 3) of Constantinople (assuming that "diocese" here is equivalent to "bishopric").

⁵ Cf. canons 11 and 12 of Sardica.

⁶ Cf. canons 15 of Nicaea; 16 and 21 of Antioch, and 1 of Sardica.

⁷ E.g. the installation of Eusebius of Nicomedia at Constantinople in 339, and of Demophilus at Berea in 370.

extent the insults heaped upon so disinterested an apostle as the illustrious Cappadocian Gregory, translated from Sasima to Constantinople and thence to Nazianzum.¹

The Provincial Council

If it became necessary to decide disputes arising between bishops, or again the protests of clergy against the sentences of their pastors, these matters belonged to the normal jurisdiction of the Provincial Council, summoned and presided over by the metropolitan.² The Council of Nicaea had provided that a Provincial Council should meet twice a year.³ Although we are far from knowing all the applications of this rule, we gather that it was not observed strictly everywhere. The Council of Constantinople in 381 nevertheless decided to reaffirm the principle: "The Provincial Council is competent for the affairs of the province, in conformity with the canons of Nicaea."⁴

3. *The "Diocese"*

Over and above the metropolitan jurisdiction, the canons of Antioch provided only for "a greater Council."⁵ In the event, this lack of precision turned out to be unfortunate: to attribute to each province complete autonomy was certainly contrary to the ideal of the unity of the Church, and it was not very satisfactory to allow the bishops of the neighbouring provinces to intervene in a more or less haphazard manner in the affairs of a province in difficulties. It was natural to superimpose on the ecclesiastical province a new stage of authority, modelled on that which Diocletian had instituted in order to group together the civil provinces, which had been divided up and multiplied. The Eastern Council of 381 first outlined this further development of the hierarchy, the first step in the institution of the patriarchates of the sixth century. The second canon of Constantinople,⁶

¹ Cf. Vol. I, pp. 362, 373, and *infra*, p. 611.

² Cf. canons 14, 16 and 20 of Antioch (Canon 23 forbade a bishop to choose and consecrate his own successor).

³ Canon 5 of Nicaea, confirmed by canon 20 of Antioch.

⁴ Canon 2, § 4. ⁵ Canon 12 of Antioch.

⁶ Quoted in Vol. I, p. 374.

drawn up with a particular intention of thwarting the claims of the Alexandrian pontiffs, did not consider it was innovating in a systematic and definite way: it invoked custom and the canons of Nicaea. Nevertheless, it added to these a new principle: the ecclesiastical autonomy of these groups of provinces, which the imperial administration called "dioceses" and which were administered by "vicars." Once again, the Church was modelling its own internal organisation on that of the Empire, and adopting the scheme which the civil authority had devised for its own convenience. But we must not exaggerate the parallelism between the two organisations: though in the province the metropolitan resembles the civil governor, we do not find at the head of all the dioceses an ecclesiastical official analogous to the imperial vicar.

In the West

The Council of Constantinople did not legislate for the West, where we find no special change in the ecclesiastical structure at this time. Two episcopal sees there enjoyed a "primate" authority extending over a whole "diocese," those of Carthage and Rome. But these were local traditions,¹ arising from geographical necessity as much as from historical customs, and they were decidedly anterior to the institution of the *Vicarius Africae*² or of the *Vicarius Urbis*. In the rest of the West, the chief cities of dioceses appear only exceptionally as ecclesiastical capitals.

In the East

As for the East, which was dealt with by the canons of Constantinople, here also we must distinguish between different dioceses. That of Egypt was strictly centralised around the "Pope" of Alexandria. But the Council of 381, which was, as we have said, not very favourable to the

¹ Cf. *History of the Primitive Church*, Vol. IV, p. 988.

² We must also point out that the province of proconsular Africa was not subject to the authority of the Vicar of the diocese, for the proconsul depended directly upon the Emperor. We might therefore say that the Bishop of Carthage united in ecclesiastical matters the powers of the proconsul and of the vicar.

Alexandrian ambitions,¹ confined itself to confirming on this point the ancient customs, already regarded by Nicaea as traditional.² Here the ecclesiastical primacy preceded the restoration of Egyptian administrative unity, which does not seem to have taken place before the time of Theodosius.³

In the case of the other Eastern dioceses, on the other hand, the Council gave to the geographical and political scheme "a canonical existence,"⁴ without of course conferring any special power upon the bishop of the administrative capital. Apart from the rights recognised in the Church of Antioch, there is question only of the collection of bishops of each diocese, and none at all of a primate or a patriarch as a sort of super-metropolitan of all the provinces in question.⁵

4. *The Roman Primacy*

Thus, there was nothing like a rational and uniform organisation of the ecclesiastical "dioceses."⁶ As for a supreme authority in the Church, there is scarcely any reference to this in the conciliar texts of the time. The canons of Nicaea mention only the primacy of the Roman see over the Italian churches. The canons of Sardica attributed to Rome, as we have seen, a sort of jurisdiction of cassation over the Universal Church; but the procedure there laid down may be said never to have functioned. Finally, at

¹ Cf. Vol. I, p. 375.

² "In conformity with the canons, the Bishop of Alexandria is competent for matters of Egypt only . . ." (Canon 2, § 2 of Constantinople). And canon 6 of Nicaea said: "Let the ancient customs continue in force in Egypt, Libya and Pentapolis, and let the Bishop of Alexandria thus have authority over all these provinces."

³ Stein, *Geschichte des spätrömischen Reiches*, Vol. I, p. 303.

⁴ P. Batiffol, *Le siège apostolique*, p. 129.

⁵ A certain number of old authors (Baronius, Godefroy, etc.) thought that the Council of Constantinople really instituted veritable patriarchates. The error resulted from Socrates, *Hist. eccles.*, V, viii, who confused the text of the second canon with that of the law of the 30th of July 381 (cf. Vol. I, p. 375) and added also an incorrect interpretation. Cf. Rauschen, *Jahrbücher*, Excursus v, 479-481.

⁶ In the course of this whole chapter, the word "diocese" is always used in its sense of a group of provinces, and not in that of a bishopric.

the Council of Constantinople in 381¹ allusion was made only to its primacy of honour, which was expressly recognised. But in spite of the ill-will of the Easterns, the Roman Pontiffs also enjoyed a real primacy of jurisdiction. Above the regional autonomies, presided over henceforth by a certain number of great metropolitans, there stood the Roman Church, whose pre-eminence we must study in another section.

§ 2. THE EASTERN METROPOLITAN SEES

I. CONSTANTINOPLE²

The Jurisdiction of Constantinople

The see of Constantinople stands first in the list of Eastern sees. The great Council of 381 attributed to it only a primacy of honour immediately below that of Rome, but the circumstances under which this dignity was conferred were bound to bring about an extension of its jurisdiction over a greater domain. For at that precise time the city of Constantinople, already honoured as equivalent to a new Rome and provided like the ancient capital with a Senate, an urban Prefect, and decided financial advantages, became in a definite and final way the imperial residence and the political capital of the Empire. The synchronising of these two appointments, ecclesiastical and civil, could not have been merely accidental: Theodosius, who definitely gave up the residence at Antioch which had been retained by Constantius, Julian and Valens, could not fail to take an interest in the ecclesiastical status of the city which was henceforth to be the seat of the Eastern court. It must have been just

¹ "The Bishop of Constantinople shall have the primacy of honour (τὰ πρεσβεῖα τῆς τιμῆς), after the Bishop of Rome, because this city is a new Rome" (Canon 3). This point is of particular importance: it tends to equate the importance of churches to the greatness of cities: Rome would owe its precedence to its position as political capital; while Constantinople is as yet content with the second rank, because of the respect still due to the ancient metropolis of the Empire, there can be no question that this misunderstanding of the traditional basis of the Roman primacy would some day allow the Byzantine Patriarch to aspire to oecumenical jurisdiction.

² For Bibliography, see p. 728.

as welcome to him as it was unwelcome to the Alexandrian primate that the Council should have raised the dignity of its bishop. Certainly it was, in principle, a purely honorary pre-eminence that was conferred. But it is easy to understand that the first of the Eastern bishops could scarcely be content to remain the docile suffragan of the Metropolitan of Heraclea, as he still was in theory. This paradoxical situation could develop only to the profit of the prelate attached to the capital city. Over how much territory did the authority of the Byzantine primate extend? It is difficult to determine its boundaries, for these were not fixed for some time to come. In actual fact, the three dioceses of Thrace, Asia and Pontus came very soon within its sphere of influence, and we find that the bishops of the "diocesan" capitals did not exercise at this time an effective jurisdiction over the churches of those regions, and this is true even of the successors of St. Basil at Caesarea in Cappadocia. On the other hand, we know of some interventions by Constantinople in these countries at that time. The bishop of the capital city was asked to take up the case of Bosporios, Bishop of Colonia in Cappadocia;¹ St. Ambrose requested him to depose Gerontios, Bishop of Nicomedia.² Hence, Cappadocia and Bithynia, provinces of the diocese of Pontus, were not regarded as outside its wide jurisdiction.

Bishop Nectarius

These were, however, as yet only timid moves, or more precisely, manifestations of a tendency in which the initiative was not taken by the person concerned, as will be the case with St. John Chrysostom.³ Constantinople had, in the person of Nectarius, a peaceful and pleasant man for bishop, devoid of any ambition, and aiming above all at tranquillity. He was a typical official. Theodosius had chosen him in

¹ Cf. Gregory of Nazianzum, *Epist.*, clxxxv. We do not know the result, but the fact is in itself significant.

² Sozomen, *Hist. eccles.*, VIII, vi. Nectarius, if his intervention was indeed effective, did not manage to eliminate Gerontios: his successor John Chrysostom was, however, to be successful. The important point is, in any case, the fact that Ambrose addressed himself to Constantinople and not to the Primate of the diocese of Pontus.

³ Cf. a later volume.

381, as we have seen, and this good old man did not disappoint the Emperor's expectations, which were that he would contribute to the pacification of men's minds. From his installation and the Council of 382 down to his death in 397 there was a long period of peace, disturbed only temporarily by the riot in 388, in the course of which some Arians set fire to the episcopal palace,¹ and marked, so far as we know, by only one Council, that of 394.²

The Sects

Orthodoxy had an undisputed sway at Constantinople: apart from the incident of 388 just mentioned, the Arians were scarcely heard of, and their illustrious victim, Bishop Paul, receiving a posthumous compensation, was given a very grand burial.³ Their own bishop, Demophilus, died in exile in 386, and after him, Marinus and the old Bishop of Antioch, Dorotheus, who disputed the succession, appeared merely as the heads of rival sects, Marianians or "Psathyrians,"⁴ and Dorotheans, will continue to exist for a long time as separate and insignificant sects.⁵

The only sect which retained at Constantinople, and in the neighbouring provinces of Asia Minor, a solid organisation with the express toleration of the Emperors was that of the Novatians.⁶ We know the names of all their bishops at

¹ Socrates, *Hist. eccles.*, V, xiii; Sozomen, *Hist. eccles.*, VII, xiv.

² Cf. *infra*, pp. 625-626.

³ In 381, probably immediately after the Council. His remains, interred in the place where he died, in Cappadocia, were transferred to Constantinople to the church of St. Paul (Socrates, *Hist. eccles.*, V, ix; Sozomen, *Hist. eccles.*, VII, x).

⁴ This nickname, which meant "Pastrycooks," arose from the fact that one of the most prominent supporters of Marinus was a pastrycook named Theoctistus. They held that God could be called "Father" from all eternity, whereas the Dorotheans maintained that this appellation was not a proper one prior to the creation of the Son.

⁵ Socrates, *Hist. eccles.*, V, xii, 23; Sozomen, *Hist. eccles.*, VII, xvii. Cf. Rauschen, *Jahrbücher*, p. 255.

⁶ There were also Eunomians (already regarded as heretics under Valens, and proceeded against by Theodosius with particular severity, cf. *infra*, p. 715); the Macedonians (condemned by the Council of Constantinople, and very numerous on the Western coast of Asia Minor); the Montanists (still numerous in Phrygia), and the new sect of the Messalians (cf. *infra*, p. 611, n. 2).

Constantinople during the fourth century. After Akesios and Agelios (344-384), Marcianus presided in 391 over a Council at Sangarion in Bithynia, at which there was a discussion concerning the date of Easter. Marcianus was succeeded in 395 by the philosopher Sisinnios.¹

Metropolitans in Thrace

In the diocese of Thrace, we know very few bishoprics apart from the provincial metropolitan sees of Philippopolis (Province of Thrace), Marcianopolis (Lower Moesia), Tomi (Scythia), Adrianople (Haemimont), Heraclea (Europe), Trajanopolis (Rhodopus). The law of the 30th of July 381, which enumerated the chief orthodox bishops, gives for this diocese the names of Martyrios of Marcianopolis and Terentios of Tomi. The other metropolitans were quite obscure personages: at Heraclea Sabinos; at Andrianople Agrios in 381, then Ammon in 394; at Philippopolis, the capital, Brisos about 400. Only the successor of Terentios of Tomi, Theotimus has some slight reputation as an ascetic, a philosopher and a missionary.²

Metropolitans in Asia and Pontus

In the dioceses of Asia and Pontus, on the other hand, in which Christianity had flourished from early times, bishoprics multiplied;³ the subdivisions made by Valens and Theodosius increased the number of civil provinces to twenty, and the ecclesiastical number increased in a like manner. The older Asiatic metropolitan sees: Ephesus (Asia), Cyzicus (Hellespont), Sardis (Lydia), Aphrodisias (Caria), Rhodes (The Islands), Myra (Lycia), Antioch in Pisidia, and Laodicea in Phrygia, were supplemented by the following: Sidon (Pamphylia), Eucarpia (Phrygia salutaris), Iconium (Lycaonia). Similarly the metropolitan sees in the Pontus, Caesarea in Cappadocia, Ancyra (Galatia), Nico-

¹ Socrates, *Hist. eccles.*, V, xii, 21; VI, i.

² On the writings of Theotimus of Tomi, cf. Bardenhewer, *Geschichte der altkirchlichen Literatur*, Vol. III, p. 605. On his missionary activity, cf. *infra*, p. 684.

³ The signatures to the Council of Constantinople in 381 include those of a great number of bishops of Asia Minor, but they are only names to us.

media (Bithynia), Gangres (Paphlagonia), Amasia (Helenopontus), Neocaesarea (Polemonian Pontus) and Sebaste (Armenia) were completed by Tyana (Cappadocia II) and Melitene (Armenia II).¹

On the provinces more to the west, invaded in 381 by the Macedonian heresy, we have little information. We know practically only the name of Evetios, the bishop of the capital city of the diocese, Ephesus. It is the bishops of the interior who figure then in the official lists of orthodoxy: Optimus of Antioch in Pisidia, and Amphilochius of Iconium.

Amphilochius of Iconium

This man was formerly a lawyer at Constantinople, and he had been installed by St. Basil in the new metropolis of Lycaonia. It was an excellent choice: Amphilochius displayed great activity in all domains.² He was an orator, and had preached on Gospel themes and on the liturgical festivals; he was a theologian, and had argued against the heretics, Macedonians, Encratites, and Apollinarians;³ he was a poet, and set forth Christian doctrine in verse which was, it must be admitted, of small merit. But above all he was an excellent pastor, anxious to preserve the Faith and to oppose the heretics. He presided about 390 over a

¹ At the beginning of the fifth century there were divisions of Bithynia, Galatia and Paphlagonia (leading to the constitution of the province of Honorias), and this raised to metropolitan rank the bishoprics of Nicaea, Pessinonte and Claudiopolis.

² On Amphilochius, cf. K. Hall, *Amphilochius von Ikonium in seinem Verhältnis zu den grossen Kappadoziern*, Tübingen and Leipzig, 1904; G. Bareille, art. *Amphilochius*, in *Dict. de théol. cath.*, Vol. I, 1903, col. 1121-1123; A. Touna Barthet, art. *Amphiloque*, in *Dict. d'hist. et de géographie ecclés.*, Vol. II, 1914, col. 1346-1348. On his works, cf. Bardenhewer, *op. cit.*, Vol. III, pp. 220-228; A. Puech, *Histoire de la littérature grecque chrétienne*, Vol. III, pp. 614-621.

³ Cf. G. Ficker, *Amphilochiana*, Leipzig, 1906 (edition of fragments); L. Saltet, *La théologie d'Amphiloque*, in *Bulletin de littérature ecclésiastique*, Vol. XXVII, 1905, pp. 121-127; F. Cavallera, *Les fragments de saint Amphiloque dans l'Hagedos et le tome dogmatique d'Anastase le Sinaïte*, in *Revue d'histoire ecclés.*, Vol. VIII, 1907, pp. 473-497.

Council at Sidon in Pamphylia¹ which condemned the sect of the Messalians.² He sat again at the Council of Constantinople in 394. We do not know the exact date of his death.

The Cappadocians

Amphilochius was thus showing himself to be in the diocese of Asia a worthy heir of his master, St. Basil, and it is certain that the memory and influence of the great Cappadocian bishop was perpetuated even more in the Pontic provinces, in which we find among the episcopate several members belonging either to his natural or to his spiritual family. His successor, Helladios of Caesarea, and his brother Gregory of Nyssa were, together with Otreios of Melitene, proclaimed in 381 to be the pillars of orthodoxy in this diocese. His other brother, Peter, was from 380 Metropolitan of Sebaste. Finally, his great friend Gregory of Nazianzum had returned to his native land, and had become the most noteworthy personage there.

Last Years of Gregory of Nazianzum

We have already mentioned the troubled career of this man, who had been made Bishop of Sasima against his will, became the ardent restorer of orthodoxy at Constantinople, and was constrained in the course of the great Council in that city to resign, partly out of humility, and partly from disillusionment and disappointment.³ When he left Constantinople, after drawing up his last will and testament, he accepted the government of the church of Nazianzum, of which his father had been bishop, and which had been without a pastor since his father's death. But at the end of

¹ Twenty-five bishops sat there : Mansi, Vol. III, col. 651. On the date, see Tillemont, *Mémoires*, Vol. VIII, p. 534 ; Rauschen, *Jahrbücher*, pp. 157 and 330.

² The Messalians (i.e. "those who prayed" in Syriac) formed for twenty years in Syria and Asia Minor a sect of fanatics completely detached from material goods, and in some ways remind us of the Montanists of the second century (cf. Epiphanius, *Haeres.*, lxxx) : they were "Christian dervishes," according to Mgr. Duchesne (*Histoire ancienne de l'Eglise*, Vol. II, p. 583).

³ Cf. Vol. I, pp. 338, 362, 373, and on his work, *supra* pp. 582-584.

two years, in 383, illness and the difficulties caused by the Apollinarians led him to resign once more his episcopal charge. At his request, the bishops of Cappadocia Secunda elected in his place his cousin the *chorepiscopus* Eulalios, and he himself withdrew into solitude at Arianzus, where he died about 390.¹ In his last years, old age, illness and ascetical detachment did not prevent him from still taking an interest in his friends who remained in the world. His voluminous correspondence tells us of the steps he took from his place of retirement in favour of the priest Sacerdos, administrator of a hospice at Caesarea, who had quarrelled with his bishop, Helladios,² also in favour of his grand-nephew Nicobulos, whose education he supervised from a distance,³ and in favour of the bishop Bosporios.⁴ A strange destiny for this great man, to whom the episcopate was ever a burden! Neither at Sasima nor at Constantinople, nor again at Nazianzum had he been able to bring himself to remain and see to the administration of a flock. He had a delicate and sensitive soul, and a brilliant and profound mind, and he could not reconcile himself to the intrigues and difficulties which he constantly encountered: he needed silence and solitude so that he could write and compose his verses. There at least he was able to devote himself to his theological and poetical writing, which constitutes one of the most noteworthy productions of this century.

Gregory of Nyssa

The last survivor of the family of St. Basil was his brother Gregory of Nyssa.⁵ He also was a theologian, an orator and a writer, like the two other great Cappadocians. We possess numerous panegyrics, treatises and homilies written by him, as well as an abundant correspondence, and it was he who had the honour of pronouncing the funeral discourses of the greatest people of the time: Basil of Caesarea

¹ Rauschen, *op. cit.*, pp. 111, 136, 159, 187, 332, and 485-486 (Excursus IX on the date of his withdrawal from Nazianzum).

² Cf. *Epist.*, clxviii-clxx, ccxiv-ccxxiii.

³ Cf. *Epist.*, cxlvi-cxlviii, clvii, clxxxvii-cxcvi.

⁴ Cf. *supra*, p. 607, n. 1.

⁵ Cf. *supra*, pp. 584-586.

and Meletius of Antioch, the Empress Flaccilla, and her daughter Pulcheria.¹ When he died about 395, a whole epoch came to an end, one which had been dominated by Basil of Caesarea, and in which for more than twenty years the light of his name and the effects of his activity had continued in Asia Minor.

2. ALEXANDRIA²

A Powerful See

While the importance of the see of Constantinople was quite a new feature at that time, at the other extremity of the East that of Alexandria had long enjoyed an exceptional power and extensive influence. This prestige resulted from many causes. For a long time the old Hellenic capital had been an intellectual centre of the first order; its Catechetical School had been in the third century the chief focus of Christian thought,³ and this position continued to the end of the fourth century, thanks to an eminent professor, Didymus the Blind (313-398), whose theological and exegetical work was remarkable.⁴ But even more than a

¹ The funeral oration on Basil was pronounced in 379, that on Meletius in 381, and that on the Empresses in 384.

² For Bibliography, see p. 728.

³ Cf. *History of the Primitive Church*, Vol. IV, pp. 730-755.

⁴ His work deserves a more extensive analysis, but we can only indicate here its importance for the history of dogma and of Biblical criticism. We still possess his great *Treatise on the Trinity*, "which sums up all the work of Christian thought in the fourth century concerning the Trinitarian dogma" (A. Puech, *op. cit.*, p. 156); we also have St. Jerome's translation of a *Treatise on the Holy Spirit*, and an abridgement of a treatise *Against the Manichaeans*. Of his commentaries on the Scriptures we possess only fragments, in which it is difficult to decide what really is his. He also wrote many other works, some of which are mentioned by St. Jerome (*De viris illustribus*, cix). Some critics attribute to him the authorship of several works existing under the name of Athanasius (*On the Incarnation*, *Against Apollinaris*, Book I), or of Basil of Caesarea (*Against Eunomius*) or again of others, but such attribution is not proved (cf. A. Puech, *op. cit.*, pp. 163-165). "Didymus is noteworthy more for the extent and variety of his knowledge and the moderation and balance of his mind than by the boldness of original thought" (*ibid.*, p. 165). His contribution to theology and exegesis was nevertheless a valuable one: he introduced into ordinary use the expression: "one *ousia*, three *hypostases*"; he combined in his exegesis textual criticism, literal exposition, and allegorical

centre of studies, Alexandria was a centre of action: a personality such as that of Athanasius, who dominated for almost half a century the whole history of the Arian crisis, affected the whole of the Christian world. This growth of the "Alexandrian Papacy" had caused anxiety to the other Easterns, who endeavoured at the Council of 381 to limit the extent of its authority. Henceforth "the Bishop of Alexandria has competence in Egyptian affairs alone";¹ he is forbidden to concern himself with the affairs of Constantinople or of other places, as had been attempted by the successor of Athanasius. But in the interior of Egypt—which at this precise time was made a distinct diocese—his jurisdiction was not questioned.

In the Nile valley, always thickly populated but not very well organised municipally, there were bishops practically in every "nome," running to as many as a hundred in all,² grouped in six provinces: Egypt, Augustamnichus, Arcadia, Thebaid, Libya, and the Pentapolis. This multiplicity of bishoprics, and also "the geographical conditions of the country and its secular traditions of intense centralisation,"³ explain the fact that, quite early, a strong authority was imposed upon all the churches: of the six metropolitans, there was one who rose plainly above the rest, and whose absolutism cannot fail to remind us of that of the Pharaohs or the Ptolemies. Such was, however, the custom, said the Council of Nicaea, and Epiphanius repeats in similar terms, that "the Archbishop of Alexandria has ecclesiastical administration over all Egypt, as well as over Libya and the Pentapolis."⁴ In virtue of this traditional state of affairs, the Alexandrian pontiff confirmed throughout his vast domain

interpretation. While he was not a great writer, his work shows him to have been an upright man, a conscientious professor, and a great scholar. On his personality and work, cf. Leipoldt, *Didymus der Blinde von Alexandrien* (*Texte und Untersuchungen*, N.F., Vol. XIV), Leipzig, 1905; G. Bardy, *Didyme l'Aveugle*, Paris, 1910; O. Bardenhewer, *op. cit.*, Vol. III, pp. 104-117.

¹ Canon 2, § 1.

² Athanasius, *Apol. contra Arian.*, I, lxxi, expressly affirms this.

³ Duchesne, *Histoire ancienne de l'Eglise*, Vol. III, p. 79.

⁴ 6th Canon of Nicaea, § 1; Epiphanius, *Haeres.*, lxxviii. Cf. *History of the Primitive Church*, Vol. IV, p. 989.

all episcopal elections, and himself consecrated all the bishops, summoned them to councils when he wished and, if and when necessary, gave them all instructions.¹ In addition, the Church of Alexandria enjoyed in the fourth century a very large revenue, thanks to a kind of monopoly in funeral ceremonies, and in the sale of various products (nitre, papyrus, and salt).² Its great power was increased still further by the support which the bishops always received from the population of the Egyptian capital and from the monks, who were rather turbulent but always respected, and who existed in great numbers in the Nile valley.³ Thus, we may say truly that the ecclesiastical history of Egypt was concentrated and summed up in the person of its head.⁴

Timothy and Theophilus

Timothy, brother of Peter II (381-385),⁵ and Theophilus (385-412)⁶ eclipse, in our opinion, all the Egyptian bishops of their time. Theophilus had already shown his gift for intrigue by his equivocal attitude on the occasion of the usurpation by Maximus;⁷ his authoritarian and violent character was also displayed in the campaign he waged at this time against paganism.⁸ But it was not till later on that

¹ Duchesne, *op. cit.*, pp. 79-80; P. Batiffol, *La paix constantinienne*, pp. 128-130; *Le siège apostolique*, pp. 268-270.

² According to Epiphanius, *Haeres.*, lxvi, 1.

³ Cf. *supra*, pp. 447-475.

⁴ Timothy was the only Egyptian mentioned in the law of 30th of July 381.

⁵ On the literary work, very slender in any case, of Peter and Timothy, see Bardenhewer, *op. cit.*, Vol. III, pp. 103-104; Puech, *op. cit.*, Vol. III, pp. 149-153.

⁶ On Theophilus, cf. Bardenhewer, *op. cit.*, Vol. III, pp. 115-117; G. Lazzati, *Teofilo d'Alessandria* (*Pubblicazioni della Università cattolica del Sacro Cuore*, 4th series, Vol. XIX), Milan, 1905. The only one of his works which concerns our period is the *Paschal Cycle* which he dedicated to Theodosius.

⁷ He sent to the West a priest named Isidore, with one letter for Theodosius, and another for Maximus: the messenger, who was instructed to give the winner the letter addressed to him and to destroy the other, was so careless as to mislay both letters, and this revealed the intrigue (Socrates, *Hist. eccles.*, VI, ii).

⁸ Cf. *infra*, pp. 705-707.

the unscrupulous ambition and intractable rigidity of this ecclesiastical Pharaoh was to give rise to the terrible conflicts which affected the Eastern Church for such a lengthy period in the course of the fifth century.¹

3. ANTIOCH²

Antioch and the Diocese of the East

Occupying an intermediate position between the domain of Alexandria and the provinces which looked towards Constantinople, the diocese of the East was organised not so loosely as those of Asia Minor, but at the same time in a less monarchical way than Egypt. The bishoprics were very numerous in this region,³ and they were grouped in regular provinces. Also, the metropolitans exercised there an effective authority: Antioch (Syria), Tarsus (Cilicia), Seleucia in Isauria, Salamis in Cyprus, Tyre (Phoenicia), Caesarea in Palestine, Bostra (Arabia), Hierapolis (Euphrates), Edessa (Osroene), Amida (Mesopotamia), formed so many ecclesiastical capitals.⁴ Above these, Antioch, strong in its apostolic traditions as well as in its position as administrative capital, was the "metropolis of the whole East."⁵

The rights or prerogatives enjoyed by the church of Antioch, and successively mentioned by the Councils of Nicaea and Constantinople,⁶ were nowhere set forth in any

¹ See a later volume.

² For Bibliography, see p. 728.

³ There were a hundred and thirty-eight, according to a sixth-century statement. We know the names of at least a hundred and twenty-five bishops of this time: we may reasonably suppose that there were a hundred and fifty in all.

⁴ It was probably not until the death of Theodosius that the provinces of Syria, Cilicia, Phoenicia, Palestine and Arabia were divided. This must have involved the formation of new metropolitan sees at Apamea, Anazarbus, Damascus, Scythopolis and Pella respectively. Later on also Laodicea in Syria I, Cyr and Samosata in the Euphrates diocese, Beryta in Phoenicia I, and Emesa in Phoenicia II were raised to autocephalous metropolitan rank (see a later volume).

⁵ St. Jerome, *Contra Joh. Hieros.*, xxxvii.

⁶ Nicaea, canon 6 (after the section concerning Alexandria): "similarly at Antioch and in the other provinces, the rights (πρεσβεία) are to be maintained in the churches." Constantinople, canon 2: "The bishops of the East will concern themselves only with the East, saving the rights (πρεσβεία) recognised in the Church of Antioch by the canons of Nicaea."

precise way. It possessed "a primacy which was more than one of honour, but which cannot be further defined by the historian."¹

All that can be said is that, at the beginning of the fifth century, the Bishop of Antioch consecrated all the metropolitans in the diocese, and these in turn consecrated their suffragans. This authority would doubtless have grown, if it had not constantly been lessened or limited by various causes.

The Schism of Antioch

In the first place, the Church of Antioch was constantly torn asunder in the fourth century by internal quarrels. The situation there had always been less plain than at Alexandria where, during the Arian crisis, pillars of orthodoxy favoured by popular opinion alternated with avowed heretics imposed from without by political compulsion. Here, on the other hand, divergent tendencies and views had always existed. Meletius had figured as a semi-Arian before becoming the representative of official orthodoxy; he had been opposed on the one hand by the Homoian Dorotheus, the creature of Valens, and on the other hand by the Catholic Paulinus, whom Lucifer of Cagliari had irregularly installed and consecrated in 362, not to mention the Apollinarian community governed from about 375 by Vitalis.

Even after the defeat of Arianism, and in spite of attempts at conciliation, there remained at Antioch a little Eustathian church. The successor to Meletius, Flavian (381-404), presided over the official Church, but a small group of faithful still gathered round Paulinus, who alone was recognised by the Egyptians and the Westerns.²

Councils of Capua and of Caesarea

The schism would naturally have come to an end with the death of Paulinus, which took place in 388. But the latter had taken care to ensure its continuance by laying hands on

¹ Batiffol, *La paix constantinienne*, pp. 131-132.

² Cf. Vol. I, pp. 372-383.

the priest Evagrius and designating him as his successor.¹ In spite of the flagrant invalidity of this consecration, which was even more irregular than that of Paulinus in 362,² the Westerns did not communicate with Flavian. There was then another attempt at conciliation: Ambrose of Milan summoned at Capua at the beginning of 392 a general council of the West, to take up once more the study of the matter already examined at the Roman Council in 382. It was there decided to restore "communion with all those in the East who profess the Catholic Faith"; but, without deciding between Flavian and Paulinus, the dispute was referred to the judgement of Theophilus of Alexandria, as he had remained neutral between the two "claimants."³ Did Theophilus try to fulfil this mission, so manifestly opposed to the rules laid down in 381? We cannot affirm that he did, although he received a vehement and bitter letter from Ambrose, urging him to get Flavian to come to Alexandria, and to settle the matter in conformity with the canons of Nicaea, after referring it to "the Bishop of the Roman Church."⁴ The latter possibly intervened also, but with more moderation and skill than Ambrose, for it was in explicit agreement with the Pope that the Council held in 393 at Caesarea in Palestine solemnly confirmed the validity of Flavian as the sole legitimate Bishop of Antioch.⁵ The later successor of Flavian, whose testimony is our unique source of information on this matter, writes that Theophilus "was invited to preside over the assembly," but that "he

¹ Ambrose, *Epist.*, lvi, 1, 5; Theodoret, *Hist. eccles.*, V, xxiii.

² Lucifer had acted alone without any mandate. Paulinus made the matter more serious by himself providing for a successor during his lifetime (cf. canon 23 of Antioch).

³ Ambrose, *Epist.*, lvi, 2. Cf. J. R. Palanque, *Saint Ambroise et l'Empire romain*, pp. 254-258.

⁴ This is in *Epist.* lvi of Ambrose.

⁵ Synodal letter addressed to Theodosius, quoted by Severus of Antioch (ed. Brooks, Vol. II, 1, London, 1903, pp. 223-224). The two arguments utilised in this passage are: (1) the canon of Nicaea declaring null episcopal consecrations performed by a single bishop, and (2) the necessity of there being one single pastor for the Church of Antioch. Rather cleverly, the Synodal Letter explains that it was "the religious bishop Siricius" who had suggested these two criteria.

abstained from attending," by reason of matters connected with paganism in Alexandria.¹ It is more likely that, in conformity with the canons of Constantinople, the reference was to a council of the diocese of the East,² doubtless presided over by the bishop of the place, Gelasius of Caesarea. That was the end of the schism. Theophilus made no difficulty in giving immediate recognition to Flavian, and through him communion was likewise re-established shortly afterwards between Antioch and Rome.³

At Antioch itself, the little church deprived of a bishop continued with its priests, whom Flavian refused down to the end to admit into the ranks of his clergy, in spite of the representations of Theophilus.⁴ Although the Westerns had remained in communion with them, Flavian continued to regard their ordination as null, and to repulse any approach. Unity was restored in the Church of Antioch only in the course of the fifth century, about 414 for the most part, and in a complete manner only about 482.⁵

Flavian and his Suffragans

Although the position of Flavian, an experienced administrator and a virtuous prelate, was not, in fine, seriously disputed in Eastern countries, there can be no doubt that this lamentable affair injured the prestige of his see. For, in fact, it was his suffragans who were called upon to pronounce as to his legitimacy, and this was not calcu-

¹ Declarations of Severus of Antioch (Cavallera, *op. cit.*, p. 285, n. 1). Their accuracy is not so certain as that of the conciliar document just mentioned, which it reproduces.

² Cf. Batiffol, *Le siège apostolique*, p. 279.

³ Cavallera (*Le schisme d'Antioche*, pp. 287-289) thinks that the reconciliation with Rome did not take place before the installation of Chrysostom in the see of Constantinople in 398. Duchesne (*Histoire ancienne de l'Eglise*, Vol. II, p. 610) puts it in 394, and associates the mission of the Alexandrian priest Isidore with the one attributed to him by Socrates in 388. That is not very probable. But Isidore may have been sent to Rome by Theophilus at the time when Acacius of Berea was sent by Flavian, shortly after the Council of Constantinople in 394.

⁴ Cf. his letter to Flavian, written about 400 (*apud* Severus of Antioch, tr. by Cavallera, *op. cit.*, pp. 290-292).

⁵ Cavallera, *op. cit.*, pp. 292-298. Cf. a later volume.

lated to increase his own authority. Moreover, several of these bishops were personages of prominence, who were far from being inferior to Flavian either in reputation or in merit: such were Diodorus of Tarsus, Theodore of Mopsuestia, Eulogius of Edessa, Epiphanius of Salamis, and Cyril and John of Jerusalem.¹

Diodorus of Tarsus

Diodorus of Tarsus was, apart from Pelagius of Laodicea, the only bishop of the diocese mentioned in the list of upholders of orthodoxy published by Theodosius in July 381; he merited this honour by the solidity of his orthodoxy and the depth of his theological knowledge. Born in a noble family of Antioch, he imbibed at Athens the same Hellenic culture as that received by the great Cappadocians. Returning to Syria, he had plunged into the most rigorous asceticism, whence Meletius had taken him in 378 to be installed as metropolitan of Cilicia. Before or during his episcopate, which lasted some fifteen years, he wrote a considerable number of treatises of a dogmatic, apologetic, polemical or exegetical character, of which, unfortunately, only fragments have come down to us.² His influence was profound: he organised liturgical chants, and was a pioneer in literal and moral exegesis. He was also the immediate master of John Chrysostom and also of Theodore of Mopsuestia, who were monks with him before they became priests at Antioch and then bishops in their turn.

Theodore of Mopsuestia

It was Diodorus who installed his disciple Theodore in the Cilician see whose name is attached to his, and where he remained for thirty-six years (392-428).³ Both these prelates,

¹ To these names we might add that of Marcellus of Apamea, who was martyred in 389 (cf. *infra*, p. 690).

² On the works of Diodorus, cf. Bardenhewer, *op. cit.*, Vol. III, pp. 304-312; A. Puech, *op. cit.*, Vol. III, pp. 447-457.

³ On Theodore of Mopsuestia, cf. Bardenhewer, *op. cit.*, Vol. III, pp. 312-324; Puech, *op. cit.*, Vol. III, pp. 567-583. His brother Polychronios was Bishop of Apamea in Syria: cf. Bardenhewer, *op. cit.*, Vol. III, pp. 322-324; Puech, *op. cit.*, Vol. III, pp. 583-584.

who did so much for sacred sciences, had the disgrace of being regarded posthumously as Fathers of Nestorianism: hence the condemnations directed against their memory in the fifth and sixth centuries, and the almost complete disappearance of their works.¹

Eulogius of Edessa

Of Eulogius, Metropolitan of Osrhoene from 379 to 387, we know little, except that he succeeded Barses, who had died in exile under Valens, and that he owed his selection to the influence of Eusebius of Samosata, a great friend of Meletius and Basil and a zealous worker for the Nicene cause. Under Eulogius and his successor Cyrus (387-395) Edessa became one of the chief centres of Eastern Christianity. People went on pilgrimage there from distant places to honour the legendary memories of the primitive conversion of Osrhoene.² They also went there to study sacred sciences. The deacon Ephrem, who lived there in the time of Valens (363-373), founded a school of theology and exegesis.³ He was the beginner of a poetical literature in Syriac, developed at the end of the fourth century by several of his disciples.⁴

Opposition to Antioch

No difficulty was encountered by Flavian from these metropolitans, nor from most of the others—Theodore of Hierapolis, Maras of Amida, Symposios of Seleucia in Isauria, and Diodorus of Tyre—whose provinces were then at peace. The Apollinarian heresy, which continued an

¹ Acacius, Bishop of Berea in Syria from 378 to about 432, and Severian of Gabala, the great enemies of Chrysostom, belong rather to the history of the fifth century. See a later volume.

² Besides a miraculous spring, the inhabitants of Edessa claimed to possess an autograph letter of Jesus, and the tomb of the Apostle Thomas (cf. *History of the Primitive Church*, Vol. II, p. 308).

³ On Ephrem and the School of Edessa, cf. *infra*, pp. 678-679.

⁴ In particular, his nephew Cyrillonas, Balaïos, *chorepiscopus* of Berea, and Isaac of Amida.

obscure existence in some corners of Syria,¹ gave little trouble, and the same is true of the Messalians, condemned in a Council of Antioch about 390.² The only disputes during this epoch took place in Cyprus, Palestine and Arabia, provinces which tended more or less to detach themselves from the jurisdiction of Antioch.

Cyprus: Epiphanius of Salamis

The aspirations of Cyprus to independence are easily understandable in view of its insular spirit. Its ten bishops gravitated round the metropolitan of Salamis, a see occupied at that time by a personality of the first rank, Epiphanius.³ He was a Palestinian who, after being trained by the Egyptian cenobites, had for a long time ruled over a monastery in his native city of Eleutheropolis. His fame as an ascetic had led him to be installed when more than fifty years of age in the see of Salamis, then called Constantia, which he continued to occupy for thirty-six years (367-403). Once he had become a bishop, he made a special point of studying all the heresies, and this research, carried out conscientiously and with the help of great learning (he knew five languages: Coptic, Syriac, Hebrew and Latin as well as Greek), resulted in two works. In 374 there appeared the *Ancoratus* (*The Anchor*), and in 377 the *Panarion* (*The Medicine Box*), in which he enumerates and arranges eighty heresies, twenty of which, it is true, were prior to Christianity. "He had a narrow mind, was not very critical, and

¹ We do not know what happened to the heresiarch Apollinaris of Laodicea after 381. His disciple Vitalis of Antioch must have died about 382; Timothy, who subscribed the canons of 381, remained Bishop of Beryta. He wrote some letters, a *Catechesis*, and an *Ecclesiastical History*. Polemon separated from him and founded an extremist sect. We know also the names of Bishops Homonios and Jobios, and a certain Valentine (cf. Bardenhewer, *op. cit.*, Vol. III, p. 292; Puech, *op. cit.*, Vol. III, pp. 641-642).

² On the date of this Council, cf. Rauschen, *Jahrbücher*, p. 330. On the Messalians, cf. *supra*, p. 611, n. 2.

³ On Epiphanius of Salamis, cf. Bardenhewer, *op. cit.*, Vol. III, pp. 293-302; Puech, *op. cit.*, Vol. III, pp. 644-667. He also wrote a *Treatise on Weights and Measures*, a sort of introduction to the reading of the Scriptures, and a symbolical *opusculum* on the *Twelve Precious Stones on the Vestments of Aaron*, as well as numerous letters and several works now lost.

was a mediocre writer," but, nevertheless, Epiphanius enjoyed a great reputation during his lifetime, and amongst the confusion of his compilations we find many documents and many interesting details. This holy man, so zealous for orthodoxy, did not content himself with refuting the heresies of previous times : we find him intervening in Palestine to combat those whom he regarded as the dangerous heirs of Origenism.¹ Previously he had shown himself to be a fierce defender of Nicaea, and a fearless supporter of Athanasius and Paulinus of Antioch. That shows that he was on rather cool terms with Flavian. In point of fact, since the Arian crisis, and thanks to the long episcopate of Epiphanius, the churches of Cyprus no longer accepted the obedience of Antioch,² and the Council of Ephesus will recognise in 431 the independence of this insular province.

Caesarea and Jerusalem

Palestine likewise aspired to a certain measure of independence. Here the metropolis was Caesarea; but Palestine also had within its province the "mother of all the churches," Jerusalem, and to this the Council of Nicaea attributed an eminent position of dignity,³ without further stating what rights might follow from this. We can understand that the bishop of this see would voluntarily accept neither the jurisdiction of Caesarea, nor even that of Antioch, from which it will be officially detached in the fifth century. Already in the fourth century, the superiority of Jerusalem was manifest: to the prestige it possessed as the holy city, to which pilgrims were accustomed to flock, there was added that arising from its orthodoxy during the Arian crisis. The fidelity to Nicaea on the part of Macarius and Maximin provided a striking contrast to the sympathy for heresy shown by Eusebius and Acacius. Again, the personal prestige of Cyril, who had met with such opposition from the Arian emperors, gave the see of Jerusalem a new splendour. Doubtless he was opposed both by the Homoians

¹ Cf. a later volume.

² Cf. the letter of Pope Innocent to Alexander of Antioch in 415.

³ Canon 7 of Nicaea.

and by the Catholics of the Paulinian-Egyptian-Western block, which criticised his benevolence towards the Homoiousians, and some rather obscure irregularity in his installation. The Council of Constantinople in 381 requested Gregory of Nyssa, sent on a mission to these parts, to make enquiries into this matter. His report, which seems to have been very pessimistic and disillusioned concerning the disorders imputed to the pilgrims to the Holy Places,¹ must on the contrary have been quite favourable to the bishop himself, for the Council of Constantinople in 382 informed the Westerns that "the very venerable and very religious Cyril, beloved of God," had been "previously elected canonically by his comprovincials."² The author of the famous *Catechetical Instructions*³ certainly enjoyed, in spite of all this opposition, a reputation and an influence beyond compare, and he succeeded in installing his own nephew Gelasius in the metropolitan see of Caesarea.⁴ Even after Cyril's death, which took place on the 18th of March 386, the church of Jerusalem under his successor John eclipsed the metropolis: Jerome, who was living at Bethlehem and who did not like the bishop, who was in his opinion on too close terms with the monk Rufinus, reproached him, with his usual lively tongue, for claiming to occupy an *apostolica cathedra*⁵ and to rule all Palestine, and even Arabia as we shall see. John of Jerusalem, who survived Gelasius of Caesarea and his successor John (395-404) prepared the way for the ambitious projects of the patriarch Juvenal.

The Schism of Bostra

In the neighbouring country of Arabia, where new heresies were then springing up, namely those of the

¹ Cf. his correspondence, *Epist.* ii and iii.

² *Apud* Theodoret, *Hist. eccles.*, V, ix, 17.

³ On Cyril of Jerusalem and his *Catechetical Instructions*, cf. Bardenhewer, *op. cit.*, Vol. III, pp. 273-281; Puech, *op. cit.*, Vol. III pp. 536-548.

⁴ On Gelasius of Caesarea, whose elegant style is praised by Jerome (*De viris*, cxxx), probably because he was a rival of John of Jerusalem, we have little information. Cf. Bardenhewer, *op. cit.*, Vol. III, p. 282; Puech, *op. cit.*, Vol. III, pp. 548-549.

⁵ St. Jerome, *Epist.*, lxxii, 10. Cf. *Epist.*, xlvi, 3.

Collyridians and the Antidicomarianites,¹ the metropolitan see of Bostra was split asunder by a quarrel which seems to have been a very bitter one, though we know little of its causes.

The bishop, Bagadios, had been condemned and deposed in his absence by two bishops, Cyril—doubtless the Bishop of Jerusalem of that name—and Palladius, who appointed a successor, Agapios. Bagadios protested to the Council of 381, in which his rival also wanted to sit. Gregory of Nyssa was sent to settle the dispute, but his mission failed. The quarrel continued for more than ten years. It is interesting to note that it was neither the Bishop of Antioch nor the Council of the diocese of the East which was asked to deal with it. The two parties appealed to the Bishop of Rome, who requested Theophilus of Alexandria to deal with it; but the latter was no more anxious to do so than he had been to preside over the Council of Caesarea in 393, and in the end a General Council held at Constantinople in 394 had to settle this local schism.²

The Council of Constantinople (394)

This assembly is sometimes known as the "Council of Rufinus," for it was the Praetorian Prefect of that name who took the initiative in it. In order to celebrate the dedication of a magnificent church, which he had caused to be built in his own villa, "The Oak," near Chalcedon, and his baptism in it, he called together thirty-seven prelates, the chief heads of the Eastern episcopate; and these bishops went on to Constantinople to hold their Council there. Together with Nectarius there were present among others Theophilus of

¹ According to Epiphanius (*Haeres.*, lxxviii-lxxix). The first was a species of Mariolatry; the second a replica of the Western ideas of Helvidius and Jovinian denying the perpetual virginity of Mary (*supra*, pp. 501-502).

² The schism of Bostra and the Council of Constantinople were for a long time known only through an extract in a Greek canonical collection (Mansi, Vol. III, col. 851). Duchesne discovered some fragments of the conciliar examination in a memorandum of Pope Pelagius (cf. his article mentioned on p. 729 (Ch. IV, § 2.3) and *Histoire ancienne de l'Eglise*, Vol. II, pp. 623-626; Hefele-Leclercq, *Histoire des conciles*, Vol. II, Part I, pp. 97-99; Batiffol, *Le siècle apostolique*, pp. 283-286).

Alexandria, Flavian of Antioch, Gelasius of Caesarea in Palestine, Helladios of Caesarea in Cappadocia, Gregory of Nyssa, Amphilochius of Iconium, Theodore of Mopsuestia, Arabian of Ancyra, Phalerius of Tarsus, Ammon of Adrianople—in short, all the best qualified representatives of the Eastern churches. We do not know exactly how the matter of Bostra was settled, but the principles laid down had a general application. At the request of Arabian of Ancyra, it was repeated that a bishop could neither be consecrated nor deposed by two bishops only, and he could certainly not be deposed in his absence. Theophilus of Alexandria suggested the addition that a deposition could be ordered only by a council of all the provincial bishops. Lastly, this important meeting, called through the caprice of a civil prefect, was able to testify to “the religious pacification accomplished in the East. There was complete agreement everywhere. Flavian sat near Theophilus. The latter together with his Eastern colleagues deferred to the wishes of Pope Siricius. The Arabian schism was settled, and that of Antioch reduced to the proportions of a local dispute.”¹

At this point, twelve or thirteen years after the great Councils already held in the capital of Theodosius, on the eve of new disputes which were very soon to affect Palestine and Egypt, and to set Constantinople and Alexandria against each other,² we can fittingly close our picture of the Eastern Empire with this “feast of peace,” in which the heads of all the great metropolitan sees were associated together in a striking unanimity.

§ 3. THE METROPOLITAN SEES OF THE WEST

I. CARTHAGE

Ecclesiastical Organisation in Africa

We have already pointed out the special place occupied by Africa in the Christian West. The number of bishoprics

¹ Duchesne, *Histoire ancienne de l'Eglise*, Vol. II, p. 626.

² See a later volume.

there was very great, amounting to more than five hundred at the end of the century. They were grouped in six ecclesiastical provinces, corresponding to the civil divisions: those of Proconsular Africa, Numidia, Byzacena, Caesarian Mauretania, Sitifensian Mauretania, and Tripolitania.¹ The order in which these names appear corresponds more or less to the chronological order in which they came into being. Proconsular Africa, Numidia and Mauretania existed as ecclesiastical provinces from the beginning of the fourth century; Byzacena was separated from the Proconsular Province in the time of Constans, Tripolitania under Theodosius, and about the same time the churches of Sitifensian Mauretania, hitherto attached to Numidia, obtained their independence. The limits of the religious provinces did not always correspond with those of the civil provinces. Thus, some sees of Proconsular Africa, including that of St. Augustine at Hippo, depended ecclesiastically upon Numidia.²

Already in the third century,³ all the bishops of the country recognised the authority of the Bishop of Carthage, who was a veritable African patriarch. He convoked and presided over plenary councils,⁴ promulgated their decisions, saw to their execution, confirmed episcopal elections, fixed the date of Easter, received appeals from ecclesiastical sentences, and conserved in his archives all the acts of general councils. His authority was all the greater in that it was not limited by that of any real metropolitans. He himself was the head of the Proconsular churches. Tripolitania and Caesarian Mauretania may not have had metropolitans in the fourth century. In the other provinces the religious head was not the bishop of the administrative capitals, Constantine, Hadrumetum or Caesarea: the title of *episcopus primae sedis* was held by the oldest of the bishops in Numidia,

¹ The churches of the province of Tingitania, which formed an administrative part of the diocese of Spain, were attached to the ecclesiastical province of Caesarian Mauretania.

² Cf. Monceaux, *op. cit.*, Vol. III, p. 87.

³ Cf. *History of the Primitive Church*, Vol. IV, p. 988.

⁴ "Concilium plenum, universale, totius Africae" (Monceaux, *op. cit.*, Vol. III, p. 209).

Byzacena and Caesarean Mauretania.¹ Hence the province may indeed have been a useful territorial arrangement, for purely local matters, but in actual fact Africa had no other metropolis than Carthage, the bishop of which could say with some emphasis that he "bore the burden of all the churches."²

Persistence of Two Rival Churches

The Primate of Carthage did not make use of this power, which constituted a form of ecclesiastical centralisation extending almost as far as Egypt, in order to intervene in affairs of churches beyond the seas, as did the "Pope of Alexandria." Circumstances made it necessary for the Africans to confine their energies to themselves. From the beginning of the century they had been torn asunder by the Donatist schism, which had resisted all the endeavours of Constantine and Constans to end it. Since the time of the edicts of Julian, the persecuted sect had taken a new lease of life, and in the last quarter of the century we find two rival churches co-existing in Africa, each as strongly organised as the other.

The Catholic Church

The Catholic Church was not at that time the more vigorous of the two: its leaders seem to have been somewhat mediocre. Restitutus of Carthage played a very prominent part at the Council of Rimini, and remained for some time afterwards faithful to Homoian Arianism.³ There is no mention of a Bishop of Carthage at the Council of Aquileia, at which two African legates were present, Felix and Numidius.⁴ "For forty years we hear of no more councils of the Catholics in Africa."⁵ In 386, however, a general council seems to have been called, to adopt the canons just

¹ Cf. P. Batiffol, *Le 'primae sedis episcopus' en Afrique*, in *Revue des sciences religieuses*, Vol. III, 1923, pp. 425-432.

² Phrase of Aurelius of Carthage, quoted by Monceaux, *op. cit.*, Vol. III, p. 89.

³ Cf. Monceaux, *op. cit.*, Vol. III, pp. 46, 217-218.

⁴ Cf. Vol. I, pp. 377 *et seq.*

⁵ Monceaux, *op. cit.*, Vol. IV, p. 351.

passed by a Roman synod and which Pope Siricius had communicated "to his brethren and fellow bishops in Africa." These dealt with ecclesiastical celibacy, and the penance to be imposed on schismatic clergy who were repentant.¹ But in Africa itself, no steps were taken in connection with the schism: the Bishop of Carthage, Genethlius, was characterised by a meekness bordering upon softness. When he gathered together a great council in the basilica Perpetua Restituta on the 16th of June 390, he thought only of renewing a solemn profession of the Nicene Faith, and proposing a dozen disciplinary canons of no interest for the history of Donatism.²

The only bishop who devoted himself to discussions with the Donatists and tried to bring them back to Catholic unity was Optatus of Milevis. Nearly twenty years after he had published his great apologetic and polemical work,³ he began to prepare a second edition, corrected and with new matter. But he did not have time to carry out his intention, and "some clerical member of his entourage, acting as an executor"⁴ or otherwise entrusted with the task published the work thus revised, together with a seventh book rather loosely attached to the rest, and some unfortunate interpolations. After Optatus had disappeared from the scene, no one else followed his example. "The African Catholics seem to have lacked courage at this time"; in the Council of 390, "none of the canons or proposals brought forward by the speakers concerned the schismatics, although those

¹ Cf. Monceaux, *op. cit.*, p. 353.

² These canons dealt with the following matters: "A prohibition to create new bishoprics, or to intervene in the affairs of parishes in another diocese, or to consecrate a bishop without the consent of the primate; the reform of ecclesiastical tribunals; prohibition against accused persons bringing forward themselves accusations against clerics; excommunication of anyone receiving an excommunicated person; chastity in clerics; prohibition against priests proceeding to unctions, or to the consecration of relics, or the reconciliation of penitents, or rejecting a guilty person absolved by the bishop; deposition of any priest celebrating Mass without the knowledge of his superior; anathema against an excommunicated priest who continued to officiate." (Monceaux, *op. cit.*, Vol. III, p. 228.)

³ Cf. Vol. I, pp. 270-271.

⁴ Monceaux, *op. cit.*, Vol. V, p. 255.

present were well aware of the disquieting progress of the schism, and all were suffering from it in some degree; yet they implicitly gave up the idea of combating it."¹

The Donatist Church

The Donatist Church, on the other hand, was very active. It had at its head, since 355, the illustrious Parmenian,² who was very different in character from his rivals Restitutus and Genethlius. Thanks to political and social troubles, which several times disturbed Numidia and Mauretania, Donatism, given its freedom by Julian and tolerated by his successors, re-established itself everywhere: "in the Proconsular province, in Byzacena, Tripolitania, and the Mauretaniae, it openly opposed Catholicism; it was superior to it in Numidia. In some towns, like Hippo or Bagai, it had won over almost the whole of the population. In certain localities the schismatic bishop had no opponent at all."³

The Schism of Tyconius

The only danger which threatened the Donatist Church came from within, and consisted in internal dissensions, which eventually resulted in the formation of rival sects. One of the first to adopt an independent attitude towards the ecclesiastical leaders was the layman Tyconius.⁴ In two works, the *De bello intestino* and the *Expositiones diversarum causarum*, published about 370 and 375 respectively, he set forth a very definite criticism of several Donatist themes: the claim to sanctify and to a monopoly in the truth; and the necessity of re-baptising. Loyal to Donatism, "he at least lifted the interdict pronounced by his friends against the communities beyond the sea, and he exhorted them to adopt a conciliatory spirit, and to be ready for an understanding, even in Africa, with the other Church."⁵ These works naturally gave great scandal, but this bold appeal for

¹ Monceaux, *op. cit.*, Vol. IV, p. 51.

² Cf. Vol. I, p. 269.

³ Monceaux, *op. cit.*, Vol. IV, p. 52.

⁴ On Tyconius, see Monceaux, *op. cit.*, Vol. IV, pp. 49-50 and 129; Vol. V, pp. 165-219.

⁵ Monceaux, *op. cit.*, Vol. V, p. 175.

the restoration of unity met with no success. "Tyconius met with the fate of all moderate men and peacemakers in a time of civil war. He was reproached on the one hand for being willing to make concessions, and on the other hand for his reserve, and his opponents all agreed in condemning him for a lack of logic."¹

The Donatist authorities became alarmed. Parmenian of Carthage opposed Tyconius in a short *opusculum* (*Epistula ad Tyconium*) which St. Augustine was later on to refute in his turn;² then he called upon him to retract, and as he refused, he had him condemned in a great council about 380.³ After his excommunication, Tyconius lived a retired life, and devoted himself to exegesis.⁴ This vigorous thinker, very bold in his interpretation of the Bible, as in his criticism of received opinions, was too much of a recluse to constitute a real danger for his Church, he opposed it but never renounced it or founded a separate sect.

The Rogatian Schism

There were more serious schisms which appeared at this time in various places. Some bishops raised the standard of revolt against the official heads of Donatism, and gathered around them a number of others. Rogatus of Cartenna in Caesarian Mauretania broke off relations about 370 with his colleagues in Mauretania, whom he criticised for their complaisant attitude in face of the violence and disturbances of which their flocks had been guilty. The Rogatian schism made little progress because the Donatist officials did not hesitate to use all means against it, and to begin with, made use of bands of rebels of Firmus, who willingly massacred these advocates of moderation. Next they invoked the imperial justice itself, and obtained the restitution of their basilicas. Down to the beginning of the fifth century, Rogatianism possessed in Mauretania some ten bishops, the

¹ *Ibid.*

² Monceaux, *op. cit.*, Vol. V, pp. 231-237.

³ Monceaux, *op. cit.*, Vol. IV, pp. 50 and 337.

⁴ He published about 382 a manual of exegesis (*Liber regularum*), and then about 385 a translation and commentary on the *Apocalypse*. On these works cf. Monceaux, *op. cit.*, Vol. V, pp. 169-170 and 178-209.

chief of whom was Vincent of Cartenna, an early friend of St. Augustine, who continued to hold him in high regard.¹

After 380 we find some small local schisms of less importance: in Numidia, that of the Urbanenses; in Tripolitania or Byzacena, the Arzuges; at Carthage the Claudianists, followers of Claudian, head of the Donatist community in Rome who, having been banished from Italy, intrigued against the authority of Parmenian and deprived him of a portion of his flock.

The Maximianist Schism

The most serious of all was the Maximianist schism,² which broke out in 392 at the very moment when the Claudianists were re-entering the Donatist obedience. The primate Parmenian had just died; his successor Primian was "a mediocre leader, violent and narrow minded," who very soon upset everybody by his lack of tact, his tyranny, and his partiality. Realising that the discontent of his followers was increasing, he thought he could intimidate the opposition by excommunicating four deacons. But this arbitrary action, which was in any case taken against canonical rules, aroused general indignation. The council of notables of the community sent a circular letter to all the Donatist bishops, forty-three of whom very soon arrived at Carthage to pronounce upon the conduct of Primian. The latter not only failed to appear but also stirred up a riot against the bishops, who had to evacuate the basilica in which they had assembled and sit in a private house. Then he started proceedings against the deacon Maximian to get possession of his dwelling house, and succeeded in obtaining his expulsion by these legal means. This first council of Carthage condemned Primian but did not depose him, allowing him a month in which to submit. In view of his obstinacy, another council of more than a hundred bishops, assembled at Cabarsussa in Byzacena, solemnly deposed him and elected in his place the deacon Maximian.

Primian, however, still had numerous sympathisers.

¹ On Rogatianism, cf. Monceaux, *op. cit.*, Vol. IV, pp. 49 and 128-129.

² On Maximianism, cf. *ibid.*, pp. 57-62 and 129-132.

Three hundred and ten Primianist bishops, assembled at Bagai on the 24th of April 394, excommunicated Maximian, his consecrators, and his followers. The schism was consummated within the schismatic Church in conditions which strangely resemble the origin of Donatism at the beginning of the century. "Like Donatism, Maximianism arose out of a personal dispute; the Council of Cabarsussa played a part similar to that previously played by the council of the dissidents in 312; Primian was treated as Caecilian had been previously; Maximian was another Donatus, and he was supported by another Lucilla."¹ The struggle between the two sects was likewise characterised by the same bitterness as that of the two rival churches; the Primianists everywhere claimed the possession of the basilicas, which they had occupied since the time of Julian, and the imperial justice—by a striking but logical turning of the tables—admitted their claim.² Accordingly, Maximianism declined very soon. But it did not disappear altogether. At the beginning of the fifth century, the Donatist Church was divided into three dissident groups: the Primianists were still the most numerous, existing mainly in Numidia, where they had two hundred and seventy-nine bishops present at the conference in 411; but in the Eastern provinces there were many Maximianists, and in the West some Rogatians. In addition, there were in many places tiny local schisms of independent communities ranged against those whom St. Augustine calls "the cardinal Donatists."³

The Catholic Revival

This was a great cause of weakness for Donatism, but at first this multiplicity of sects was simply the consequence of its progress and, as it were, the price of its success, manifesting its growth. African Catholicism, which was lamentably slack, would in all probability have failed to profit by this dissolution of the schismatic church, had it not been for two men who now came upon the scene. On the 7th of May

¹ Monceaux, *op. cit.*, Vol. IV, p. 60.

² We know of cases at Musti, Assuras and Membressa.

³ St. Augustine, *De baptismo*, I, vi, 8.

391 or 392, about the same time as Parmenian, Genethlius of Carthage died, and his successor Aurelius was speedily to manifest his capacity for leadership. Also at this time, his friend Augustine became a priest of the diocese of Hippo, and bishop of that see about 395.¹ The Council of Hippo on the 8th of October 393² marked the beginning of a wise and concerted move by these two men which was destined to lead to the most brilliant results. A new period begins with the appearance on the scene of Aurelius and Augustine, and it will lead to a revival of African Catholicism.

2. THE CHURCHES IN THE PREFECTURE OF GAUL³

In the countries in the extreme West of Europe, the ecclesiastical hierarchy was organised very late: the formation of ecclesiastical provinces did not appear there before the last twenty years of the fourth century, and the "dioceses" (Spain, Vienne, Gaul, and Britain) were never the seat of autonomous and centralised authorities.

The Bishoprics of Spain

Spain comprised five great administrative divisions which remained intact in the course of the century: Betica, Carthagina, Tarragonia, Lusitania and Galicia.⁴ In each one the first rank was probably held at first by the oldest bishop, as in Africa.⁵ Local peculiarities seem to have postponed for a long time the fixation of metropolitan sees: the natural divisions of the country, and the ancient subdivision of the provinces into "conventus,"⁶ were certainly obstacles to the extension of the authority of ecclesiastical capitals. In Lusitania alone, we find at the end of the century the Bishop

¹ On these dates, see Rauschen, *Jahrbücher*, pp. 353 and 458.

² See a later volume.

³ For Bibliography, see p. 729.

⁴ From Tarragonia however there was detached between 369 and 386 a Balearic province. We have no knowledge of any see there during the fourth century. On the Tingitan province, the governor of which depended on the Vicar of Spain, cf. *supra*, p. 627, n. 1.

⁵ Cf. *History of the Primitive Church*, Vol. IV, p. 988, n. 1.

⁶ Cf. E. Albertini, *Les divisions administratives de l'Espagne romaine*, Paris, 1923.

of Merida acting like a metropolitan.¹ Elsewhere, the chief towns were opposed by rival cities which in the end eclipsed them during the Visigoth period. Thus in Betica, Seville, which was the seat of the vicar of the diocese, eclipsed Cordova; in Carthagina, Toledo rivalled Carthagena; in Tarragonia, Saragossa rivalled Tarragona, whose bishop seems to have been regarded by Pope Siricius in 385 as the ecclesiastical head of the province;² in Galicia, Astorga, which had long been the only episcopal see, began to feel the competition of Braga. In fine, we are unable to assert that Spain really possessed a metropolitan organisation prior to the Barbarian invasions of the fifth century; and it is certain that the Bishop of Seville never assumed, during the Roman period, the position of head which would be occupied by the primate of Toledo under the Visigoth kings.³

The Bishoprics of Gaul

We must say the same more or less of Gaul. The spread of the metropolitan organisation here would, however, seem to have been favoured by the much greater number of episcopal sees and of administrative divisions. The founding of sees, which had multiplied towards the middle of the century,⁴ continued in the time of Gratian, especially in the mountainous regions of the borders or of the central *massif*.⁵ Indeed, although several sees are definitely mentioned only in conciliar documents of the fifth and sixth centuries, it is not rash to conclude that almost all the cities of Gaul—and these numbered a hundred and fifteen in the time of Honorius⁶—already had bishops.⁷

¹ Cf. *infra*, pp. 640 *et seq.*

² Siricius, *Epist.*, i (cf. *infra*, p. 664). The Spanish Councils which assembled to deal with Priscillianism were held at Saragossa in 380 and 395 and at Toledo in 400.

³ Cf. a later volume.

⁴ Cf. Vol. I, p. 272.

⁵ E.g. Grenoble, Geneva, Octodurus in Valais, Nice, possibly Gap; Albi, Cahors, St. Paulien en Velay; Comminges (Convenae), etc. (Cf. Duchesne, *Fastes épiscopaux, passim.*)

⁶ Cf. Jullian, *Histoire de la Gaule*, Vol. VIII, pp. 20-24.

⁷ This is the conclusion arrived at by C. Jullian, *ibid.*, pp. 301-304. There are of course exceptions, such as cities without bishops (e.g. Arras, Jublains in Mayenne) and bishoprics in simple *vici* (e.g. Nice, Toulon, Uzès).

It would have been natural if, as in the case of the municipal scheme, the provincial division had been adopted throughout by the Church. In that case we should have had between the Pyrenees and the Rhine seventeen metropolitan sees:¹ in the diocese of Vienne in the south, those of Vienne, Narbonne (Narbonne I), Aix (Narbonne II), Embrun (Maritime Alps), Bourges (Aquitaine I), Bordeaux (Aquitaine II), Eauze (Novempopulania); and in the *dioceses Galliarum* in the north, Lyons (Lyons I), Rouen (Lyons II), Tours (Lyons III), Sens (Lyons IV), Trèves (Belgica I), Rheims (Belgica II), Mainz (Germany I), Cologne (Germany II), Besançon (Sequania), and possibly Tarentaise (Graian Alps and Apennines), though this may not have existed as yet.

But in reality, ecclesiastical provinces appear only very late in Gaul: the texts sometimes quoted in support of the contrary view are not at all convincing,² and it was only at the Council of Turin in 398 that we find the first clear indication of a metropolitan organisation. For it was there decided that the bishop whose city "is the (civil) metropolis shall have the dignity of primate in the whole province and, according to the prescription of the canons, he shall have

¹ The provinces numbered seventeen at the end of the century, after the divisions of Aquitaine (about 360-370), Vienne (from which Narbonne II was detached about 370-380) and of Lyons (about 386). Cf. Jullian, *ibid.*, p. 21, n. 4.

² Appeal is sometimes made to formulae employed by ecclesiastical authors referring to civil provinces of metropolises. Thus Athanasius calls Paulinus of Trèves ὁ τῆς μητροπόλεως τῶν Γαλλιῶν (*Apol. de fuga*, iv); and Hilary of Poitiers addresses his *De synodis* to his "coepiscopis provinciae Germaniae primae et Germaniae secundae, et primae Belgicae et Belgicae secundae, et Lugdunensis primae et Lugdunensis secundae, et provinciae Aquitaniae et provinciae Novempopulanae . . ." (it is to be noted that as yet there is only one Aquitaine and two Lyons). Harnack (*Mission und Ausbreitung*, Vol. II, p. 232) wrongly infers that "the ecclesiastical organisation of Gaul was complete in the middle of the fourth century." It has also been remarked (Batiffol, *Le siège apostolique*, p. 202) that the Roman letter *Ad gallos episcopos* (which may be dated 375, cf. *infra*, p. 663) speaks of ecclesiastical provinces and of metropolitans, as does the rescript of Gratian of 378. But if these two documents set forth the law, it does not follow that practice corresponded to it already. It may be precisely in consequence of these external statements that the usage spread in Gaul (cf. Jullian, *Histoire de la Gaule*, Vol. VIII, p. 306, n. 2).

the power to proceed to the consecration of the other bishops."¹ If it was thought necessary to enunciate such an elementary maxim, this must have been because hitherto ecclesiastical relations had not been in conformity with this rule. One case which was, in fact, submitted to this assembly is particularly significant.

In the Provençal region, which for twenty years already had been divided between the two provinces of Vienne and Narbonne II, the Bishop of Marseilles acted as metropolitan, without troubling himself with provincial boundaries, and in spite of the fact that his city had never been important from the administrative point of view. The reason was doubtless that his see was the most ancient in southern Gaul,² and the one whence Christianity had spread over the whole country; in respect of the churches which had been detached from it, or which it had founded, Marseilles functioned as a "metropolis." It was, as we shall see,³ not until personal jealousies intervened, during the last years of the fourth century, that protests were raised against this state of things which had become traditional. The Bishop of Aix, whose city had just been made the chief one in Narbonne II, claimed the rights of a metropolitan, although his see was apparently quite a recent foundation.⁴

At about the same time, Arles had become the capital of the praetorian prefecture of Gaul,⁵ and the bishop of this city accordingly claimed the dignity of Primate of Vienne. The Council of Turin decided these two quarrels with moderation and wisdom. After formulating the principle governing the provincial system, it allowed two exceptions, with a view to settling the disputes. The Province of Vienne,

¹ Canon 2 (Latin text in Babut, *Le concile de Turin*, p. 225, 1).

² Cf. J. Zeiller, *Les origines chrétiennes en Gaule*, in *Revue d'histoire de l'Eglise de France*, Vol. XII, 1926, pp. 27-28.

³ Cf. *infra*, p. 645.

⁴ The first known bishop flourished in 408 (Duchesne, *Fastes épiscopaux*, Vol. I, p. 271). But the institution of the bishopric must have been practically contemporary with the elevation of the city to the rank of administrative headquarters (about 370-380).

⁵ About 395. Cf. J. R. Palanque, *Le transfert de la préfecture des Gaules de Trèves à Arles*, in *Revue des études anciennes*, Vol. XXXVI, 1934, pp. 359-365.

the headship of which was claimed by both Arles and the city of Vienne, would be divided in an amicable manner between the two rival bishops. In the case of the conflict in Narbonne II, it was decided to allow, provisionally, the Bishop of Marseilles to keep "the dignity of primate over the churches which could be shown to have been its parishes, or for which its own disciples had been consecrated,"¹ but after his death the title was to pass to the Bishop of Aix. Vienne, Arles and Marseilles were thus all three ecclesiastical metropolitan sees down to the time of Pope Zosimus.²

Absence of a Head of the Gallic Churches

Neither in the diocese of Gaul nor in that of Vienne was there at that time a churchman who could be said to be the head. There were many excellent pastors of their flocks, such as Theodore of Valais, Allyre (Illidius) and Venerandus of Auvergne, Diogenian of Albi, Florence of Cahors, Delphinus of Bordeaux, Dynamius of Angoulême, Pegasus of Périgueux, and Valentine of Chartres.³ But there seemed to be no one to direct the Gallic churches as a whole. Proculus of Marseilles, during the fifty years of his episcopate (about 380 to 430), interested himself in little more than the bishoprics of the Provençal region. Justus of Lyons, after sitting in several councils, was attracted by the ascetical life, and withdrew to solitude in the East; Britton of Trèves, whose city was the capital of the prefecture of Gaul, was regarded by those outside as the representative of all his churches, and sat in this capacity at the Roman Council of 382, but when he returned to his own country he made no endeavour to act as a primate.⁴ Hilary of Poitiers certainly had no successor worthy of himself. The one who inherited most from him, Martin of Tours (371-397) lived the life of a monk in his episcopal see. He was an ascetic and an

¹ Canon 1 (Latin text in Babut, *loc. cit.*).

² Cf. a later volume.

³ Most of these names are quoted by Duchesne, *Histoire ancienne de l'Eglise*, Vol. III, p. 166, from the correspondence of Paulinus of Nola.

⁴ On Britton of Trèves (373-386), cf. Garenfeld, *Die Trierer Bischöfe des IV. Jahrh.*, pp. 373-386.

apostle, but in no wise an administrator.¹ His friend Victricius of Rouen, who seems to have possessed decided activity and energy,² was confined to the country bordering on the Channel. He made several journeys into Morinia (Flanders), to preach the Christian Faith there, and into Britain, to decide some quarrels of a character unknown to us, at the request of the bishops of the country.

The Bishoprics of Britain

Britain had indeed then some organised churches. But we have no information concerning them, except that they were represented by three bishops at the Councils of Arles (314) and Rimini (359).³ It is impossible to say how many sees there were, or to know whether these were grouped together in ecclesiastical provinces,⁴ or whether the Bishop of York (Eboracum) had jurisdiction over all the other British bishops. We must resign ourselves to our lack of knowledge concerning these Northern Christian communities, and return to the Continent.

The three Gallic and Spanish dioceses seem to have been in fairly close relations with one another, but the absence of a strong ecclesiastical authority there led eventually to disastrous consequences. Dissensions arose, and continued for a long time, and interventions from without were required to bring them to an end.

The Council of Valence (374)

After the end of the Arian crisis, which in the extreme West occurred in the reign of Julian,⁵ these churches enjoyed several years of tranquillity. The Luciferian schism gradually came to an end in Betica, where Gregory of Elvira died

¹ On Martin as an ascetic, cf. *supra*, p. 487 ; on his work as Apostle of the Gauls, cf. *infra*, p. 688.

² On Victricius, cf. the monograph of E. Vacandard, Paris, 1903 ; Jullian, *Histoire de la Gaule*, Vol. VII, p. 273, and *infra*, p. 688.

³ Cf. *History of the Primitive Church*, Vol. III, p. 636, and Vol. I of the present work, pp. 30, 201.

⁴ There were at the end of the fourth century five civil provinces : Britain I and II, Maxima Caesariensis, Flavia Caesariensis, and Valentia. The Vicar resided at Eboracum.

⁵ Cf. Vol. I, p. 302.

about 391.¹ Other veterans of the Arian struggle survived here and there, such as Foebadus of Agen.² It was he who presided over the Council of Valence, which met on the 12th of July 374 and comprised some bishops of the diocese of Vienne (Valence, Vienne, Arles and Agen), and of the diocese of Gaul (Lyons, Trèves, Orleans, Nantes). This assembly³ was not called upon to discuss any very serious questions. The only dispute was that concerning Acceptus, who refused to be Bishop of Frejus, accusing himself of having committed imaginary crimes. This was doubtless the occasion of four disciplinary canons which were then adopted. They dealt with impediments to the priesthood, and penances of heretics and of sinful virgins. Possibly this was the Council which consulted Pope Damasus on several matters of discipline. The letter *Ad Gallos episcopos*, sometimes attributed to this Pope,⁴ deals in fact with the duties of clerics and virgins, impediments to the priesthood, and the rules to be observed in episcopal elections or consecrations.

The Gallic bishops took an interest in the affairs of other churches. Six of the south-eastern provinces sat in 381 at the Council of Aquileia, and three of these (Justus of Lyons, Proculus of Marseilles, and Constantius of Orange) even had the title of "legatus Gallorum."⁵ Again, in the preceding year, two bishops of the south-east sat together with ten Spanish bishops at the Council of Saragossa.

The Priscillianist Heresy: The Ecclesiastical Phase (380-381)

This meeting was the first of many held in Spain or Gaul in connection with Priscillianism and the disputes which arose from it. We have already studied this new sect, known by the name of its founder Priscillian.⁶ From being a matter of speculation and controversy, it passed on to an ecclesiastical phase when Hyginus of Cordova and then Hydacius of Merida became active against the followers of these novelties. A Council was very soon regarded as necessary to revise or confirm these condemnations: it assembled at

¹ Cf. Vol. I, p. 276.

² Cf. Vol. I, p. 280.

³ On the Council of Valence, cf. Hefele-Leclercq, *Histoire des Conciles*, Vol. I, 2nd Part, p. 982.

⁴ Cf. *infra*, p. 663.

⁵ Cf. Vol. I, p. 377.

⁶ Cf. *supra*, p. 532

Saragossa under the presidency of Lucius of Tarragona¹ on the 4th of October 380. Eight canons were passed there condemning the peculiarities denounced by Hydacius.² But very wisely, and in conformity with the instructions of Pope Damasus, the Council abstained from excommunicating the guilty, who, in fact, were not present. These, however, refused to submit. They had at their head two bishops, Instantius and Salvian, who very soon placed one of their sympathisers, Priscillian, in the see of Avila. These three leaders of the sect stirred up throughout the province of Lusitania a great agitation against their metropolitan, Hydacius, who was their chief enemy, together with his suffragan, Itacius of Ossonoba. They went to Merida to support a party of the clergy who were in revolt against the bishop, but this merely aggravated the trouble. Finally, they consulted Hyginus of Cordova, who had come to regard them in a more favourable light, and also Symposius of Astorga, as to the best way to act. The general opinion was that a new council should be held to examine all the accusations, those of Hydacius against the Priscillianists and those of the latter against their metropolitan.

Political Phase (382-386)

But the Council did not take place. The Spanish episcopate had no head who could make himself heard, and the quarrel developed into a political one. Hydacius was the first to put in motion the civil power. He persuaded the Emperor that the trouble was due to followers of Manichaeism (a religion severely prohibited by the law), several of whom had taken possession of episcopal sees, and adhered to them although they had been deposed by a Council.

¹ This is, at any rate, a conjecture advanced by Babut, *Priscillien*, p. 99, n. 2.

² The usages condemned are "the institution of doctors charged with the interpretation of the sacred Scriptures, the participation of women in the readings for men and also the assemblies of the same kind for women, fasting on Sundays, retreats during Lent and Advent, and pretended reception of communion" (Babut, *Priscillien*, p. 100). Also, clerics were forbidden to pass to the monastic state, virgins were forbidden to take the veil before the age of 40, and bishops were forbidden to receive those who had been excommunicated elsewhere.

A rescript was thus obtained against the "Manichaeans and pseudo-bishops." It entrusted to Hydacius himself the task of seeking out the guilty and of denouncing them to the administrative authorities, who were to expel them from the places which had been disturbed by their propaganda.

The three Priscillianist leaders thereupon ceased all their agitation: they did all in their power to prove their innocence. But neither Delphinus of Bordeaux, nor Ambrose of Milan, nor Pope Damasus, to whom they took a written defence,¹ consented to receive them, much less to excuse them. At the court of Milan they had more success. They obtained—or, it is said, they bought from Macedonius, the major-domo—the abrogation of the rescript, and thereupon returned to Spain to take possession once more of their sees, with the exception of Salvian, who died in Rome (382).

Matters might have rested there, but the matter flared up again because each of the two opposing parties tried to take revenge on its adversaries. Priscillian and Instantius obtained from the proconsul² measures against Itacius of Ossonoba as "disturber of the churches." The latter took refuge in Gaul, and was received by Britton of Trèves, who persuaded the praetorian prefect Gregory to proceed against the heretics. The latter in their turn obtained from the major-domo the suspension of proceedings. Thus, by the mistakes of both sides, political influences became preponderant; and as long as divergences continued between the three stages of the civil hierarchy—diocese, prefecture and imperial court—it was impossible to take any action. The fall of Gratian in 383 deprived the sect of its greatest support. The new Emperor, Maximus, wishing to divert attention from his usurpation by the zeal of his orthodoxy, adopted the point of view of the Bishop of Trèves: he had Priscillian arrested together with several of his followers, and caused them to be taken under guard to Bordeaux, to a council of Spanish and Gallic bishops,³ who formally condemned them (384). Instantius was deposed from the episcopate; as for Priscillian, who had

¹ This is the *Liber ad Damasum* (cf. *supra*, p. 540, and *infra*, pp. 662 and 669.

² From 370 to 383 the diocese of Spain was administered by a proconsul instead of a vicar.

³ We do not know either the names of those present or their number.

imprudently appealed to the justice of the Emperor, he was taken to Trèves before the tribunal of the Prefect, and accused of magic and evil morals. After a long trial, in which Itacius of Ossonoba did not hesitate to occupy for a time the office of accuser, Priscillian was condemned to death and executed with six of his followers, including a woman named Euchrotia. Instantius and some others were deported (summer of 386).¹

Ecclesiastical Consequences in Gaul: the Felician Schism

The bloody end of this inquisitorial procedure did not bring this lamentable affair to a close. A great part of the Gallic episcopate was destined to be divided, not on the matter of the prohibition of Priscillianist doctrines and practices, but on the lawfulness of this appeal to the secular arm. The "martyrdom" of Priscillian won many sympathisers to his cause and, above all, the odious conduct of Itacius aroused such indignation that the best prelates in the West broke off communion with the Bishop of Ossonoba and all those who had sided with him. It was at Trèves that this schism started. While the trial of Priscillian was taking place at the Praetorium, several bishops protested to the prince: Hyginus of Cordova, a certain Theognitus, Martin of Tours, and Ambrose of Milan. The Emperor was displeased, and expelled Hyginus from the city without any regard to his great age, and also St. Ambrose, who had come as ambassador from Valentinian II.² St. Martin remained, doubtless in order to take part in the election of a successor to Britton of Trèves, who had just died. The Gallic bishops present for this occasion in the capital of the Gauls chose and consecrated Felix, "a very holy man and one who in better times would have been very worthy of the episcopate."³ But Itacius, who had decidedly become a court

¹ On this date, cf. J. R. Palanque (*Saint Ambroise et l'Empire romain*, pp. 516-518), who corrects that suggested by Babut. Sulpicius Severus, moreover, supports the view that Martin's journey to Trèves certainly took place in 386 under the consulate of the prefect Evodius (*Vita Martini*, xx, 4).

² On this second mission of Ambrose to the Court of Trèves, cf. *infra*, p. 696.

³ Sulpicius Severus, *Dial.*, III, xiii, 2.

prelate and, as it were, the ecclesiastical adviser of Maximus, presided over the assembly¹ and the ceremonies. Accordingly, Martin refused to take part in it at first, and consented to do so after much hesitation and resistance only in order to obtain from the Emperor, in exchange for this concession, the abrogation of the severe measures by which he had sent into Spain an extraordinary commission of "inquisitors" with orders to crush the heresy. St. Martin, compromised with those condemned by his courageous attitude, and haunted by remorse at the thought of having in the end communicated with the Itacians, withdrew to his bishopric, and never again left it except to attend councils (autumn of 386).

In Spain

The Itacian or Felician party, as it was henceforth called, from the name of the new Bishop of Trèves, was very soon weakened by the fall of the usurper Maximus. A council freely assembled—doubtless in Spain²—excommunicated and deposed Itacius; Hydacius of Merida spontaneously resigned his episcopate. In Spain this reaction went as far as the rehabilitation of Priscillian, and all the bishops of Galicia save one were very soon regarded as Priscillianists, centred around Symposius of Astorga, who installed Paternus of Braga and five others of his party into sees. The Itacians on the other hand were dominant in Carthagina and Betica, and everywhere the two parties disputed the vacant sees until about 395, when a Council of Saragossa excommunicated Symposius and several other Galician bishops.

Persistence of the Disputes in Gaul

In Gaul at this time the ecclesiastical situation seems to have been especially difficult. The majority were Felicians, doubtless out of loyalty to the bishop of the capital, and mistrust for the exaggerated asceticism of the heretics and

¹ This must be the council in which Itacius was exculpated, as Sulpicius asserts (*Dial.*, III, ii, 2).

² Conjecture advanced by Babut, *Priscillien*, p. 184, n. 3.

also that of Martin of Tours, whose zeal and austerity were displeasing to many. The anti-Felicians, in communion with Rome and Milan, were in a minority. They included Martin of Tours, Proculus of Marseilles, and possibly Simplicius of Vienne. It was doubtless these who appealed to St. Ambrose to bring about a restoration of unity. In September 390 a Council was held at Milan to discuss the affairs of Gaul, but this intervention from outside certainly met with no success, and the discouraged Ambrose decided not to take part in any more Gallic synods. The quarrel was complicated still further by dissensions between the metropolitans in the south-east.¹ It is probable that the new ambitions of the bishops of Aix and Arles, who opposed respectively those of Marseilles and Vienne, were somehow connected with the Felician schism. The bishops of Narbonne II, who rejected the obedience of Proculus, must have been Felicians, and the same applies to Ingenus of Arles, who claimed to be superior to Simplicius of Vienne. Also, the same party stirred up difficulties against St. Martin, whose authority was denied by the priest Bricius.

The anti-Felicians were opposed in innumerable ways, but they reacted strongly. After the death of St. Martin (November 397), Bricius his enemy succeeded. The Martinians had already made his life difficult while their master was still alive; they continued to do so afterwards. Thus, the priest Lazarus accused him of evil morals before "numerous councils."² In Narbonne II, the bishop Triferius, one of Proculus's opponents, was himself the subject of similar accusations.³ It was decidedly necessary "to put an end to scandals and to heal the discord."⁴ This was the object of the Council of Nîmes, consisting of twenty-one bishops (1st of October 396).⁵ All these were Felicians,

¹ Cf. *supra*, p. 637. On all this matter, cf. J. R. Palanque, *Les dissensions des églises des Gaules à la fin du IV^e siècle et la date du concile de Turin*, in *Revue d'histoire de l'Eglise de France*, Vol. XXI, 1935, pp. 497-501.

² Zosimus, *Epist.*, iii. Cf. J. R. Palanque, *art. cit.*, pp. 494-495.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 493.

⁴ These are the words used in the synodal letter of Nîmes.

⁵ On the Council of Nîmes, cf. Hefele-Leclercq, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, 1st part, p. 91; on its date, cf. J. R. Palanque, *La date du transfert de la préfecture des Gaules*, p. 362, n. 9.

apparently. They passed six disciplinary canons, which manifest a desire to maintain and to increase episcopal authority¹ and also a distrust for suspected novelties.² But the opposing party did not put in an appearance, and this Council did not succeed in restoring peace and unity to the Gallic Church.

Council of Turin (398): Peace in Gaul

The final solution came from without. St. Ambrose's successor, Simplician of Milan, held a Council at Turin on the 22nd of September 398, "at the request of the Gallic bishops,"³ meaning thereby the anti-Felicians, without any doubt. The Felicians also sent delegates. Peace was then in the air, and this time the bishops listened to the counsels of wisdom contained in letters "written by the bishop Ambrose of venerable memory, and by the bishop of the Church of Rome."⁴ Felix of Trèves resigned the episcopate, and this sacrifice facilitated a general reconciliation. Together with the Felician schism, the other disputes which had followed it were settled by compromises between Proculus and his suffragans, Simplicius of Vienne and Ingenus of Arles, and between the Martinians of Tours and the bishop Bricius. We have already mentioned the decision reached for the metropolitans of the south east.⁵ On the other matters, a sort of general amnesty was proclaimed: the calumniators of Bricius and Triferius were set aside without being severely punished.⁶ Endeavours were made, above all, to meet the susceptibilities of the various parties, and to re-establish a

¹ Bishops must respect excommunications by other bishops (can. 3); they are forbidden to judge clergy coming from other sees (can. 4); clerics when travelling must provide themselves with letters of recommendation signed by their bishops (can. 6).

² Measures against wandering clerics (can. 1), against begging pilgrims (can. 5), and above all it was forbidden to ordain women (can. 2).

³ The synodal letter of Turin begins thus: "...ad postulationem provinciarum Galliae sacerdotum."

⁴ Canon 6 (Latin text in Babut, *op. cit.*, p. 230).

⁵ Cf. *supra*, pp. 637-638.

⁶ Cf. J. R. Palanque, *Les dissensions des églises des Gaules*, pp. 500-501.

stable peace in the Gallic churches. This end certainly seems to have been attained.

Council of Toledo (400): Peace in Spain

In Spain, unity was restored through the intervention of Rome and Milan. The Galicians condemned at Saragossa had appealed to St. Ambrose, who merely requested them to disavow Priscillian, upon which condition he would intercede for them with the Spanish bishops. At first this was in vain, for the Itacians remained obdurate. But new exhortations from Rome and Milan overcame their resistance. At a Council in Toledo (7th of September 400)¹ nineteen of the bishops met, not the most violent of them,² under the presidency of Patruinus of Merida. Ten Galician bishops of the other party appeared before the Council. Four refused to disavow Priscillian, and were excommunicated and deposed; the six others, including Symposius of Astorga, his son Dictinius, and Paternus of Braga made the necessary repudiation, and it was decided to retain them in their sees, once their restoration had been approved by "Pope" Anastasius³ and by Simplician of Milan. There is every reason to think that these ratified a sentence which was in harmony with the formulae of pacification proposed by their predecessors. In spite of the late date of the termination of this long affair, it was decidedly the action of Ambrose and Siricius which thus finally triumphed in Spain and Gaul, where the continuance of ecclesiastical anarchy had led these lamentable schisms to continue so long.

¹ On this Council of Toledo, cf. Mansi, Vol. III, col. 997 *et seq.*; Hefele-Leclercq, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, 1st part, pp. 122-125; Babut, *Priscillien*, pp. 190 *et seq.* The Council adopted a Creed and twenty disciplinary canons.

² These, indeed, refused to agree to the reconciliation of the Galicians, and thus renewed in Betica and Carthagina the intransigence of the Luciferians of forty years before. Pope Innocent intervened and condemned their attitude (cf. a later volume).

³ The sentence of Toledo (Mansi, Vol. III, col. 1006) expressly has the words "per papam" (without giving his name, probably because as yet the name of the successor to Siricius was not known). This term of respect, which hitherto had designated any important bishop, especially in the East, is here used for the first time to describe the Bishop of Rome.

3. MILAN AND THE ITALO-ILLYRIAN CHURCHES¹*The "Dioceses" of the Italian Prefecture*

In the Italian prefecture, the bishoprics were centralised round their metropolitans much more definitely than in the Gallic prefecture. All Italy as far as the Alps had been at first a dependency of the Roman Church: in 378 Parma still depended directly upon the authority of the Bishop of Rome.² But very soon the "diocesan" limits seem to have been adopted in ecclesiastical relations. Rome contented itself with governing the suburbican churches; Milan came to be a metropolis in Upper Italy (*diocesis Italiae*), like Sirmium in Pannonia, Sardica in Dacia, and Thessalonica in Macedonia. Above these regional capitals, wider stretches of territory begin to appear. At the Council of Aquileia, Anemius of Sirmium pompously calls his see "the head of all Illyria";³ in view of the circumstances in which this Council met,⁴ this seems to be a claim to the primacy over the two dioceses of Pannonia and Dacia. A little later, the Bishop of Thessalonica is recognised as having jurisdiction over the diocese of Dacia, as over that of Macedonia, the capital of which was his episcopal city;⁵ and above all, the Bishop of Milan, whose interventions in Gallic and Spanish affairs have already been chronicled, extended his *de facto* authority over the Illyrian dioceses. The ecclesiastical organisation of these great regions at the end of the fourth century must therefore be

¹ For Bibliography, see p. 729.

² The Roman Council of 378 alludes to the deposition of Urban of Parma decreed previously by Damasus; it is linked with that of Florence of Pozzuoli, which took place in 371 or 372; the two condemnations must therefore have been contemporary. Furthermore, the documents of 378 (synodal letter and imperial rescript) make no mention of any change taking place subsequently. Hence we must allow that in 378 Northern Italy was still regarded as immediately subject to Rome. It was the personal activity of Ambrose which about this very time extended the authority of Milan over the whole country (cf. *infra*, p. 652, n. 1).

³ *Gesta conc. Aqu.*, 13. We must remember that, shortly before, the three dioceses of Pannonia, Dacia and Macedonia had formed a great praetorian prefecture of Illyricum.

⁴ Here the bishops of the diocese of Dacia were judged (cf. Vol. I, p. 377).

⁵ Cf. *infra*, p. 661.

studied in relation to the church of Milan, which tended at that time to lay claim to a sort of primacy in the West.

Milan as a Capital

The causes of this growth in power are not difficult to determine. They can be reduced to two: the rank of capital city held at this time by Milan, and the prestige and activity of its bishop, St. Ambrose.

From the time of Diocletian, and on several occasions in the course of the fourth century, Milan had been an imperial residence. In 381 it became definitely the seat of the court and offices of the Empire in the West;¹ it was also at that date the seat of the prefecture of the Praetorium.² It was natural that its bishop should seek to magnify his position, as was being done by Constantinople at the same time. But here it was not the Emperor, as in the East, who supported and vindicated these claims. The Bishop of Milan, far from being a creature of the prince, did not hesitate to exercise authority over him when necessary. The decisive factor was the personal authority of Ambrose, who managed to give his see an exceptionally wide sphere of influence which it did not possess previously, and which would not remain in fact after his death.

St. Ambrose

Before he became bishop, Ambrose was a civil official, like Nectarius of Constantinople; but his age and his character were very different. He reached the episcopate in 373 at the age of thirty-four, after a purely secular training in juridical and administrative matters. Even so, he was from the first very conscious of his rights and duties as a pastor.³ He wished to instruct and edify the people. A great part of his work was devoted to refuting Arianism,⁴ deriving from

¹ Cf. J. R. Palanque, *Saint Ambroise*, pp. 1, 77, etc.

² Cf. J. R. Palanque, *Essai sur la préfecture du prétoire du Bas Empire*, Paris, 1933, p. 121.

³ On his antecedents, cf. J. R. Palanque, *Saint Ambroise*, pp. 3-24.

⁴ Cf. his treatises of 378-381, dedicated to Gratian (Vol. I, p. 360) and his *De incarnationis dominicae sacramento* in 382 (J. R. Palanque, *Saint Ambroise*, pp. 104 et seq., 506-507).

the Scripture an allegorical or moral teaching,¹ and in preaching asceticism both near and far.² As a theologian or exegete he was without originality, and dependent upon the Easterns, from whom he derived a hasty instruction; but he was more interesting and more vigorous as a moralist. Even so, it is not his writings which make him above all worthy of study: this cultivated and subtle mind, this ardent and sensitive soul was accompanied by an imperious temperament, though it was in a somewhat feeble body. His apostolic zeal led him to become a man of action, or rather a leader, whose commanding character impressed itself irresistibly upon all.³ This explains the position which circumstances led him to take towards the emperors: Gratian, Valentinian II, Theodosius, and Honorius. But, side by side with his political influence, which will be studied later, his ecclesiastical activity was equally remarkable.

At Milan itself he acted always as a pastor anxious to spread and protect his faith. Once Gratian had freed him from the Arians who were troubling him,⁴ and especially after the last outbreak of Arianism which he had to oppose in 386,⁵ he devoted himself with great energy to the teaching of doctrine, the direction of his clergy,⁶ and the multiplication of places of worship. Crowds flocked to his sermons, and to the liturgical ceremonies at which he presided.⁷ The invention of the Ambrosian chant,⁸ and the baptism of St. Augustine,⁹ are deeds which have made his name justly famous.

Ambrose and the Bishoprics of Northern Italy

The limits of his episcopal city, however, never corresponded to those of his activity. Throughout all Northern

¹ He wrote numerous exegetical works (*ibid.*, pp. 437-452 *et passim*).

² Cf. his treatises on virginity (*ibid.*, pp. 455-459 and *passim*) and his numerous letters (*ibid.*, pp. 466-479). On Ambrose as a moralist, cf. R. Thamin, *Saint Ambroise et la morale chrétienne au IV^e siècle*, Paris, 1895, and *supra*, pp. 570-571.

³ On his character, cf. J. R. Palanque, *Saint Ambroise*, pp. 387-395.

⁴ Cf. Vol. I, p. 360. ⁵ Cf. *infra*, pp. 694-696.

⁶ Cf. his *De officiis* (*ibid.*, pp. 452-455 and *passim*).

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 396. ⁸ Cf. *supra*, pp. 553-554. ⁹ Cf. a later volume.

Italy, Ambrose acted as a metropolitan. The country had been divided from the time of Diocletian into five, and then into seven provinces. But, as in several other Western countries, the ecclesiastical structure was not modelled immediately upon the administrative organisation. Furthermore, the number of bishoprics remained for a long time less than that of the cities: several were founded by Ambrose himself or immediately after his time, and the provincial limits did not hinder the manifestation of his zeal.

In his province of Liguria, there were bishops at Bergamo, Lodi (Laus Pompeia), Pavia (Ticinum) and Vercelli. This last see, which had for its first pastor the illustrious Eusebius of Vercelli, was seriously disturbed in 396, after the episcopate of the mediocre Limenius. Ambrose intervened, at first by letters and then in person, and installed Honoratus there. It was Ambrose who decided upon the creation of bishoprics at Como, Novara, possibly Aosta, and Ivrea.¹

The neighbouring provinces also formed part of his sphere of action. Aemilia, detached about that time from Liguria,² does not seem to have enjoyed ecclesiastical autonomy: the bishop of the chief town, Eusebius of Bologna, was a peaceful and venerable old man who was on excellent relations with Ambrose.³ He did not exercise any jurisdiction over his suffragans at Modena, Parma and Plaisance. He himself sent to Milan his relative Ambrosia to receive the religious veil from the hands of his great friend,⁴ and he left it to Ambrose to send the bishops of Aemilia instructions concerning the date of Easter.⁵

Beyond Aemilia, the churches of Flaminia did not yet

¹ Cf. J. R. Palanque, *Saint Ambroise*, pp. 314-317, 397. Ambrose intervened at Pavia in 387 (*ibid.*, p. 192) and in 397 (*ibid.*, p. 317).

² After 370 (for about that date Ambrose was appointed Governor of Liguria-Aemilia), but before 386 (for *Epist.* xxxiii of Ambrose is addressed "to the bishops of Aemilia"); it may have been before 381, for the part played by Eusebius of Bologna at Aquileia is best explained if the city was already the administrative capital.

³ Cf. Ambrose, *Epist.* liv and lv to Eusebius; *Epist.* xxxix to Faustinus his son; cf. the stay of Ambrose at Bologna in 393 (J. R. Palanque, *Saint Ambroise*, pp. 283, 470, 478, 547-548 and 550).

⁴ Cf. the *De institutione virginis*, March 392 (*ibid.*, p. 542).

⁵ Ambrose, *Epist.*, xxxiii, end of 386 (*ibid.*, p. 518).

have at their head the Bishop of Ravenna, of whom we hear nothing at this time, any more than of the Bishop of Rimini. The little cities in this province: Imola (Forum Cornelli), Forlì (Forum Livii), Forlimpopoli (Forum Popilli), and Claterna, preferred to look towards Milan. For instance, Constantius, pastor of the last mentioned place, received from Ambrose in 379 a veritable letter of instructions.¹

The churches of the other provinces contiguous to Aemilia also depended directly upon Milan. In the Maritime Alps, which had as yet bishops only at Genoa, the chief town, and at Tortona (Dertona), Ambrose may have installed bishops at Asti, Acqui and Alba, and his successor Simplician will found in 398 the bishopric of Turin.²

In Venetia, bishoprics were more numerous. We find bishops at Padua, Verona,³ Brescia,⁴ Altinum, Trent and Emona, and then at Concordia. But in spite of the existence of a veritable metropolis, Aquileia, it was still Milan which exercised authority. Though Valerian of Aquileia presided over the great council of 381, Ambrose was in fact in charge of the discussions.⁵ Again, it was Ambrose who in 388 installed Valerian's successor Chromacius;⁶ he intervened at Trent to give instructions to the new bishop Vigilius in 385,⁷ and at Verona to review the condemnation of the virgin Indicia by the bishop Syagrius.⁸

¹ Ambrose, *Epist.* ii, in which he tells the Emperor to take up the matter of the episcopal see of Imola (*ibid.*, pp. 63, 469, 501).

² *Ibid.*, p. 314. It was on this occasion that the Council was held which has been mentioned above, p. 646.

³ On Zeno of Verona, predecessor of Syagrius, cf. Vol. I, p. 288.

⁴ The bishops of Brescia were at that time well known as writers: Filaster, and afterwards Gaudentius (cf. Bardenhewer, *op. cit.*, Vol. III, pp. 481-486); P. de Labriolle, *Histoire de la littérature latine chrétienne*, 2nd edn., pp. 397-400). Gaudentius has left numerous sermons, simple and correct in style (Migne, *P.L.*, Vol. XX, 827-1006). Filaster wrote between 385 and 391 a *De haeresibus* (ed. Marx in *Vienna Corpus*, Vol. XXXVIII, 1908), which is a rather poor compilation. Going further than Epiphanius of Salamis, whose *Panarion* he probably utilised (cf. *supra*, p. 622), he distinguishes a hundred and fifty-six heresies, twenty-eight of these being before the time of Christ. St. Augustine did not think much of this work (*Epist.*, ccxxii), and we can only agree with his view.

⁵ Cf. Vol. I, p. 377.

⁶ J. R. Palanque, *op. cit.*, p. 207.

⁷ *Epist.*, xix (cf. *ibid.*, p. 139, n. 2).

⁸ *Epist.*, v and vi.

The Councils of Milan

The bishops of this diocese,¹ numbering roughly thirty, and who formed the "province" immediately depending on Milan, were on several occasions called together for councils in that city: in 386, on the occasion of the conflict with Valentinian II,² in 390 for the affairs of the Gallic churches,³ and in 393 in order to condemn the heresy of Jovinian.⁴ In each case Ambrose presided over his suffragans.

Ambrose and the Churches of Gaul and Spain

The energetic activity of the Bishop of Milan did not stop at the boundaries of the diocese. For several years he took an active interest in the aftermath of Priscillianism in Spain and in Gaul. It was to Ambrose that Priscillian appealed in 382, though without success; in 386 Ambrose took up a definite attitude at Trèves against the Felician schism just beginning; in 390 he agreed to examine the quarrel in a Council at Milan, and though in 392 he decided to take no further part in these matters, this was simply because he was discouraged as he had not been able to impose his judgement upon the parties concerned. Even so, in the end it was his suggestions which brought about, after his death, the pacification of Gaul and also that of Spain.⁵

The Bishoprics in the Pannonian Diocese

In the provinces to the east of Italy, Ambrose intervened even more directly. The diocese of Illyricum or of the Pannonias had few organised churches; we know certainly only those of Poetovio in Norica; Salona and Zara (Jader) in Dalmatia; Siscia in Savia; Sabaria, Carnuntum in Upper

¹ We have no information concerning the churches of the two provinces of Rhoetia.

² Cf. J. R. Palanque, *op. cit.*, p. 148 (and *infra*, p. 695).

³ *Ibid.*, p. 231, and *supra*, p. 644.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 261 and 545. We have the names of the bishops who sat at this last-mentioned council: their sees must have been Lodi, Pavia, Como (in Liguria), Modena, Plaisance (in Aemilia), Claterna (in Flaminia), Emona (in Venetia), Tortona (in the Maritime Alps) and that of Octodurus (in the Apennine Alps, in the diocese of the Gauls).

⁵ Cf. *supra*, p. 647.

Pannonia; Mursa, Cibales and Sirmium in Lower Pannonia. In the case of some provinces (the two Noricas and Valeria) we do not even know if the chief town had at that date a bishop. The only ecclesiastical metropolis, in fine, seems to have been Sirmium, which its bishop called in 381, as we have already noted, "caput totius Illyrici."¹ But here again, the Bishop of Milan was active, and his activity was tantamount to a subjection of the Illyrian churches. In 376 Ambrose installed Anemius at Sirmium; in 378 he went there to take part in the Council held in the city,² and it is possible that he also took part in the affair of Leontius of Salona.³

The Bishoprics in the Dioceses of Dacia and Macedonia

Lastly, the two dioceses of Dacia and Macedonia, which formed, after 395, the prefecture of Eastern Illyricum,⁴ did not escape the all-pervading influence of the Cisalpine metropolis. Dacia, between the Danube and the Adriatic, comprised five provinces: Dacia Within, Riparian Dacia, Dardania, Upper Moesia and Prevalitana, the chief towns of which were respectively Sardica, Ratiaria, Scupi, Viminacium, and Scodra. The diocese of Macedonia, extending to the Hellenic peninsula, was divided into six provinces: Macedonia, Old Epirus, New Epirus, Thessaly, Achaia, and Crete, the chief towns being Thessalonica, Nicopolis, Dyrrachium, Larissa, Corinth and Gortyna.⁵ Here again, the only ecclesiastical metropolitan sees seem to have been

¹ Cf. *supra*, p. 648, n. 3.

² On these two actions, cf. Vol. I, pp. 358-359.

³ This matter is obscure: it is known only through the pamphlet of Palladius against Ambrose (*Dissertatio Maximini*, cxxvi). This Bishop of Salona had been condemned and deposed before 381, but we do not quite know by whom: possibly by a synod of the bishops of the province of Milan (J. Zeiller, *Les origines chrétiennes de la province de Dalmatie*, p. 108). The point is not certain.

⁴ On this date, and the previous vicissitudes of an Illyrian prefecture, cf. J. R. Palanque, *Essai sur la préfecture du prétoire du Bas-Empire*, pp. 84-85 and *passim*.

⁵ Macedonia and Achaia alone, where the Christian communities went back to the Apostolic age, possessed a large number of bishoprics, amounting to perhaps about thirty in the two provinces.

the diocesan capitals, Sardica and Thessalonica, the latter being superior to the former.¹

The geographical position of these countries was calculated to draw them towards Constantinople. In point of fact, Acholius of Thessalonica sat in the Eastern Council of 381, because Theodosius knew him personally and because the country had been politically restored to the East in 379-380.² When it returned to the Western obedience in 381, it was no longer linked with the Eastern churches: the Roman pontiffs exercised supreme authority there, as we shall see.³ But Ambrose also intervened there from time to time: he summoned the council of Aquileia in 381 to judge two bishops of Riparian Dacia and Upper Moesia; he also submitted to the Council of Capua in 392 the case of a bishop in Dacia. Within, Bonosus of Naissus, whose doctrines were suspect. As the accused man complained of this intrusion, the Council of Milan in 393 re-examined the matter. At Milan as at Capua, it was decided not to judge the heretic who was absent: the sentence was deferred to a council of Macedonian bishops presided over by Anysius of Thessalonica.⁴ Ambrose, who was a friend of the latter, seems to have wished not to leave to Pope Siricius the control of Illyrian affairs, and to have insisted on exercising for his own part a definite supervision of these distant provinces. The Councils of Aquileia and Capua, which gathered together bishops from the whole West, and which devoted particular attention to Illyrian affairs, were above all Ambrosian councils.

Milan as super-Metropolis of the Italo-Illyrian Bishoprics

For more than twenty-five years, then, Ambrose acted as a sort of super-metropolitan for the dioceses of Italy, the

¹ The metropolitan organisation will, however, appear solidly established in these regions in the course of the fifth century. Cf. a later volume.

² Cf. Vol. I, p. 367.

³ Cf. *infra*, p. 662.

⁴ Cf. J. Zeiller, *Les origines chrétiennes dans les provinces danubiennes*, pp. 346-347; J. R. Palanque, *Saint Ambroise*, pp. 259-262. Bonosus seems to have denied the perpetual virginity of Mary, and to have adopted on the Trinity the ideas of Photinus of Sirmium.

Pannonias, and Dacia, if not of Macedonia also. This exceptional position of the see of Milan, however, did not constitute a danger for the future autonomy of the other metropolitan sees, or for the authority of the Roman See, for it resulted chiefly from the personal prestige of Ambrose. After his death, which took place on the 4th of April 397,¹ his successor Simplician inherited a part of his influence: the Africans in the Council of Carthage of 397,² the Gauls in the Council of Turin in 398, and the Spaniards in the Council of Toledo in 400³ had recourse to him as to a superior judge.

But under the episcopate of Venerius (401-411) a decline began: the Emperor at that time abandoned his capital; Aquileia, and very soon Ravenna, rose to the rank of metropolitan sees.⁴ Milan thereupon resumed the more modest rank which it had possessed before the brilliant episcopate of Ambrose.

§ 4. THE ROMAN SEE⁵

In the midst of the West, the ancient capital of the Empire, now dethroned from its civic dignity, continued to be the ecclesiastical metropolis of Italy, and above all the head of Christendom.

Rome as Metropolis of Italy

The primacy of Rome over the Italian churches was of very long standing. Canon 6 of Nicaea, which ordered the retention of the ancient customs according to which Alexandria had authority over all Egypt and the neighbouring regions, mentions the existence of a similar organisation in Italy. It is a fact that, from the middle of the third century, the Bishop of Rome figured as the metropolitan of all Italy.⁶ It is quite certain that this referred to the whole of Italy as far as the Alps; the same is true of the fourth century,

¹ J. R. Palanque, *Saint Ambroise*, p. 556.

² Cf. a later volume.

³ Cf *supra*, p. 647. ⁴ Cf. a later volume. ⁵ For Bibliography, see p. 730.

⁶ Cf. *History of the Primitive Church*, Vol. IV, p. 987, and A. Harnack, *Mission und Ausbreitung des Christentums*, Vol. II, p. 215.

although from Diocletian's time Italy had been divided into provinces, and a diocese of Milan had been constituted in addition to the "suburbican diocese." It was not before 378, as we have seen,¹ that the immediate jurisdiction of the Bishop of Rome was confined to the provinces of the *Vicarius Urbi*, i.e. the seven provinces of the peninsula (Tuscan Umbria, Campania, Lucania-Bruttium, Apuleia-Calabria, Samnium, Picenum, and Valeria)² together with the three islands (Sicily, Sardinia, and Corsica).

Over the numerous bishops of these regions—numbering about a hundred in the third century, and two hundred in the fifth³—the authority of Rome was very definite. For in the various provinces there was not, as in Egypt or in Africa, a principal see, fixed or variable. These churches "had no autonomy; they had neither councils nor metropolitans: the Bishop of Rome was their Council and their Metropolitan."⁴ The episcopal elections, which took place where the vacancies occurred, were all confirmed at Rome, where the Pope himself consecrated each bishop-elect.⁵ On the anniversary of his succession (his *natale*), he gathered around him the bishops of his region, and an imperial rescript of 378 decreed that the presence of five or six bishops was sufficient to empower the assembly to pass valid sentences.⁶

The Roman Councils under Damasus and Siricius

We do not possess information on all these Roman councils, which became under Damasus and his successor Siricius (384-399) more or less an annual institution. But we have some data on several of them. At the time when

¹ Cf. *supra*, p. 648, n. 2.

² The last three appear towards the end of the century, detached respectively from Campania and from Flaminia (province of the *diocesis Italiae*).

³ We know the names of only some fifty sees in the fourth century. Among these are: Porto, Ostia, Tibur, Praeneste, Capua, Terracina, Naples, Nola, Pozzuoli, Brindisi, Benevento, Florence, Perugia, Lucca, Pisa, Spoleto, Siena, etc., and in the islands: Syracuse, Cagliari, Mariana. No bishop of note appeared in the time of Damasus and Siricius.

⁴ Batiffol, *Le siège apostolique*, p. 169.

⁵ According to the *Liber pontificalis* (ed. Duchesne, Vol. I, pp. 215 and 217), Damasus consecrated sixty-two bishops, Siricius thirty-two.

⁶ Gratian, letter *Ordinarium*, in the *Collectio avellana*, xiii, 11.

Northern Italy still formed part of Rome's sphere of action, the Council of 368 condemned and deposed Auxentius of Milan,¹ and that of 371 or 372 deposed Urban of Parma and Florence of Pozzuoli.² These sentences were more or less platonic in character, for Auxentius died in his see, and the synodal letter of 378 mentions that the two other bishops were still in possession.

The Council of 378, indeed, wrote a letter to the Emperor (*Et hoc gloriæ*) complaining of the activities of the anti-Pope Ursinus and the impunity enjoyed by the deposed bishops; it examined the accusations which the apostate Isaac had brought against Damasus, and declared the innocence of the pontiff, whom the Emperor had already acquitted in his own tribunal.³

The Council of the 6th of January 386, held at the tomb of St. Peter (*ad sancti apostoli Petri reliquias*), and which consisted of eighty bishops, legislated on matters of ecclesiastical discipline. We possess the letter it addressed to those who had not been able to attend, informing them of the decisions taken.⁴ These include a prohibition against admitting into the ranks of the clergy anyone who had occupied a public office after his baptism, or who had married a widow; continence was made an obligation for married clerics; it was also repeated that a bishop should not receive a cleric expelled from another church, or ordain as priest an unknown stranger, or consecrate a bishop without the assistance of others.

Another letter of Pope Siricius, addressed "orthodoxis episcopis per universas provincias,"⁵ concerns in reality the election of bishops within his own metropolitan sphere. There had been some scandals: men had been pressed into the episcopate who were not worthy, or who had already held

¹ Cf. Vol. I, p. 344.

² The synodal letter of 378 (Letter *Et hoc gloriæ*, § 5) alludes to this, explaining that the Bishop of Pozzuoli returned to his city "six years afterwards." The condemnation must therefore have taken place in 371 or 372.

³ On this Council, cf. Batiffol, *op. cit.*, pp. 39 *et seq.*, Caspar, *op. cit.*, pp. 203 *et seq.*

⁴ This is the letter *Cum in unum* (Siricius, *Epist.*, v; Jaffé-Wattenbach, 258). Cf. *infra*, p. 660.

⁵ Siricius, *Epist.*, vi; Jaffé-Wattenbach, 263 (date unknown).

office in the civil administration, and who came to Rome to seek the Pope's support with manifold recommendations. There must be an end of these practices: the Pope asks that only good candidates should be presented to him, and recalls that he remains the judge, to approve or otherwise the choice of the local clergy.

On this occasion, Siricius legislated himself, without consulting a Council. On other occasions he contented himself with calling his *presbyterium*,¹ as in 392, when there was question of judging the priest Jovinian and eight of his followers, whose suspect ideas had been denounced by Pammachius, the friend of St. Jerome. The synod excommunicated these heretics and condemned their doctrines.²

Roman Jurisdiction outside Italy

The Roman Pontiffs never confined their activity to affairs in their "diocese," as did the bishops of Carthage, Alexandria or Antioch. Equally, they did not exercise a usurped jurisdiction over several neighbouring "dioceses," like the bishops of Constantinople or Milan. They exercised beyond Italy an authority which was regular and traditional, and which took during this time new forms, more precise than those of the past.

The synodal letter of 378 alludes to this jurisdiction when it considers the case of a bishop already deposed or cited before a council, but who disregarded his condemnation or summons. For it adds: "if the case happens in regions too far distant, let it be submitted to the judgement of the metropolitan. If the metropolitan himself is the one in question, let him come without delay to Rome, or before judges appointed by the Bishop of Rome. If the impartiality of the metropolitan or of the judges is questioned, let the accused inform the Bishop of Rome, or a council of at least fifteen bishops."³ The "too distant regions" here referred to are not merely Northern Italy, as some have

¹ Cf. the expression in the letter *Optarem*: "omnium . . . tam presbyterorum et diaconorum quam totius etiam cleri."

² Cf. letter *Optarem* (Siricius, Epist., vii; Jaffé-Wattenbach, 260).

³ Letter *Et hoc gloriae*, § 9.

suggested;¹ the phrase rather applies to any part of the West, for this Council itself examined the case of the African Restitutus, doubtless a Bishop of Carthage, who had not yet given satisfaction as to his Nicene orthodoxy.²

Again, the synodal letter of 386, which laid down disciplinary regulations for the Roman "diocese," was sent to the other Western provinces. We possess the copy intended for Africa, in which it is explained that the Primate (of Carthage) has the right to confirm episcopal elections.³ This is, in point of fact, the sole link with Africa at this time, so individualistic and so self-contained, until the Council of Hippo in 393 and that of Carthage in 397 decided to consult Siricius on important disciplinary matters.⁴ Over the rest of the West, as is natural, the Roman jurisdiction made itself felt in a more frequent and continuous way.

Rivalry of Rome and Milan in the time of Ambrose

In the domain which Ambrose of Milan had managed to make more or less his own, the Popes often abstained from intervening directly. Prior to 381, Damasus had received the appeal of Leontius of Salona, whom the bishops of the country had condemned, and he had acquitted him.⁵ But in 381, he allowed the Council of Aquileia to assemble and took no other part in it besides sending three letters, which Ambrose read.⁶ Was Damasus not invited, or did he decline to be represented? We do not know. But it is evident that, from this time, neither he nor Siricius concerned themselves with Italo-Illyrian affairs. Relations continued to be correct, but were rather cool between Rome and

¹ Batiffol, *op. cit.*, pp. 42-43. Actually there were as yet no metropolitans in Northern Italy.

² The identification of the Restitutus mentioned in this letter with the Bishop of Carthage of that name is accepted by Duchesne, *Histoire ancienne de l'Eglise*, Vol. II, p. 471, but rejected by Dom Morin, in *Revue Bénédictine*, Vol. XXXV, 1923, p. 123. It remains a likely one, and in view of the *de facto* autonomy enjoyed by the African diocese, it is more normal that a Bishop of Carthage should be delated to Rome rather than one of his own suffragans.

³ Cf. *supra*, p. 658, n. 5. Cf. Batiffol, *op. cit.*, pp. 159 and 231.

⁴ Cf. a later volume. ⁵ *Dissertatio Maximini*, cxxvi. Cf. *supra*, p. 654, n. 3.

⁶ Cf. J. R. Palanque, *Saint Ambroise*, pp. 92-93.

Milan, as is shown by the Jovinian affair. The Pope, after condemning the heresiarch and his accomplices, sent three Roman priests to Milan to inform Ambrose that "those who foster this new blasphemous heresy should remain outside the Church, condemned by the divine sentence and by our judgement for ever."¹ The sentence was communicated in order that it may be observed: nothing more. But Ambrose was not content to accept in this way a judgement ready made: he decided to make it his own as well. He assembled at Milan a council, which published against the heretics the same condemnation, and communicated it in turn to Siricius.² Ambrose, who obviously wrote the letter in the name of the Council, praised and admired the zeal of Siricius, described as "master and doctor," but the tone of the letter, and the simple fact that it added to the Roman decision a parallel Milanese sentence, show that Ambrose did not willingly resign himself to regarding the Roman Pontiff as a head who commands and who is obeyed. Roman moderation and prudence prevented any conflict. Thus, when Ambrose in 391 obtained from Theodosius the calling of a Roman Council to deal with the schism of Antioch, Siricius, who doubtless realised the difficult nature of the matter, did not disavow the Bishop of Milan, but had the council transferred to Capua,³ nearer the port where the Easterns would land, and he himself took no part in it. This abstention is all the more significant in that this assembly was held inside his "metropolitan" area, and also because it examined in addition the case of Bonosus of Naissus.

Rome and Thessalonica

Bonosus was, as we have seen, a bishop in the diocese of Dacia which, like that of Macedonia, depended on the authority of the Bishop of Thessalonica, and on several occasions already the Roman Pontiffs had given proofs of their interest in the churches of this region. Damasus had been in correspondence with Acholius of Thessalonica, at

¹ Letter *Optarem*, § 6.

² Letter *Recognovimus* (Ambrose, *Epist.*, xlii).

³ On the Council of Capua, cf. J. R. Palanque, *op. cit.*, pp. 256-259, and *supra*, p. 618.

the time of the councils of 381 and 383.¹ Siricius had been in still closer relations with his successor, Anysius. In a letter in 385 or 386, he recognised the right, possibly given some time before, to confirm all the episcopal elections in Illyricum (including certainly the dioceses of Dacia and Macedonia). This privilege was an obligation imposed upon the bishop of the Macedonian capital because of the disorders which frequently took place in that country. The Bishop of Thessalonica was himself to preside over all the elections to vacant sees, or else to send to the places in question reliable bishops, so that new bishops of respectable morals should be chosen from the clergy, and installed "in accordance with the decisions of the Council of Nicaea and of the Roman Church."²

It was a veritable delegation of the Roman authority over these troubled regions which was thus conferred upon Anysius, and it foreshadowed the institution of the Vicariate of Thessalonica in the fifth century by Popes Innocent and Boniface.³ Ambrose and his councils in 392 and 393 had avoided contradicting Siricius and had likewise passed on to Anysius the judgement on Bonosus. Here again, we have a Milanese decision parallel to that of Rome and distinct from it. It must not, however, lead us to forget that the Roman Pontiffs expressly conferred upon the Bishop of Thessalonica the power to control the churches of Illyricum.

Rome and the Affairs of Gaul and Spain

In the countries of Gaul and Spain, the Roman authority also made itself felt on several occasions, and in various ways. The Pope was regarded as the supreme judge, in conformity with the ruling of 378, ratified by a rescript of Gratian.⁴ Thus, Priscillian, the Spanish bishop, appealed to Rome in 382, though Damasus refused to receive or judge him.⁵ In 386 Siricius complained to the Emperor Maximus of the

¹ Jaffé-Wattenbach, 237-238. Cf. Vol. I, pp. 374, 381.

² Siricius, *Epist.*, iii (Jaffé-Wattenbach, 259).

³ On the origins of the Vicariate of Thessalonica, cf. F. Streichhan, *Die Anfänge des Vikariats von Thessalonich*, in *Zeitschrift für Rechtsgeschichte*, Kanon. Abt., Vol. XII, 1922, pp. 330-384, and Caspar, *op. cit.*, pp. 293-295.

⁴ Cf. *infra*, p. 714.

⁵ Cf. *supra*, p. 641-642.

irregular election of the Gallic bishop Agrecius; the prince sent him a very respectful reply, saying that the matter would be judged by the Catholic bishops (evidently of Gaul).¹ For some reason or other, then, Rome did not act in this matter, but her rights were nevertheless claimed and recognised. Siricius was the more content because his recommendations for the reconciliation of the Felicians in Gaul and the Priscillianists in Spain were, in the end, accepted at the Councils of Turin and Toledo. But, as we have already mentioned, to his name was added that of the see of Milan, whose intervention had in fact been more active than his own in these two matters.²

The Letter "Ad Gallos"

In these personal disputes, the action of Rome—though undeniable in point of fact—was possibly not the preponderating factor. Even so, in the matter of principles, it was always to Rome that people turned, and Rome which issued commands. Two texts are decisive in this connection: the letter of Siricius to Himerius of Tarragona, and the letter *Ad Gallos episcopos*.

The letter *Ad Gallos* has given rise to lengthy controversies. It has been attributed by some to Innocent I in the fifth century, and by others to Siricius; its most recent editor regards it as a reply by Damasus to a consultation from the Council of Valence in 374.³ This conjecture has not been accepted by all,⁴ but it has at least a certain degree of likelihood.⁵ Those who do not accept it put it back in the time of Siricius, which would not at all modify its bearing. The Gallic bishops have consulted "the authority of the Apostolic See" in order to know the law and the traditions; the Pope replies to them. The matter is one of ecclesiastical discipline, and several traditional rules are mentioned: the

¹ The letter of Maximus is in the *Collectio avellana*, no. xl.

² Cf. *supra*, p. 643 *et seq.*

³ Babut, *La plus ancienne décrétale*, Paris, 1904.

⁴ In particular, it is not accepted by Getzeny, *Stil und Form der ältesten Papstbriefe*, diss. Tübingen, 1922, or by Caspar, *op. cit.*, pp. 217 and 262.

⁵ It is accepted by Duchesne, in *Revue Historique*, Vol. LXXXVII, 1905, p. 278, and by Batiffol, *op. cit.*, pp. 198 *et seq.*

conditions for reception of sacred orders; the celibacy or, at least, conjugal continence of clerics admitted to major orders; no episcopal ordination is to take place without the agreement of the metropolitan and the presence of at least three bishops; the obligation of every prelate to respect the condemnations pronounced by other bishops; the prohibition of episcopal translations. On all these points the Pope brings forward—rightly or wrongly¹—the authority of the canons of Nicaea, and infers that these prescriptions must be observed under pain of “cutting oneself off from the society of Catholics and the communion of the Apostolic See.” Thus the Pope does not innovate; he refers constantly to written law and to ancient traditions. But it is significant that the Roman Church, and only that Church, is thus called upon to set forth and interpret the law and tradition.

The Letter to Himerius of Tarragona

The letter of Siricius to Himerius, dated the 10th of February 385,² is a reply to a memorandum which the Metropolitan of the Tarragon province had sent to Damasus by one of his priests. Damasus was dead when it arrived, and Siricius, after discussing the letter in his first Council, sent the reply of the Roman See to this consultation. Practical solutions are given to all the questions put. Converted Arians are not to be rebaptised, but reconciled by the imposition of hands; solemn baptism should be conferred only at Easter and Pentecost after forty days of preparation, and not at Christmas or the Epiphany; the faithful who take part in pagan ceremonies are to be excommunicated; married clerics who do not observe continence must be excluded from the priesthood (or the diaconate); those twice married are not to be admitted to major orders;³ the proper order of sacred orders must be observed: lector, acolyte, sub-deacon, deacon, priest, bishop. The Pontiff concludes: “In each of the matters upon which, through the intermediary

¹ On this point, see Batiffol, *op. cit.*, p. 200.

² Siricius, *Epist.*, i (Jaffé-Wattenbach, 255).

³ By way of exception, a bishop may retain a cleric who has been ordained, in spite of a penance, or in spite of bigamy, but such a one cannot proceed to a higher order. Cf. the canons of Neocaesarea, Vol. I, p. 54, nn. 2-4.

of our son the priest Bassian, you have consulted the Roman Church, as the head of the body to which you belong, we have answered sufficiently, in our opinion. Now, in order that the canons may be respected, and the decrees thus made observed, we exhort you, Brother, to make known our reply to your consultation to all our fellow bishops, not only those who are established in your province, but also to all those of Carthagina, Betica, Lusitania and Galicia, as well as to those of the neighbouring provinces."

The First "Decretals"

On all the matters submitted to them, Siricius thus pronounces finally, without hesitation and with firmness. Each prescription is accompanied by a threat: anyone who departs from the rule laid down will be separated from the Roman communion. Whence arises this power, and this sure judgement? It is the heritage of St. Peter which imposes upon the Pope this grave duty;¹ it belongs to him to expound the tradition of all the churches.² The threat of excommunication is serious, for it is a question of remaining attached "to the apostolic rock, upon which Christ has built the universal Church." Lastly, these rules are to be brought to the notice of all the bishops: the Pope legislates for all Spain and also for Gaul; there is no boundary to the exercise of his authority.

These two texts are very important: they represent the first "decretals," and the new term, thus introduced into ecclesiastical law, is indicative of the progress of the Roman Church. Prior to the last quarter of the fourth century, the writing of the Popes consisted of little more than brief private letters and pastoral letters full of Scriptural citations. With Siricius—and possibly already with Damasus—there appear stylistic elements copied from conciliar decrees and also from the juridical language of the civil laws. When consulted by bishops, the Roman Pontiff addresses to them veritable "rescripts," like a prince to his officials; he "lays

¹ *Loc. cit.*: "Portamus onera omnium qui gravantur . . . immo haec portat in nobis beatus apostolus Petrus qui nos in omnibus, ut confidimus, administrationis suae protegit et tuetur heredes."

² *Ibid.*, "apud nos et apud omnes ecclesias."

down the law," either to say what this is, or to make it. In the letter to Himerius, Siricius writes: "jubemus, decernimus." The letters to the suburbican bishops and to the African bishops, which are also decretals, have less solemnity in their form, but are equally firm in their substance. Henceforth, in addition to the canons of councils, and in close connection with them, or based upon them, ecclesiastical law will possess the decretals of the Popes.¹

It is over the whole of the West that the Roman Church thus extends its sovereign authority, and it is easy to understand that the Roman Pope henceforth is regarded by the Easterns as the ecclesiastical head of all these countries. St. Jerome divides Christendom into the churches of the East, those of Egypt, and those of the Apostolic See, meaning thereby the Western churches—a "singular expression," as it has been called,² but one which is striking in its brevity.

Rome and the East

This does not mean that the Eastern churches were wholly separate.³ Rome respected the traditional autonomy and the jealous particular spirit of the East, and was careful not to legislate for it. But it did not hesitate to intervene upon occasion, either when appeals were made to it, or else when it decided to act spontaneously. Without going further back in the century, it suffices to recall the persevering diplomacy of which Pope Damasus gave proof in the time of St. Basil, to facilitate the liquidation of Arianism,⁴ and also the great Roman Council of 382, in which Damasus, surrounded by the principal Western metropolitans, awaited the arrival of the Easterns in order to establish a definitive agreement on all the points in dispute.⁵

After that time, and in view of the ill will manifested by the Easterns, Damasus and Siricius adopted a reserved attitude, for the sake of peace, as they had done in the case

¹ On the bearing of these decretals, cf. Getzeny, *op. cit.*, *passim*; P. Batiffol, *op. cit.*, pp. 181-187 and 198-202; E. Caspar, *op. cit.*, pp. 261-266, who refutes the opinion of those who consider that Siricius was "the first Pope."

² Batiffol, *op. cit.*, p. 265.

³ Cf. S. H. Scott, *The Eastern Churches and the Papacy*, London, 1928.

⁴ Cf. Vol. I, pp. 341 *et seq.*

⁵ Cf. Vol. I, p. 381.

of Ambrose. The schism of Antioch continued to remain the stumbling block; but in point of fact, Siricius, avoiding the imprudent unwisdom of Ambrose, did more than anyone else to help to put an end to it. His instructions to Theophilus of Alexandria and to the Council of Caesarea in 393 were faithfully observed, and led to the liquidation of the schism.¹ Similarly, the affair of Bostra was submitted to the arbitration of Rome: Siricius again wisely decided not to judge it himself, but passed on the task to the Bishop of Alexandria. But at the Council of Constantinople, which terminated this conflict in 394, the agreement with Rome was emphasised.² Certainly these modest interventions amount to little, and the Popes of the fifth century will be less timid than Siricius. But it must be stressed that, in spite of all the misunderstandings which had already divided Rome and the East, and which were a distant preparation for the schisms of the Middle Ages, Christians in Syria and Arabia turned towards the Pope as to the supreme pontiff.

The Personality of the Popes and the Primacy of the Roman See

This recognition of the Roman primacy, and the appearance in the West of the first decretals, are all the more important in that the Popes of the fourth century, and the last one in particular, were not outstanding personalities, and their authority was often challenged in their own city.

Damasus constantly had to meet great difficulties:³ no sooner had he shaken off Ursinus, Isaac and the Donatist Claudian than he had to deal with the intrigues of the Luciferians; the Council of Aquileia mentions troubles caused by the eunuch Paschasius; the next year Damasus made a complaint to the urban prefect about Bishop Ephesios, but did not succeed in obtaining his expulsion.⁴ On the election of Siricius (end of December 384)⁵ the Ursinians again made trouble, but without success. His pontificate was more peaceful, but some dissension appeared nevertheless among the Roman clergy. When a successor

¹ Cf. *supra*, p. 618.

² Cf. *supra*, pp. 625-626.

³ Cf. Vol. I, pp. 295-297.

⁴ Rauschen, *Jahrbücher*, p. 140; Caspar, *op. cit.*, p. 216.

⁵ On this date, cf. Rauschen, *Jahrbücher*, p. 196; Caspar, *op. cit.*, p. 599.

was being chosen for Damasus, there was a question for a time of choosing the priest Jerome, the head of the ascetical party. The body of deacons managed to retain the power, and it was supported by the conservative opinion of the main body of the faithful, who were hostile to the monks and ascetics. Jerome had to depart for the East, with his faithful admirers, and these helped to fill the Palestinian monasteries. It is certain that Siricius was very inferior to Jerome, both in intelligence and in culture, if not also in virtue. Yet it was under this modest, timid, and in sum, rather ordinary Pope that we have noted the appearance of the first decretals. Attempts have been made to explain this fact by the persistence of the Damasian tradition;¹ and this idea is not altogether false. But Damasus himself was only a link in the chain which goes back very much earlier than the fourth century, and which is continued long afterwards. Above the personality, sometimes mediocre, of each pontiff there is the institution itself of the Papacy,² the prestige and activity of which constantly grew, in spite of eclipses, obstacles and difficulties of all kinds.

A decisive moment in this growth occurred precisely at the end of the fourth century. That does not mean, of course, that we must place then the "birth of the papacy," as though its universal authority was wholly constituted by an imperial decision. It has been very justly remarked that the rescript of Gratian to the Vicar of Rome in reply to the synodal letter of 378, which we discuss later on, "does not belong in any way to the history of the doctrine of the Primacy,"³ and the decretals which then appear do not in any way depend upon new rights conferred upon the Pope by the prince at this time. But what is indeed striking is the vigour with which the principle of this primacy is affirmed or recognised. The Roman Church regards itself as "the Apostolic See." This expression appeared for the first time in Damasus; before it figured in each of the decretals of Siricius.⁴ It is used

¹ Caspar, *op. cit.*, p. 266.

² Caspar (*ibid.*) rightly stresses this.

³ Caspar, *op. cit.*, p. 215.

⁴ Damasus, *Carmen xxxv*; letters *Ad Gallos*, *Et hoc gloriae*, *Cum in unum*.

by Ambrose, and by Priscillian,¹ who both recognised, in spite of all that might tend to remove them from the Roman obedience, that the Chair of Peter is the cornerstone of the Faith, and the criterion of catholicity. This new term implies also that the papacy does not derive its power from the fact that the city of the Caesars had hitherto held the rank of capital. At the very time when the Easterns attributed to Rome a primacy of honour, and the second rank to Constantinople "because it is New Rome," it is particularly significant that the apostolicity of the Roman See should thus be stressed.

This real character of the Roman primacy is very well brought out in a document which deserves to be mentioned. The so-called *Decretum gelasianum* contains a declaration of great weight, attributed to a "Roman Council held under Damasus": "It is not by decisions of councils that the Roman Church has been placed above the other churches, but it has obtained the primacy by the words of Our Saviour in the Gospel, 'Thou art Peter, and on this rock, etc.' The first see of the Apostle Peter is therefore the Roman Church, 'which has neither spot nor wrinkle nor any such thing' (*Ephes. v. 27*). The second see was founded at Alexandria in the name of Peter by Mark the evangelist, his disciple. . . . The third see of the blessed Apostle Peter at Antioch is held in honour because he resided there before coming to Rome, and because it was there that the name of Christian was first applied to the new people." The text belongs to the beginning of the sixth century, but some historians think that it comes from the Roman Council of 382.² The conjecture is a plausible one. In that case the particular expression, "synodica constituta" would be aimed at the third canon of the Eastern Council of 381. The see of Constantinople was in no way an apostolic one, and it derived its primacy from a conciliar decree. Rome, on the contrary, is the See of Peter; after it come immediately the sees of

¹ Priscillian, or rather Instantius, *Liber ad Damasum*, ed. Schepps, p. 34; Ambrose, *Epist.*, ii, 1; xi, 4; *Enarr. in Ps. XL*, 30, etc.

² E. Dobschuetz, *Das decretum Gelasianum (Texte und Untersuchungen zur altchristlichen Literatur*, Vol. XXXVIII, 3), 1912; Caspar, *op. cit.*, pp. 247 and 598, who sums up the discussion and defends his own conclusions.

Alexandria and Antioch, which are also Petrine. If this solemn declaration really represents a statement of the Council of 382, it is significant that all the great bishops of the West who were present at that assembly—Ambrose of Milan, Valerian of Aquileia, Anemius of Sirmium, and Britton of Trèves—ratified a text which so clearly sets forth the basis of the Roman primacy, of which the first decretals appearing at this very time are a living and supreme manifestation.

CHAPTER V

THE EXPANSION OF CHRISTIANITY¹

§ I. THE CHURCHES IN THE KINGDOMS OF THE MIDDLE EAST

THE second canon of the Council of Constantinople in 381, after regulating the new ecclesiastical hierarchy of the East, adds these words:

As for the churches of God which are among the barbarian nations, these will be administered in conformity with the custom established by our fathers.

By the term "barbarian" the Council certainly alludes to the more or less civilised eastern peoples outside the Empire in Asia, Sassanian Persia and the Kingdom of Armenia. Christianity had penetrated there already in the third century. In the fourth, religious history becomes of greater interest, particularly because of the conversion of the Roman Empire. In addition, the Gospel had been taken to new peoples. At the end of the century, when Christianity triumphed in the Empire and Rome brought to an end its long wars against the Sassanids, there was a tendency to subordinate each of the new churches to one of the great Eastern metropolitan sees, Caesarea, Antioch or Alexandria. But this result was not achieved without difficulties and, further, some serious crises hindered the development of these distant Christian communities.

I. ARMENIA

Conversion

The conversion of the Empire of Constantine to Christ had already been preceded by that of Armenia. Round about the year 300, the young Armenian nobleman baptised at Caesarea in Cappadocia under the name of Gregory became

¹ For Bibliography, see p. 730.

the first evangeliser of the country, and succeeded in converting the King, Tiridates, after various obstacles had been overcome.¹ Straightway the King, who perhaps was not sorry thus to oppose the Mazdaism of the enemy of his nation, Sassanian Persia, imposed Christianity upon all his subjects. Recourse had to be had at first to some external missionaries, clergy from Cappadocia or Osrhoene, who introduced Greek and Syriac as liturgical languages, Armenian being as yet only a spoken tongue. But from the first, Tiridates and Gregory called the Illuminator, endeavoured to organise thoroughly a national Church. Gregory, consecrated bishop at Caesarea, was put at its head, with the title of "Catholicos," and some ten bishoprics were founded. The residence of the Catholicos was at Achtichat, the old pagan metropolis; and the framework of the traditional paganism was retained. The sons of the priests of the idols were ordained Christian priests, the temples were changed into churches, and these retained the rich endowments of the former cult.

Quarrels between the Dynasty and the Catholicos

As Duchesne has written, "so rapid a conversion must have been a very superficial one."² This is shown by the history of the patriarchate and its quarrels with the dynasty.³

¹ Cf. *History of the Primitive Church*, Vol. III, p. 643.

² Duchesne, *Histoire ancienne de l'Eglise*, Vol. III, p. 536.

³ The following is a chronological list of Kings and Catholicos :

Kings	Catholicos
Tiridates	294-324 Gregory the Illuminator
	324-332 Aristaces
Tiran	332-341 Verthanes
	341-347 Houssik
	347-348 <i>Daniel</i>
	348-352 <i>Pharen</i>
Archak	353-363 <i>Isaac</i> (Chahak)
370-377 Pap	364-374 Nerses
	373-377 <i>Houssik II ? Faustus ?</i>
	377-380 <i>Zaven</i>
(<i>Persian protégés</i>)	380-383 <i>Chahak</i>
387-391 Chosroes	383-388 <i>Aspourak</i>
391-414 Vramchapouh	390- . . . Chahak the Great.

(The names in italics are those of patriarchs who did not belong to the family of Gregory the Illuminator.)

In this church, in which celibacy was not imposed upon any grade of the hierarchy, the dignity of *Catholicos* was practically hereditary. For more than a century the family of Gregory the Illuminator was regarded as the legitimate holders of this office. Gregory was succeeded by his younger son, Aristaces, who sat at the Council of Nicaea, and then by the older son, Verthanes, and finally by the son of the latter, Houssik. Inheriting the traditions of the great apostle of their country, they carried out their task conscientiously and even with heroism: Aristaces was killed by a governor of Sophene; Houssik did not hesitate to oppose King Tiran, whom he reproached for the disorders of his court; he even forbade him to enter his church, and this led to his being arrested and beaten to death (about 347?). The King thereupon installed patriarchs of his own choice: the Syrian *chorepiscopus* Daniel who, having dared to imitate the example of his predecessor, was himself put to death, then the priest Pharen, and finally Isaac (Chanak),¹ a descendant of the old pagan pontiff Aghbianos.

This sad state of affairs continued throughout the reign of Tiran. His successor, Archak, restored the Gregorian dynasty: a grandson of Houssik, Nerses, son of the deacon Athanaguine and one of the daughters of King Tiran, was proclaimed patriarch in 364. Nerses was at the time a court chamberlain, but he had been brought up in Roman Cappadocia and, like his great grandfather, had been trained in the methods of the apostolate and of asceticism. In spite of his youth, he carried through an energetic and necessary religious reform. "The new religion of Armenia had hitherto been merely a sort of anti-Mazdaism in a Christian form. Nerses wanted to introduce to his compatriots the real religion of the Gospel, which he had seen practised so fruitfully in the lands of the Romans."² The first national council, assembled at Achtichat about 365, promulgated some disciplinary canons. Monasteries, schools and charitable institutions increased in number. But the attempt to defend Christian morality against excesses of all kinds,

¹ Isaac had signed at Antioch in 363 the profession of orthodox faith sent by the Eastern bishops to Jovian (cf. Vol. I, p. 311).

² Duchesne, *Histoire ancienne de l'Eglise*, Vol. III, p. 538.

examples of which were found in the court itself, reopened the quarrel between the civil and the spiritual powers. King Archak decided to reply to criticisms by installing a new patriarch; but the latter, Tchounak, an old slave of the Court, was supported only by two bishops in the country, and the King very soon perished as a prisoner of the Persians. Under his successor Pap, then a child, Nerses, who was entrusted with his care, was at first respected. But as soon as the King had grown up the conflict was renewed; the Catholicos forbade the sovereign to enter the church, and the King retaliated by having him poisoned (about 374).

Rupture with Caesarea in Cappadocia

Until then, in spite of all the political vicissitudes, the Catholicos had always been, like the first of their number, consecrated at Caesarea in Cappadocia, which, as the mother church of the Armenian patriarchate, remained its metropolis. King Pap was the first to break with this tradition. There are various versions of this event. According to the Byzantine sources, the official Catholicos was a member of the family of Aghbianos named Houssik; but according to the correspondence of St. Basil, it was a certain Faustus, consecrated by Anthimus of Tyana, a rival of the metropolitan of Cappadocia. In any case, Basil's candidate, Cyril, was set aside, and the Bishop of Caesarea failed in an attempt at intervention, which took him to Satala on the frontier between the Empire and Armenia. Pap and his successors, who had broken with Rome, opposed the Church, confiscated part of its revenues, imposed new customs in the matter of ecclesiastical vesture, and favoured the installation of bishops with little to recommend them. This unfortunate state of affairs continued under the patriarchates of Zaven, Chahak, and Aspourak, of the dynasty of Aghbianos, down to the coming of King Chosroes, a protégé of the Sassanids, who once more restored the Gregorian dynasty in the person of Chahak the Great, son of Nerses (about 390). Chahak, with the help of the monk Mesrob, was the reformer of the Armenian Church, and the founder of its literature. The invention of an alphabet and

the diffusion of writing led at the beginning of the fifth century to a spread of the knowledge of the Scriptures, and thus inaugurated a real Christian culture in a country which had hitherto remained backward and uncultured.¹

Missions in Aghouania and in Iberia

Several peoples existing on the confines of Armenia were also reached by Christian propaganda: the Aghouans seem to have been given a bishop by Gregory the Illuminator, and he also took the title of Catholicos; the Iberians were apparently converted in the time of Constantine by a Christian captive named Nina, who persuaded the King, Mirian, to embrace Christianity.

2. PERSIA

The Persecution by Sapor

In the Persian Empire,² on the other hand, the throne remained closely attached to the traditional Mazdaism, and from the time of Constantine Christianity there was always regarded as a foreign religion, i.e. that of the hereditary enemies of the country, the Romans and the Armenians. This was the chief cause of the violent persecution which afflicted the Persian Christians throughout the duration of the wars between the two great empires from 338 to 387. The letter from Constantine to King Sapor II³ had merely offended the Sassanid, and had compromised the Christians in his states, who were henceforth regarded as the

¹ P. Peeters, *Les débuts du christianisme en Géorgie*, in *Analecta Bollandiana*, Vol. I, 1932, pp. 5-58.

² Here is a list of patriarchs and sovereigns :

<i>Kings</i>	<i>Catholicos</i>
309-379 Sapor II Papa bar 'Aggai
	...-341 Simon Barsabba'e
	341-342 Sahdost
	342-346 Barba 'Semin
	—
379-383 Ardachir II	384-... Tomarsa ?
383-388 Sapor III	...-399 Qayoma ?
388-399 Bahram IV	
399-420 Iazdgerd I	399-410 Isaac the Great

³ Cf. Vol. I, p. 60, n. 2.

protégés of Rome. As soon as hostilities broke out against Constantius, Sapor ordered the arrest of "Simon, head of the Nazareans," i.e. the bishop of the capital, Seleucia-Ctesiphon, and he refused to release him unless he paid "a double capitation and a double tribute for all the people of the Nazareans": for "these dwell in our territory and side with Caesar our enemy."¹ That was the principal accusation, to which were added suspicions of treason and even of spying. As the bishop Simon refused to pay this heavy indemnity, though he protested that he was loyal to the state, the persecution began in 340.² It lasted more than forty years, down to the death of Sapor II (379), and even continued after that. In a country of arbitrary absolutism like the Sassanid Empire of that time, the hostility of the throne was particularly dangerous for religious liberty. Without any regular promulgation of edicts, orders by the sovereign and his courtiers sufficed to lead to massacres, and here and there to numerous imprisonments or tortures. But the persecution did not rage everywhere: it depended upon the zeal of officials, the hatred of the Mazdaean clergy, the jealousy of the Jews, and even to some extent upon the desire for revenge among certain Christians. As in all the other persecutions, there were heroic martyrdoms, and shameful apostasies. Among the numerous victims—numbering sixteen thousand according to Sozomen, who doubtless exaggerates—there figured especially priests and bishops, including in the first place those of Seleucia-Ctesiphon. Simon Barsabba'e perished there with about a hundred of the faithful on Good Friday in 341. His successors suffered the same fate: Sahdost in 342, with a hundred and twenty-eight clergy or religious, and Barba 'Semin in 346.³ The episcopal see remained vacant afterwards. In the provinces, and especially in the parts close to the Roman frontier, in Adiabene, in Arzanene, the Christian communities suffered

¹ Quoted by Labourt, *Le christianisme dans l'empire perse*, p. 46.

² Cf. P. Peeters, *Le début de la persécution de Sapor*, in *Revue des études arméniennes*, Vol. I, 1920, pp. 15-33.

³ On these executions, and all those made known to us by the *Passions* attributed to Maruta of Maipherguat, cf. Labourt, *op. cit.*, pp. 51-55 and 63-82.

much. In fine, "the persecution by Sapor was not less either in duration or in intensity to those which had affected the churches of the Roman world."¹

Religious Peace

Not until the end of the war with Rome did religious peace return. Sapor's successor, Ardachir II (379-383), seems to have continued his policy. Sapor III (383-388), who came to terms with Theodosius, undertook to cease to harry the Christians at the same time. By means of this toleration, as yet still precarious, the Christian communities were reconstituted. The see of Seleucia, which had remained vacant since 346, was once more filled.² Bishoprics were restored or founded everywhere: at the national council in 410 we find about forty sees represented, grouped in five provinces: Beit Lapat in Susiana, Nisibis, Prat (Maisan), Arbel, Karka (Beit Selokh). The "Catholicos" of Seleucia from now on exercised a real primacy over all the churches of the country, in accordance with a tradition which had originated a century earlier.

Relations between the Persian Churches and those of the Roman Empire

In this reorganisation of the national church at the beginning of the fifth century, the chief influence was that of the "Western Fathers," i.e. that of the churches of the Roman Empire. True, the theology of the "Persian Sage" Aphraates, of whose works we possess twenty-three homilies written between 337 and 346,³ is somewhat sketchy, and was hardly influenced by the Greeks; the Council of Nicaea

¹ Labourt, *op. cit.*, p. 82.

² According to later sources, the occupants of the see of Seleucia were then Tomarsa or Tamusa, roughly from 384 to 392, then Qayoma, roughly from 394 to 399 (cf. Labourt, *op. cit.*, p. 85, n. 4).

³ Ed. Wright, London, 1869; with Latin translation (except the 23rd Homily) by Dom Parisot in *Patrologia syriaca*, Vol. I, 1-2, Paris, 1894-1907; with German translation by G. Bert in *Texte und Untersuchungen*, Vol. III, 3, Leipzig, 1888. On the work of Aphraates, cf. P. Schwen, *Afrahāt, Seine Person und sein Verständnis des Christentums*, Berlin, 1907; J. Parisot, art. *Aphraate* in *Dict. de théol. cath.*, Vol. I, 1903, col. 1457-1463; F. Nau, art. *Aphraate* in *Dict. d'hist. et de géogr. ecclési.*, Vol. III, 1924, col. 936-939.

and *a fortiori* the Arian controversies, were unknown in Persia during the whole of the fourth century; the Paschal discipline differed at that time from the customs in usage among the Romans; and "the clerico-monastic institution seems to have developed apart from any outside influence."¹ Even so, there were at least relations of an ecclesiastical nature between Persia and Roman Syria. At the commencement of the fourth century, when Papa bar 'Aggai, Bishop of Seleucia-Ctesiphon, tried to impose his own authority over other churches,² he met with opposition from his suffragans, who succeeded in deposing him. But he secured the intervention of the "Western Fathers," and this was decisive in his favour. These Fathers annulled the whole procedure, excommunicated the originators of the schism, and restored the primate.

The persecution and the war prevented regular relations between the Christian communities of Osrhoene and those of Babylonia, which both had Syriac as their ecclesiastical language. After the treaty which Sapor signed with Jovian in 363, the Persian Empire was unable to include among its subjects the most illustrious representative of Christian Syrian literature, St. Ephrem.³ He was, in fact, a deacon of the church of Nisibis, and that town had then been ceded to the Sassanids. But, with most of the Christians there desiring to avoid the yoke of an enemy oppressor, he took refuge in Roman territory at Edessa, and it was there that he completed his great exegetical and dogmatic writings which have won for him the title of Doctor of the Church.⁴

At the end of the century, when peace was restored, the chief rebuilder of the Christian Church was the bishop of a

¹ Labourt, *op. cit.*, p. 31.

² Cf. *History of the Primitive Church*, Vol. III, p. 643.

³ On St. Ephrem (306-373) and his work, cf. R. Duval, *Littérature syriaque*, 2nd edn., Paris, 1907, pp. 75-77 and 331-337; R. Baumstark, *Geschichte der syrischen Literatur*, Bonn, 1922, pp. 31-52; O. Bardenhewer, *Geschichte der altkirchlichen Literatur*, Vol. IV, 1924, pp. 342-375. His works (ed. Assemani, 6 vols., Rome, 1732-1746; ed. Mercati, Vol. I, Rome, 1915) include commentaries on the Scriptures, of which we possess only fragments, and numerous poems: *Memre* or homilies in verse, and *Madrache*, instructional hymns. Their literary interest is as great as their doctrinal importance.

⁴ Conferred by a brief of Benedict XV in 1920.

Roman town close to the frontier, Maruta of Maiphergat (Martyropolis), who took part in several missions to the King of Kings, and stayed on several occasions at Antioch, in Asia Minor, and at Constantinople. In 399 he went to the capital to install Isaac the Great there; about 408 he returned carrying letters signed by the Bishop of Antioch and several of his suffragans, in preparation for the work of restoration, which was very soon carried out by the national council of Seleucia in 410.¹

At the time when the Armenian Catholicos had separated from the obedience of Caesarea in Cappadocia, the church of Antioch had thus practically succeeded in imposing its influence upon the Persian Catholicos.

3. ARABIA AND ABYSSINIA

First Missions

Beyond the Empire, as we have already mentioned, there were doubtless some Christians on the coasts of India and in the islands of the Indian Ocean.² It was in any case in the fourth century that the Gospel reached the two kingdoms situated in the neighbourhood of the Red Sea, Homerite or Himyaritic Arabia and Axumite Abyssinia, which were linked with each other and with Egypt by the ports of Aden on the Asiatic coast and Adulis on the African coast. These two countries, the seat of an old Semitic paganism, had already been strongly influenced by Judaism when they received Christian missionaries coming from the Roman Empire. An interesting episode led to this evangelisation: two Christian children, Frumentius and Edesios, sole survivors of an exploring party, had been received at the Abyssinian court. They there became the tutors of the young King, and succeeded in obtaining liberty for the Christian religion, which was practised by some Roman merchants. When they returned to the Empire, Frumentius and Edesios narrated their adventures. Edesios received

¹ On Maruta, Isaac, and the restoration of the Persian Church at the beginning of the fifth century, cf. Labourt, *op. cit.*, pp. 87 *et seq.*, and a later volume of the present work.

² Cf. *History of the Primitive Church*, Vol. III, pp. 644-645.

the priesthood and remained at Tyre, but Frumentius, after receiving episcopal consecration from St. Athanasius, returned to govern the Church of Abyssinia (about 350).¹

The Emperor Constantius did not wish to let the great Nicaean bishop have the merit and direction of this far-off mission. When he had deposed Athanasius from his see, he wrote to Aizan, King of Axum, asking him to send Frumentius back to Alexandria, where the Arian bishop could indoctrinate him. The message was probably transmitted about 357 by Theophilus, an Arian bishop, who had been born on the shores of the Indian Ocean. We do not know the result of his mission to Abyssinia, but we know that Theophilus stopped in the neighbouring kingdom of the Homerites and that, in spite of the opposition of the Jewish communities, he obtained from the king freedom of worship for the Christian merchants and those natives who should be converted. Three churches were built, at Aden and in the capital, Safar.

Thus, in these two kingdoms of the Red Sea, the fourth-century sovereigns tolerated the religion of the Romans, but they were not themselves converted to it, and Christianity seems to have made little progress until the sixth century. Only at that time do we find in the Yemen a "bishop of the Homerites," while Abyssinia, on the other hand, became a Christian state through the conversion of the Negus.² But the consecration of Frumentius, which began Abyssinian Christianity, was never forgotten. Alexandria remained the metropolis of these far off African churches, as it was for those which were later founded in Nubia.

§ 2. CHRISTIANITY AMONG THE GOTHs

Conversion of the Frontier Peoples

Among the "barbarians" properly so called, who

¹ This account is known through Rufinus, *Hist. eccles.*, XI, ix. On the date, cf. Duchesne, *Eglises séparées*, pp. 310-311. He hesitates between the years prior to 339 and those after 346 (because of the exile of Athanasius). The second date seems the more likely one, as it is the one closer to the acts of Constantius (about 356).

² Cf. a later volume of the present work.

surrounded and often fought against the Roman Empire, Christianity penetrated all the more easily in that the frontiers were often crossed by them in their incursions. But there existed among them few organised and autonomous churches. Among the nomads of the Asiatic or African deserts, the Saracens of Northern Arabia, and the Moors of Northern Africa,¹ the Christianity of the bordering provinces gradually extended its influence. Thus, a tribe of the Saracens ruled by a Queen Mavia was converted to Christianity about 374, receiving as bishop the monk Moses, who lived in a neighbouring desert.² A similar instance is presented in Europe in the conversion of Frigetil, Queen of the Marcomans, but this was brought about through letters from Ambrose of Milan.³ In each case, the conversion to Christianity coincided with submission to the Romans on some point of the frontier.

Gothic Christians: Catholics in the Crimea

It was otherwise with the most important of the Germanic races, and the one which constituted the greatest danger for the Empire at this time, namely the Goths. At the commencement of the fourth century, the Goths living in the Crimea were evangelised, as were all the Hellenic cities bordering on the Black Sea. At the side of a Greek bishop from the Bosphorus there sat at the Council of Nicaea a bishop from "Gothia."⁴ As we have previously stated, Christianity penetrated into the mass of the Gothic people established on the northern bank of the Danube in the third century, through the intermediary of prisoners brought back from Cappadocia.⁵ New additions strengthened these first foundations, but the result was the establishment in the second quarter of the century of communities separated from the Catholic Church.

¹ Cf. *History of the Primitive Church*, Vol. III, p. 640.

² Rufinus, *Hist. eccles.*, XI, vi.

³ Paulinus of Milan, *Vita Ambrosii*, xxxvi. The episode belonged to 396 for Frigetil went to Milan shortly afterwards to make the acquaintance of her instructor, but arrived there only after the latter's death (April 397).

⁴ Cadmos of Bosphorus, and Theophilus of "Gothia" (cf. Vol. I, p. 90).

⁵ Cf. *History of the Primitive Church*, Vol. III, p. 645.

The Sect of the Audians

The schismatic Audius, who refused to accept the ruling on the date of Easter, had been on that account exiled by Constantine to Scythia at the mouth of the Danube. On these distant frontiers of the Empire he became a missionary and converted a great number of Goths to the Audian sect.¹

Ulfila and Arianism

Very soon afterwards, under Constantius, most of the Christians of that nation passed over to Arianism under the guidance of Ulfila.² He was born about 311 among the already converted Goths, and descended from Cappadocian captives, which may have predisposed him to favour Greco-Latin culture. He became a lector in the church, and from his early days had the task of translating and commenting on the Scriptures in his mother tongue, which brought him some fame. He formed part of an embassy sent to the Eastern Emperor in 341. At that time the Eusebian Council was sitting at Antioch; he was made bishop there, and passed over, almost in spite of himself, to Arianism. Probably "Eusebius of Nicomedia, the sometime friend and counsellor of Constantine, could not be indifferent to the evangelisation of the Goths, and realised the progress which it might make under the direction of the young lector whom circumstances had brought before him. He was a native cleric, but the grandson of Roman citizens, knowing the three languages Gothic, Latin and Greek. What services might he not render as national bishop of the Goths who, perhaps, with the exception of those in the Crimea, had never had a bishop? He accordingly consecrated him, but not before he had indoctrinated him."³ When he returned home, Ulfila handed on his Arianism to his compatriots, whose supreme pastor he was from now on. It is only now

¹ On the Audians, cf. Tillemont, *Mémoires*, Vol. VI, pp. 606-666; G. Bareille, art. *Audiens*, in *Dict. de théol. cath.*, Vol. I, 1903, col. 2265 *et seq.*; A. Regnier, art. *Audée* in *Dict. d'Hist. et de géogr. ecclési.*, Vol. V, 1931, col. 299 *et seq.*

² On Ulfila and his work, cf. J. Zeiller, *Les origines chrétiennes dans les provinces danubiennes*, pp. 440-464.

³ J. Zeiller, *op. cit.*, pp. 445-446.

that we can speak of a national church of the Goths: inventing a new alphabet, he translated into a Germanic tongue most of the sacred books.¹ Worship was also carried out in the national idiom, and this must have greatly facilitated the evangelisation of the Gothic tribes. Very soon there arose a whole Gothic Christian literature, represented now, alas! only by some few exegetical or polemical works in a Latin form,² and a fragment of a calendar.³ In spite of certain liturgical peculiarities, such as the celebration of the Eucharist before daybreak, their rites and doctrines did not differ from those of the Christians of the Empire at that date. Ulfila professed at first the somewhat vague Arianism of the Eusebians, but eventually accepted Homoianism, as officially proclaimed at the Council of Constantinople in 360, at which he was present.⁴

The Persecutions

At that date he was no longer in "Gothia," but in Roman Moesia. A first persecution, the intensity and extent of which is little known to us, compelled him about 350 to take refuge in the Empire, and the little group which emigrated with him settled at Nicopolis in Moesia. But there were still Christians, Arians and Nicaeans amongst the Visigoths beyond the Danube, for their King, Athanaric, renewed the

¹ According to Philostorgus, *Hist. eccles.*, II, v, Ulfila omitted the *Books of Kings*, because of their too warlike character. Actually we possess only a part of the New Testament: the *Gospels*, the *Acts*, and some *Epistles*. Cf. J. Zeiller, *op. cit.*, pp. 465-472, who gives full bibliographical details.

² Of Ulfila himself we have a *Commentary on the Gospel of St. John* (*Skeirein*): cf. J. Zeiller, *op. cit.*, pp. 505-511 (on the lost works, cf. *ibid.*, p. 473). We possess several works of his disciples: besides several anonymous works of exegesis, an *Opus imperfectum in Matthaeum*, attributed to Maximin (cf. *ibid.*, pp. 474-482 and 498-505); thirty-eight homilies and two treatises under the name of Maximus of Turin, which Dom Capelle restores to Maximin (*Revue Bénédictine*, Vol. XXXIV, 1922, pp. 81-108); the *Dissertatio contra Ambrosium* of the same Maximin, written just after the Council of Aquileia, some fragments of Palladius of Ratiaria, a letter of Auxentius of Durostorum on Ulfila (cf. F. Kauffmann, *Aus der Schule des Wulfila*, Strassburg, 1899; J. Zeiller, *op. cit.*, pp. 483-498; B. Capelle, *La lettre d'Auxence sur Ulfila* in *Revue Bénédictine*, Vol. XXXIV, 1922, pp. 224-233).

³ J. Zeiller, *op. cit.*, pp. 511-514.

⁴ Cf. Vol. I, p. 210.

persecution against them in 370. Of the martyrs who perished at that time there is very good reason to think that at least some were Catholics.¹ In the end, all were expelled: Arians, Catholics and Audians. The last mentioned, the head of whom was then the bishop Uranius, broke up: one group went to Syria, while many others accepted Catholicism.

But the autonomous communities of Gothic Catholics and Gothic Arians continued to exist in the Empire. The Nicaeans possibly had as their head at that time a bishop named Godda. The Arians continued in the obedience of Ulfila, who enjoyed the favour of the Emperor Valens as they had received that of Constantius. They were soon reinforced by the arrival of the tribe of the Fritigerns who, when they sought refuge in the Empire in 376, wished to embrace Christianity. The Arian Emperor sent them missionaries of his own confession, and the prestige of Ulfila over his compatriots must have completed the influence of the government in favour of the Homoianism of Rimini.

Persistence of Arianism among the Goths

Shortly afterwards, Valens was crushed by the revolt of the Gothic bands fleeing before the invasion of the Huns. Gratian and Theodosius restored orthodoxy in the Danubian lands as in all the East, and at the same time succeeded in pacifying the country, allotting to the federated Goths parts of the provinces of Moesia and Pannonia. Christianity continued to spread amongst these barbarians who had now become protégés of the Empire; and under the orthodox Emperors Catholicism made some progress amongst them, thanks to the missionary activity of bishops on the frontier, such as Theotimus of Tomi and Niceta of Remesiana, who also converted some of the Huns.

The majority of the Christian Goths nevertheless remained faithful to the Arianism of Ulfila, whom political necessities compelled Theodosius to tolerate. After Ulfila's death, which took place at Constantinople in 383 on the eve

¹ At least this is the case with Niceta (put to death on the 15th of Sept. 370) and Saba (12th of April 372). Cf. J. Zeiller, *op. cit.*, pp. 423-436.

of the ecclesiastical conference called by the Emperor,¹ his secretary, Selena, succeeded him. He was the son of a Goth and of a Phrygian lady, equally conversant with Greek and Gothic learning, and he played an active part in the disagreements amongst the Constantinople Arians expelled to Thrace, and himself adhered to the sect of the Psathyrians. Later on he supported the party of Agapios against their leader Marinos.² From his residence in Nicopolis in Moesia, which he must have retained, he continued to be the leader of all the Arian Goths assembled on the frontier or dispersed in the provinces. We find disciples of Ulfila, some of them promoted by him to the episcopate, at the head of Gothic communities, such as that of Milan in 386,³ or again associated with the "federated" heads revolting against the Empire, such as Sigishair, whom we find with Alaric in Italy, and Maximin with Sigisvult in Africa.

In the course of the fifth century, the Germanic kings converted by these missionaries introduced Arianism to the majority of the barbarians then installed inside the Empire, including Vandals, Sueves, Burgundians, Rugii, Gepidae, and Ostrogoths, who were all disciples of the form of Christianity adopted by the Visigoths of Ulfila.⁴

§ 3. THE CONVERSION OF PAGANS IN THE EMPIRE

With the Goths, who from the time of the invasion of 376 and the treaties of 380-382 all came into the territory and obedience of the Romans, we return within the frontiers of the Empire. As in the case of the barbarians outside, the work of evangelisation was a constant necessity. In spite of the progress of Christianity, which the short reign of Julian had scarcely arrested, there were still many pagans within the Empire. They were found especially in two classes of society, the ruling and cultivated aristocracy, and the poor and ignorant rural masses.

¹ On this date for the death of Ulfila, often put in 381, cf. J. Zeiller, *op. cit.*, pp. 455-464.

² On the quarrels amongst these sects, cf. *supra*, p. 608.

³ Cf. *infra*, p. 693.

⁴ See a later volume of the present work.

Survival of Paganism amongst the Aristocracy

The first of these two classes seems to have resisted the new religion for a long time. Attachment to ancestral traditions, the prestige of literary culture, wholly based on the pagan mythologies and philosophies, the disdain of delicate minds for the supposed *rusticitas* of the Christians, and a tenacious prejudice against a deliberately intemperate asceticism,¹ all helped to keep a great number of wealthy families in the faith of their ancestors, or else to turn them towards the warm devotions of a new Syncretism. This was the case, as we have seen, with the Emperor Julian, whose influence was continued by writers who were his friends: the rhetorician Libanios and the historian Ammianus Marcellinus. At the end of the century, again, some of the most illustrious senators and the highest officials of Gratian or Theodosius were avowed pagans, believers in Mithra or Cybele, or followers of a developed form of Neo-Platonism. Such were Symmachus, Praetextatus and Nicomachus Flavian.² If it be true, as Prudentius writes, probably with some exaggeration, that at that time "a very great number of noble families turned towards the seal of Christ and escaped from the abyss of a shameful paganism,"³ it is none the less certain that the defenders of the traditional religion were a decided minority in the Roman senate down to the time of Odoacer. In literature, a Microbius and a Rutilius, a Eunapius and a Zosimus, will uphold in the middle of the fifth century the standard of paganism, and Justinian in the sixth century will have to close the school at Athens in order to bring about the final disappearance of this centre of anti-Christian thought.⁴ This shows how long the ancient belief persisted amongst the cultivated people. Little by little, through mixed marriages, the Christian Faith penetrated into the pagan families; and doubtless there were many who preferred to stay in a position half-way

¹ Cf. P. de Labriolle, *La Réaction païenne*, pp. 335 *et seq.*, *et passim*.

² On these heads of the "Pagan party," cf. above all G. Boissier, *La fin du paganisme*, Vol. II, pp. 307-314 *et passim*.

³ Prudentius, *Contra Symmachum*, I, 566 *et seq.*

⁴ Cf. P. de Labriolle, *op. cit.*, p. 368, and a later volume of the present work.

between the two religions,¹ in the careless indifference of calm agnosticism or else in a superstitious adhesion to rites which were nevertheless incompatible.²

The Evangelisation of the Country Districts

At the other end of the scale to this refined, learned and influential minority, the lower sections of the peasant proletariat—smallholders, cultivators, and slaves—also remained in many Western lands³ faithful to their ancestral religion, gross nature cults, dubious remains of age-long superstitions, and survivals of popular fables and myths. To dissipate these tenacious idolatries or to replace them by corresponding elements in the Christian religion will take many years, if not centuries. But the starting point of this conversion of the rural masses, and the first effort at this difficult process of evangelisation, are found at the end of the fourth century. We have a few definite indications of this, which show the beginnings of this propagation of the Christian Faith in the country districts.

In Dacia Within, Niceta of Remesiana (366-414 roughly) managed to convert, not only the newly arrived barbarians,⁴ but also the Bessi, native inhabitants connected with the Thracians who, although long since subjected by

¹ Examples are Ausonius, and possibly also Claudius. Cf. P. de Labriolle, art. *Ausone* in *Dict. d'histoire et de géographie ecclésiastiques*, Vol. V, 1931, col. 773-779 and, on the whole matter, Ch. Guignebert, *Les demi-chrétiens et leur place dans l'Eglise antique*, in *Revue de l'histoire des religions*, Vol. LXXXVIII, 1923, pp. 65-102 (especially pp. 86 et seq.).

² For a more optimistic opinion on the conversions among the senatorial nobility, see C. Jullian, *Histoire de la Gaule*, Vol. VIII, pp. 330-331. It is true that the "social élite" seems to have been won to Christianity more rapidly in Gaul than in Italy. In Africa the provincial governors, the municipal officials, if not the highest among the native inhabitants, concerning whom we know less, remained pagan for a long time. Cf. P. Monceaux, *Histoire littéraire de l'Afrique chrétienne*, Vol. III, pp. 51-57.

³ In the East, the country parts were christianised very early. Cf. *History of the Primitive Church*, Vol. IV, p. 1092. In the Latin-speaking countries, on the other hand, the peasants became Christians rather late. Hence the double sense of *pagani*=peasants or pagans. Cf. J. Zeiller, *Paganus: Essai de terminologie historique*, Paris and Freiburg, 1917).

⁴ Cf. *supra*, p. 684.

Rome, had retained their lack of culture and their superstitions.¹

In northern Italy, Vigilus of Trent (about 385-405) also sent missionaries into the rough Alpine districts, where they were not always well received by the mountain folk, as is shown by the martyrdom of Sisinnius and his companions in 397 in the valley of Anania.²

In Gaul, the semi-nomadic shepherds of the Flemish plains (the land of the Morini and the Nervii), already mingled with Saxon barbarians who had descended on the coasts, were evangelised by Victricius of Rouen (about 380-407)³. But the most famous of these apostles of the countryside was his friend, Martin of Tours (371-397).

The Apostolate of St. Martin

This Danubian peasant, who left the army to embrace the ascetical and priestly life, must be regarded as the introducer of monachism into Gaul,⁴ and, through his "seminary" of Marmoutier,⁵ as the reformer of the Gallic episcopate. But he was also "the most active and most energetic of the propagators of the Faith"⁶ in the central portion and the west of the country. He converted many peasants in his bishopric and in the neighbouring country: "the hamlets of La Touraine and Berry . . . , Amboise, Langeais, Crion, Candes, Tournon, Clion, Levroux became rural parishes as a result of his efforts."⁷ But his apostolic journeys also took him into various other regions—to Auvergne, Paris, Saintonge, and Vienne.⁸ Everywhere he showed himself to

¹ Cf. J. Zeiller, *Les origines chrétiennes dans les provinces danubiennes*, p. 558.

² Cf. the letters of Vigilus to Simplician of Milan and to John Chrysostom (Migne, *P.L.*, Vol. XIII, 549-558), and *Scritti di storia e d'arte per il XV centenario di S. Vigilio vescovo e martire*, Trent, 1905.

³ On Victricius, cf. *supra*, p. 639 and the study by E. de Moreau (mentioned in the Bibliography, p. 730), who restores to him the glory of having evangelised *Belgica secunda*, which has been denied him by a Flemish historian.

⁴ Cf. *supra*, p. 487.

⁵ The expression comes from C. Jullian, *Histoire de la Gaule*, Vol. VII, p. 258.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 268.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 270.

⁸ Cf. the references given by C. Jullian, *ibid.*, p. 270, n. 3.

be an intrepid missionary: preaching to the village folk, carrying his audience with him by the force of his ardent and simple words, or else convincing them by some prodigy, presiding over the destruction of temples and idols, and the installation of new oratories. Thus, not without occasional violence, Christianity made progress in the far off valleys which had hitherto scarcely heard the Gospel preached.

The importance of this missionary activity of St. Martin has been questioned and minimised,¹ but doubtless incorrectly. For the six foundations of oratories made known to us by Gregory of Tours, and the nine miraculous episodes reported by Sulpicius Severus, are probably far from constituting the sum total of the endeavours and successes of the popular bishop: his prestige as a thaumaturge, which has not been questioned, certainly reinforced the effect of his apostolic preaching,² and it is not surprising that the reputation enjoyed by this great ascetic led several bishops to appeal to his zeal.³

It will be noticed that this work of Christian conquest coincides with the reigns of those emperors who were responsible for the legal prescription of paganism. The "battle against the rural sanctuaries became general in Gaul under Gratian,"⁴ and it was general also in the Eastern provinces governed by Theodosius.⁵ But the numerous cases known to us of the destruction of temples scarcely tells us anything as to the conversion of those who remained attached to the ancient cults. The general trend must have manifested itself, nevertheless, especially in the towns, where

¹ In particular, by Babut, *Saint Martin de Tours*, pp. 207-236.

² Babut (*op. cit.*, pp. 233 *et seq.*) does not think that the word *apostolicus* has in Sulpicius a sense other than that of thaumaturge. We here take the term in its usual sense.

³ This is admitted by Babut, *op. cit.*, p. 222.

⁴ C. Jullian, *op. cit.*, pp. 272, n. 3. The proof adduced is that the series of coins founded in the *fana* stops about 380.

⁵ There are numerous examples: besides those in which we find the public authorities intervening, and which will be indicated in the next chapter, we might mention the destruction of the temples of Asclepius at Aegae in Cilicia and at Carrhes in Mesopotamia (Libanios, *Pro templis*, xxxix; Theodoret, *Hist. eccles.*, IV, xviii, 14), the deeds of the monks in Egypt (Libanios, *Pro templis*, xxiii), etc. But these details do not concern us.

Christian expansion could not take the same form as it did in the country parts.

The Conversions in the Towns

In many urban districts, the pagans were very numerous: e.g. at Alexandria, where they revolted in 390 as a result of the provocations of the bishop Theophilus¹; at Carthage, where they likewise rose when they were deprived of the temple of Caelestis in 399²; and in smaller centres like Apamea in Syria, where they massacred the bishop Marcellus who tried to take possession of their temples.³ But where eloquent preachers drew crowds to the Christian pulpits, many asked to be baptised. Thus at Antioch, where the preacher was the priest John, known as Chrysostom;⁴ and at Milan, under the episcopate of St. Ambrose.⁵ In these instances, again, it is only right to point out that the zeal of churchmen was helped by the favourable atmosphere resulting from the legislation and attitude of the emperors. It does not in any way lessen the merit of the "missionaries" of these times if we see in their preaching, and in the success which crowned their efforts, "local episodes in the general war which the Catholic Empire was then waging against the ancient gods."⁶ Thus the study of the conversion of the pagans at the end of the fourth century must not be separated from the religious policy of Gratian or Theodosius, which we must next consider.

¹ They shut themselves up in the Serapeum, which was thereupon destroyed. Cf. *infra*, pp. 705-707.

² Cf. Monceaux, *op. cit.*, Vol. III, p. 53.

³ Sozomen, *Hist. eccles.*, VII, xv.

⁴ On his preaching, cf. A. Puech, *Saint Jean Chrysostome et les mœurs de son temps*, Paris, 1891; and *Histoire de la littérature grecque chrétienne*, Vol. III, pp. 465-468 and 489-506; Rauschen, *Jahrbücher*, pp. 495-529 (*Excursus* xiii-xv); and *supra*, pp. 574-577.

⁵ Cf. J. R. Palanque, *Saint Ambroise et l'Empire romain*, pp. 177, 396 *et passim*.

⁶ Babut, *Saint Martin*, p. 212.

CHAPTER VI

CATHOLICISM AS A STATE RELIGION¹

BY the end of the fourth century, as we have seen, the Church perfected the details of its organisation, and made fresh progress both inside and outside the Roman Empire. But these conquests would not have been obtained, at least in that manner, without the support of the State, whose administrative system was adopted in its general lines by the Church herself. We have witnessed, in 378, the beginnings of the new religious policy which put an end to the Arian crisis. Gratian, influenced by St. Ambrose, turned the Empire into a direction favourable to Catholicism. Theodosius, his colleague in the government of the East, very soon manifested similar sentiments, and the Edict of Thessalonica, on the 28th of February 380,² is regarded by some historians as quite as significant and decisive as those other edicts which had inaugurated the Peace of Constantine.³ In it we find a solemn proclamation that all the peoples of the Empire are to profess "the faith of the Apostle Peter." This obligation, extending to the heretics, could also in theory apply to the pagans, and it has even been said that this law really established a State Church. It is certain that, in any case, it was the beginning of legislation which would ultimately make Catholicism the sole religion of the State. We must study this religious policy of the two emperors who showed themselves faithful to the Catholic baptism they had received.

§ I. CHURCH AND STATE: THE LAST CONFLICTS

Union of the Church and the State in 381-383

From 378 to 381, the acts and laws of Gratian and

¹ For Bibliography, see p. 731.

² *Cod. Theod.*, XVI, 1, 2. Cf. Vol. I, p. 366.

³ Cf. Sesan, *op. cit.*, pp. 316-317.

Theodosius enabled the Church to eliminate almost entirely the Arian danger. Councils were assembled, condemned bishops were expelled, and the heretics were deprived of their places of worship.¹ Thanks to the efficacious support of the emperors, Catholicism triumphed everywhere: the union between Church and State was close and unquestioned. At Constantinople, Theodosius was in perfect agreement with the bishop Nectarius, whom he himself had named for election by the Council of 381,² and also with the principal Eastern bishops enumerated in the law of the 19th of July 381 as the representatives and guardians of official orthodoxy.³ In 382 and 383 again, Theodosius summoned ecclesiastical assemblies in which he showed himself a decided enemy of the vanquished heresy.⁴ At Milan, Gratian, who had at first observed the same policy of religious neutrality as his father, Valentinian I, entered after 378 into close relations with the bishop Ambrose;⁵ in 381 he finally left Gaul to live near his friend, and henceforth he willingly allowed himself to be influenced by this bishop.⁶

New Conflicts in the West

In the West, this harmony was to be upset by the premature disappearance of Gratian in 383. The usurper Maximus had Gratian assassinated, and took possession of Gaul, while Italy and its dependencies remained in the hands of Valentinian II, brother to Gratian and a child of twelve years, ruled by his mother, the Arian Justina, and her minister, the pagan Bauton. The Church at first suffered no harm through these changes in rulership. At Milan, the Court made use of the services of Ambrose, who was sent on a diplomatic mission to the usurper;⁷ at Trèves, Maximus, to hide the

¹ Vol. I, pp. 358 *et seq.* ² Cf. Vol. I, p. 374. ³ Cf. Vol. I, p. 368.

⁴ Vol. I, pp. 381 *et seq.* ⁵ Cf. Vol. I, pp. 358-360.

⁶ He was not, however, wholly influenced by Ambrose (cf. J. R. Palanque, *Saint Ambroise et l'Empire romain*, pp. 102-114); but the differences concerned only points of detail, and were caused by the weakness of the Emperor in presence of the recriminations of certain Arians and the intrigues of the courtiers (cf. *ibid.*, pp. 112 and 121, and *supra*, p. 642, on Priscillian).

⁷ Its object was to restrain his ambition and to bring about a political agreement with the Court of Milan. The negotiations succeeded, probably as a result of the employment of ambiguous language. Cf. J. R. Palanque, *op. cit.*, pp. 122-129.

illegitimate nature of his power, showed himself as zealous a Catholic as the prince he had overthrown.¹ Very soon a great conflict broke out between the Italian court and Ambrose. Its occasion was the presence of a group of Arians, consisting of some Gothic officers and some officials of Justina. They had at their head, after 384, the bishop Auxentius of Durostorum, a disciple of Ulfila, expelled from the East by Theodosius.² These heretics were, indeed, not very numerous, and found few supporters among the Milanese population, where the memory of the first Auxentius had long been effaced. But the support of Justina and the intrigues of the courtiers, who were jealous of the authority of Ambrose,³ were elements not to be disregarded. While it is true that the young Emperor did not himself make personal profession of Arianism,⁴ nevertheless he was subject to the guidance of his mother, and willingly listened to the suggestions of his entourage. We have here not so much a revival of the heresy itself, which would in any case be a purely local one, but rather opposing influences of an enterprising churchman and of political personages who rather resented his indiscreet "tyranny." In the end the bishop triumphed, thanks to the support of popular opinion, which he was able to secure.

Ambrose and the Court in 385

In the spring of 385,⁵ the Court asked the bishop to give up a basilica for the purposes of Arian worship. Ambrose refused. He was summoned to the imperial consistory, where he argued the matter point by point. The people, who had been informed of the situation, demonstrated in front of the palace; in view of this threat of a bloody riot,

¹ He was baptised in Britain on the eve of his revolt.

² The identification of this Mercurinus Auxentius, leader of the Milan Arians until 387, with the Arian Bishop of Durostorum has been suggested by Duchesne, *Histoire ancienne de l'Eglise*, Vol. II, p. 552, and by J. Zeiller, *Les origines chrétiennes dans les provinces danubiennes*, p. 339. It seems very probable.

³ J. R. Palanque, *op. cit.*, pp. 139-144.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 166-167.

⁵ On the chronology of this whole affair, cf. *ibid.*, pp. 511-514.

the Emperor gave way, and the bishop had to intervene with his revolted followers to restore calm in the city.¹

In 386

Other tactics were then adopted. A law was promulgated on the 23rd of January 386 granting liberty of worship to those holding the faith of Rimini, confirmed at the Council of Constantinople in 360. Death was to be the penalty of those who should cause disturbances, or claimed for themselves alone the right to meet together, or who should endeavour secretly to bring about the abrogation of this constitution.² Thus, from now on, if Ambrose were to maintain his opposition, he would be a rebel, and liable to capital punishment. This text, drawn up in general terms, referred evidently only to the case of Milan, and doubtless there was no intention to give it a rigorous application: its sole object was to intimidate the bishop. But this showed little understanding of the intrepid pastor of souls, who declared himself ready to suffer martyrdom and organised resistance to the imperial decree. He called a council and secured the approval of the bishops there for his opposition, and did not allow himself to be turned from his path either by suggestions of compromise or by threats of removal.³ The Court did not dare to lay hands on the prelate, nor to take possession of a church by force. The populace shut themselves up with Ambrose in the Portian Basilica, and the military laid siege to it, counting on tiring the people out, and thus obtaining a voluntary evacuation and an occupation without violence. But the intransigent bishop did not give way, and neither did his flock. Ambrose kept up their zeal by forceful sermons,⁴ and to retain their enthusiasm he introduced the liturgical innovation of the singing of hymns, with which his name will from this time be associated.⁵ The siege of the

¹ This episode is known through the discourse of Ambrose *Contra Auxentium*, xxix (*ibid.*, pp. 144-145).

² *Cod. Theod.*, XVI, 1, 4.

³ Cf. *Epist. xxi* to Valentinian (*ibid.*, pp. 146-153).

⁴ He pronounced at this time the *Contra Auxentium*, the *De Jacob*, and several *Homilies* on the Gospels (*ibid.*, pp. 152-159).

⁵ Cf. *supra*, p. 553.

basilicas lasted for a few weeks (February-March 386), and then began to relax.

Towards the end of Lent, a new effort was made by the Court. On the 27th of March, some officers, followed the next day by the Praetorian Prefect, once more claimed from the bishop the New Basilica, or at least the Portian one, but this naturally met with no success. On Sunday the 29th it was apparently decided to have recourse to force. To cow the populace, rich merchants were arrested and heavily fined, and police regulations were tightened up. After a final attempt at negotiation on the Wednesday, the crisis reached its height on Holy Thursday, the 2nd of April. The bishop was once more besieged in the Portian Basilica, while disorders broke out in the Great Basilica. But on the morning of Good Friday, the Court suddenly gave way: the troops were withdrawn, and the fines returned.¹ The difficulties had proved to be too great: a party of soldiers had revolted the evening before; the people seemed to be determined to resist to the end; and as the possession of a basilica was little more than a pretext to humiliate the bishop, the Emperor, and the politicians who were his advisers, came to the conclusion that it was foolish to run the risk of a civil war breaking out in order to defend the interests of the Arian sect.

The fight, thus suspended at Easter, was not resumed. The prestige of Ambrose was increased in June by the great festival celebration of the Discovery of SS. Gervasius and Protasius,² and the Court cleverly freed itself from the presence of the bishop by sending him to Trèves on a mission. Maximus in fact profited by these difficulties, and complained that the promises previously given had been broken, and refused to return the body of Gratian. He put himself forward as a defender of Catholicism, reproaching Valentinian II for his pro-Arian policy,³ and at the same time adopted very severe measures in his own State towards the Priscillianist heresy.⁴ Thus it was necessary to negotiate

¹ The events of Holy Week are known to us through *Epist. xx* to Marcellinus, which must be dated 386 and not 385 (*ibid.*, pp. 160-163).

² Cf. *Epist. xxii* to Marcellinus (*ibid.*, p. 164).

³ Letter *Nisi clementiae* (*Collectio avellana*, xxxix).

⁴ Cf. his letter *Accepimus* to Pope Siricius (*ibid.*, xl) and *supra*, p. 663.

with him, and at the same time to disprove his claim to a monopoly of orthodoxy. The choice of Ambrose as ambassador was, under the circumstances, a particularly clever move. If he should meet with success, this would provide the Court with an opportunity to be reconciled to him without any loss of face; if he should fail, this would, it was reckoned, lead to the complete discrediting of the negotiator.

Ambrose and Maximus

The second mission of Ambrose in Gaul (summer of 386)¹ met with no diplomatic success. But what interests us here is that, doubtless deliberately, the bishop, avoiding the snare prepared for him, showed on this occasion the most courageous independence in regard to the prince who had constituted himself in Italy the defender of the heretics, as also in regard to the one who fought the heresy in Gaul by bloody measures. At Milan, Ambrose had defied the authority of the young Emperor, whose claims could not be reconciled with his pastoral conscience; at Trèves he broke with the bishop Itacius and his followers; Maximus, who supported them, was excommunicated in consequence.² The two masters of the West were thus at this date both in difficulties with those best qualified to represent Catholicism.³

The wars of 387-388 swept away all the opponents of Ambrose and the Church. Valentinian II, taken by surprise by the aggression of Maximus, suddenly left Italy; Maximus was in turn crushed and killed by the soldiers of Theodosius. The latter entered Milan as a victor and took over the government of the West, where Valentinian henceforth

¹ On this date, cf. J. R. Palanque, *op. cit.*, pp. 170 and 516-518.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 172-175 (cf. *supra*, p. 644).

³ When Maximus was master of Italy (summer of 387), Ambrose was once more in conflict with him, or at least with his officials, who tried to get possession of a sum of money entrusted by a widow to the Bishop of Pavia. The latter, on the advice of his metropolitan, opposed this confiscation in the name of the rights of the Church and of the poor (*De officiis*, II, xxix, 150-151). On the date of this episode, cf. J. R. Palanque, *op. cit.*, p. 192.

occupied only a subordinate position.¹ Theodosius was thus in fact, if not in law, the sole master of the Roman world.

Theodosius and the Church

There was reason to hope that the Church would henceforth be able to live in peace throughout the Empire. Ambrose, in the autumn of this year 388, celebrated enthusiastically this "favourable moment," when "the storm of all discords ended, and the tempest died down, concord reasserted itself, and the Faith could breathe again."² Theodosius, indeed, had never had any difficulties with his bishops. But all possible sources of conflict did not cease with his advent: this pacifier of the Empire, though not very bellicose by nature, and a lover of order above all, was not characterised by the docility of a Gratian wholly devoted to the bishop he loved, or of a young Valentinian led on by the insidious advice of his entourage. He was a sincere Catholic, and he was to give the most striking proofs of his devotion to the Church's cause. But nevertheless, like Constantine, though not possessing the latter's bold impulsiveness or his creative genius, he was not prepared to sacrifice what he regarded as the interests of the State. While holding the clergy in respect, he desired to be respected by them in turn. If he seemed to be a good servant of the Church, this was because, while not trying to make use of her for his own purposes, as others had done, he found in the Eastern episcopate accommodating prelates who never questioned his authority.³ Neither the good natured Nectarius nor Flavian of Antioch, who humbly interceded on behalf of his city which had revolted, and obtained its pardon,⁴ ever

¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 182, 194. There is no need, accordingly, to dwell upon the reconciliation between Ambrose and Valentinian just after his return and the death of Justina: this reconciliation could not have any political consequences.

² *Exp. evang. sec. Luc.*, IX, 32.

³ On this aspect of Theodosius's character, cf. J. R. Palanque, *op. cit.*, pp. 200-202.

⁴ On the sedition at Antioch in 387, in which statues of the Emperor were thrown down, and the steps taken by Flavian, cf. Rauschen, *Fahrbücher*, pp. 259-266.

opposed him.¹ The same could not be said of Ambrose, who did not hesitate to counter him immediately he arrived at Milan.² The conflict was to last for two years, with two particularly prominent episodes: the affair of Callinicon, and that of Thessalonica, in both of which the bishop, assuming the office of the prophets of the Old Law,³ stood up and denounced the faults of the sovereign in the name of God.

The Affair of Callinicon (388)

At Callinicon, on the Euphrates, a Christian riot had in August 388 set fire to a Jewish synagogue and to a chapel belonging to the Valentinian Gnostics. These heretics had apparently been guilty of aggression and had thereby provoked a reaction on the part of some turbulent monks; but in the case of the Jews, it was the bishop who instigated the burning of the synagogue. Theodosius ordered the guilty persons to be sought out, and the articles taken away to be recovered; he also imposed upon the Bishop of Callinicon the reconstruction of the synagogue at his own expense. Ambrose immediately sent a protest from Aquileia, where he then was, in a letter to the Emperor.⁴ He maintained that no such measures ought to be taken; the synagogue should not be rebuilt, even at the expense of the State: to do so would be an act of impiety, or even a public apostasy. But the Emperor was deaf to these objurgations: he merely modified his original order to the extent of excluding the responsibility of the Bishop of Callinicon.

Ambrose obstinately continued his intolerant attitude, and decided to make the matter public.⁵ In a homily pronounced before all the people at Milan, he made transparent

¹ Theophilus of Alexandria alone must have been under suspicion, because of the duplicity which he manifested in 388, when he prepared letters of congratulation to Maximus in case he should turn out to be victorious (cf. *supra*, p. 615, n. 7).

² Cf. the anecdote reported by Sozomen, *Hist. eccles.*, VII, xxv: the prince was excluded from the choir, which he wished to enter according to the usage of Constantinople, but he was placed instead with the faithful in the front row (J. R. Palanque, *op. cit.*, p. 203).

³ *Ibid.*, p. 382 and *passim*.

⁴ This was *Epist.* xl (cf. *ibid.*, pp. 207-213).

⁵ Narrated at length in *Epist. xli* to Marcellinus (*ibid.*, pp. 214-217).

allusions to the dispute, and then asked Theodosius, who was present, to show his gratitude towards God who had protected him, by honouring those who represent Him here below. A dramatic dialogue then took place in the church itself. "True," said the Emperor, "in commanding that the bishop should rebuild the synagogue, I have been too severe, but that order has been modified. As for the monks, they are guilty of many excesses." In this he was supported by his master of militia Timasius. Ambrose, after rebuking that officer, who was always ready to flatter his master, remained standing at the foot of the *exedra*, awaiting a favourable word from the Emperor. "Act so that I can offer the Holy Sacrifice for you in all security." Theodosius acquiesced with a vague gesture, which was not very definite, and then promised to correct the rescript. The bishop was not yet satisfied: "All measures taken must be cancelled, so that the Court may not make this an occasion for hampering the Christians in any way whatever." This time the prince promised. Ambrose kept to the point, repeating twice over: "I am going to celebrate now, trusting in your words." "Celebrate, then, you have my promise," said the Emperor at last.¹

The bishop thus triumphed through his obstinacy, and imposed his intransigent will upon an intimidated prince, who did not dare to risk immediately after his arrival a sharp conflict with so popular a pastor. The State was publicly humiliated before the Church, which won complete immunity in circumstances in which public order had nevertheless been seriously upset. It is easy to understand that Theodosius was deeply offended and hurt by such proceedings: he passed laws not very favourable to the clergy and monks, he ordered the strictest secrecy to be observed concerning the deliberations of the imperial consistory, encroachments by churchmen were decidedly

¹ On the meaning of the word "exedra" and of the expressions "Ago . . . Age . . . fide tua," cf. the study by F. Doelger, *Kaiser Theodosius der Grosse und Bischof Ambrosius von Mailand in einer Auseinandersetzung zwischen Predigt und Messliturgie in Antike und Christentum* . . . Vol. I, i, 1929, pp. 54-65.

frowned upon by the Court, and Ambrose found himself excluded from it by his imperious demands.¹ This coolness lasted until the summer of 390,² the date of the affair of Thessalonica.

The Affair of Thessalonica (390)

In order to punish a revolt by this city, Theodosius had ordered a general massacre of the population. In spite of the hostility with which he knew himself to be regarded, Ambrose endeavoured to secure the abrogation of this cruel order. But the Emperor, who had often modified other severe orders given in haste, this time upheld his instructions, so as not to seem to be giving way to priestly influence. When at last he gave contrary orders on the 18th of August, it was after he had left Milan, in an edict in general terms signed at Verona.³ But this second order arrived too late: the military had brutally put to the sword several thousand innocent persons in the circus of Thessalonica.⁴ Ambrose considered it necessary to condemn this crime, and to punish the "murderous" prince. He did not oppose him to his face, as he had done in 388, but he left the city before Theodosius's return (beginning of September 390), and sent him from a distance a confidential letter⁵ exhorting him to do penance for his sin as King David had done: if the prince would not spontaneously accept the necessary public penance, he would be deprived of the sacraments, and access to the church would be forbidden him. This excommunication, pronounced in secret, was none the less effective, for the Emperor, ever hostile to the intractable bishop, and advised by courtiers who disliked Ambrose, refused at first to comply with the bishop's requirements. After some weeks of resistance, during which negotiations may have been attempted by emissaries of the Court,⁶ but

¹ On the relations between Theodosius and Ambrose in 389, cf. J. R. Palanque, *op. cit.*, pp. 217-227 and 375-376.

² On this date, cf. *ibid.*, pp. 536-539.

³ *Cod. Theod.*, IX, xl, 13. On the date and interpretation of this law, cf. J. R. Palanque, *op. cit.*, p. 230.

⁴ Sozomen, *Hist. eccles.*, VII, xxv; Theodoret, *Hist. eccles.*, V, xvii.

⁵ This is *Epist. li* (cf. J. R. Palanque, *op. cit.*, pp. 231-238).

⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 242-244.

in any case were unsuccessful, Theodosius in the end accepted the ecclesiastical sanctions. The confidential letter he had received was sufficiently discreet, and also sufficiently generous, to give rise in him after reflection to sentiments of repentance; the motives of piety and the fear of God once more came to the front, and in the end, remorse broke down his pride. He agreed to remain excluded from the Church for a time; then, when he was readmitted, it was without imperial insignia and like a public sinner. Having "asked for pardon with groanings and tears,"¹ he was solemnly absolved for the feast of Christmas, when he was able once more to take his place among the faithful.²

Submission of Theodosius to the Church

This penance of Theodosius is a very important event in the history of the Church and that of the Empire. It presents us with the first instance of a sovereign acknowledging his subordination to higher laws than his own, and of a bishop successfully claiming the power to judge and to absolve emperors. The monarchical autocracy has henceforth a curb in the moral authority of the pontiffs. The Church, in the person of Ambrose, does not merely condemn heretical or schismatical princes: the private conduct of the sovereign and his official acts, in so far as they offend against the moral law, come within the sphere of ecclesiastical censures.³

This first victorious intervention by the spiritual power *ratione peccati* is also the last conflict in the fourth century between the Church and the State. The success of Ambrose, who doubtless understood very well the psychology of his master, was complete. Theodosius, so concerned hitherto about the indiscreet interventions of the bishop, so jealous of his own authority, and so anxious to maintain the prerogatives of the State, went to extremes of humble submission. This crisis in his conscience was a decisive turning

¹ St. Ambrose, *De obitu Theodosii*, xxxiv.

² The well-known account of Theodoret (*Hist. eccles.*, V, xviii) according to which Ambrose stopped the Emperor on the threshold of his church, is quite legendary. Cf. J. R. Palanque, *op. cit.*, pp. 238-241, 245-246, 421-423, 428-430.

³ J. R. Palanque, *op. cit.*, pp. 249, 378 *et seq.*

point, and henceforth he remained amenable to the suggestions of the man of God. During the last four years of his reign, at Milan or at Constantinople, Theodosius was, even more than Gratian had been, a "most Christian emperor" who favoured the Church. When he died on the 17th of January 395, leaving two young successors, he appointed General Stilicon as regent, but entrusted the moral training of his children to the Bishop of Milan, who pronounced a moving funeral oration on the deceased Emperor.¹ Never, perhaps, did the union between Church and State appear to be so close as it did just before and after the death of the great Theodosius.

§ 2. THE PROSCRIPTION OF PAGANISM

The Pagan Question at the End of the Fourth Century

At the time when the Church became the ally of the State, towards the end of the reigns of Gratian and Theodosius, it had succeeded in eliminating the serious rivalry of paganism. That does not mean that the polytheistic superstitions and the different beliefs of philosophers and mystics were completely extirpated. When we speak of "the end of paganism" at this time,² we do not mean its complete disappearance, but its legal death, and more precisely, we refer to the two successive changes brought about by the two "most Christian emperors," the breaking of the bonds which linked paganism and the Roman State, and the official prohibition of pagan worship.

For almost twenty years after the death of Julian, the legal position of paganism had undergone scarcely any modification. Nocturnal sacrifices and the practice of divination alone were prohibited, as they had been in the time of Constantine.³ By reason of this long toleration, paganism, which had been greatly weakened by the policy of Constantine and his sons, seems actually to have made some

¹ The *De obitu Theodosii*, pronounced on the 25th of Feb. 395 (cf. *ibid.*, pp. 294-302).

² This is the title of the work of G. Boissier. P. Allard also uses the expression (*Le christianisme et l'Empire romain de Néron à Théodose*, p. 274).

³ Cf. Vol. I, pp. 220-240.

progress: in any case its decline was arrested, as is shown by several indications.¹ Such a situation was bound to cause anxiety to Gratian and Theodosius, when they were abandoning the attitude of non-intervention in religious matters which had been that of their predecessors.

The Measures of Gratian in 382

Theodosius, for his part, was at first content merely to issue edicts against the apostates, whom he deprived of their civil rights.² Doubtless he hoped by this means to put a stop to conversions of Christians to paganism. Gratian, then under the influence of Ambrose, abstained from taking any action against persons,³ but we find him in 382 taking decisive measures in the matter of principles.⁴ The title "pontifex maximus" was excluded from the imperial description; the altar of Victory was removed from the Chamber of the Roman Senate;⁵ the colleges of priests and vestal virgins in Rome were deprived of the subsidies and immunities which they had hitherto enjoyed, and their possessions were confiscated.

There was, as we see, no persecution, and no interference with the liberty of belief and of worship, but there was a veritable separation of paganism from the State. The

¹ At least in Rome (cf. Geffcken, *Der Ausgang des griechisch-römischen Heidentums*, pp. 143 et seq.) and in Africa (cf. Monceaux, *Histoire littéraire de l'Afrique chrétienne*, Vol. III, pp. 51-57).

² The laws of the 2nd of May 381 and the 20th of May 383 (*Cod. Theod.*, XVI, vii, 1 and 2) deprive them of the right to bequeath and to inherit. The other texts of this time do not add anything to the previous legislation. The law of the 20th of Dec. 381 (*ibid.*, XVI, x, 7) merely renews the former prohibitions of bloody sacrifices or divination, and that of the 30th of Nov. 382 (*ibid.*, XVI, x, 8) orders the closing of the temple of Edessa, probably because the former prohibitions had not been observed.

³ He passed, however, a law against apostates on the 21st of May 383 (*ibid.*, XVI, vii, 3; *Cod. Just.*, I, vii, 2). But Ambrose obtained from him the pardon of a pagan condemned to death for *lèse-majesté*: cf. J. R. Palanque, *Saint Ambroise et l'Empire romain*, pp. 113-115.

⁴ On the date and bearing of these measures, cf. J. R. Palanque, *op. cit.*, pp. 117-119, and p. 198, and *L'Empereur Gratien et le grand pontificat païen, in Byzantion*, Vol. VIII, 1933, pp. 41-47.

⁵ Constantius had already had it removed when he went to Rome in 357, but Julian had restored it at his visit, and his successors had left it alone.

meetings of the Senate and the imperial dignity itself were removed from any official contact with the old traditional religion. The Christian senators, entering into the Senate House, would no longer be scandalised by the actions of their pagan colleagues burning grains of incense before the *Dea Victoria*. The Emperor abandoned the high priesthood which from the origin of the imperial régime had been so closely associated with the office of every Augustus. From the time of Constantine the Christian princes had continued to hold a pagan office, and it was this illogical dualism which Gratian brought to an end by a sort of laicisation of the imperial purple. Lastly, the worship given to the Roman deities in the Eternal City were profoundly affected by the juridical and fiscal measures which despoiled them of their material advantages, without which they would find it difficult to exist. It is possible that the law of Gratian, the text of which is not extant, had a more general bearing, and applied also to the provinces, as is suggested by one interpretation of a constitution of 415 concerning Africa, which refers to the decrees of Gratian.¹ The pagan priesthoods still had the right to acquire and to receive gifts and legacies;² nevertheless the blow dealt at them was a very serious one, and, above all, it made clear the will of the government to break the official bonds which had united it to one of the two State religions.

The Opposition of the Roman Senate

The feeling aroused by these measures was chiefly centred in the Roman Senate, in which the pagan party, though not in a numerical majority, still had great influence.³ On several occasions the venerable assembly tried to get the laws of Gratian abrogated, or at least some of these. The dignity of the *pontifex maximus* concerned only the sovereignty of the prince: no one dared to condemn its abandonment, and the high priesthood remained finally suppressed from

¹ *Cod. Theod.*, XVI, x, 20.

² Cf. St. Ambrose, *Epist.*, xviii, 16.

³ On the composition of the Senate, the texts seem to be contradictory, and the historians decidedly disagree. Between those who admit a Christian majority, and those who reject it, we must choose an intermediate solution. Cf. J. R. Palanque, *Saint Ambroise et l'Empire romain*, p. 132, n. 43.

382.¹ But in the case of the statue of Victory, and in a lesser degree in that of the privileges of the Roman priesthoods, the Senate considered it was entitled to intervene in the name of the glorious traditions of the city. One attempt, made immediately after the promulgation of the new laws, met with no success, as Ambrose, warned by Pope Damasus, had been able to arrange that the senatorial delegation should be refused an audience.

The tragic death of Gratian seemed to the pagans to be the effect of the vengeance of the gods. Their party thereupon regained some of its influence. In 384 they occupied in the domains of Valentinian II the highest offices in the State: the military commands with Bauton and Rumoridus, the praetorian prefecture with Praetextatus, the urban prefecture with Symmachus. The last mentioned, who was *princeps senatus*, was accordingly able to bring forward in the imperial consistory the protestation of his colleagues; but Ambrose defended against his arguments the new principles which he had vindicated before Gratian, and the two letters he addressed on this matter to the young Emperor² convinced the latter, and the senatorial request was rejected (summer of 384).³ In 389 or 390 again, in the reign of Theodosius, who was at that time not on friendly terms with the Bishop of Milan, and also in 391 or 392 in the reign of Valentinian II, the Senate renewed its efforts, but with no more success than before.⁴

The Measures of Theodosius

In the East, a similar war was waged by the public powers against pagan worship; but Theodosius preferred to proceed by administrative or regulating methods rather than by

¹ Cf. *art. cit. supra*, p. 703, n. 4, and J. Zeiller, *Critique d'une inscription fausse attribuant à l'empereur Justin le titre de Pontifex Maximus*, in *Bulletin de la Société nationale des Antiquaires de France*, 1928, pp. 174-177.

² *Epist. xvii* and *xviii* in reply to *Relatio III* of Symmachus. On this whole episode, cf. J. R. Palanque, *Saint Ambroise et l'Empire romain*, pp. 130-136.

³ On this date, cf. *ibid.*, p. 510.

⁴ On these two episodes, known only through allusions in the letter from Ambrose to Eugenius (*Epist.*, lvii, 4), cf. *ibid.*, pp. 184, 222 and 536.

legislation.¹ The prefect Cynegius, in a great tour which he undertook from 385 to 388 in Syria and Egypt, had a large number of the temples closed.² It is quite certain that he acted in this only with the assent of the Emperor: the rhetorician Libanios none the less did not hesitate to address to him about 390 a vehement protest.³ At that date, it is true, Theodosius had quarrelled with Ambrose, and was extending his favour to prominent pagans. At Rome he listened to the panegyric of the rhetorician Pacatus; Tatian was prefect of the East, Nicomachus Flavian prefect of Italy, and their influence brought to an end for a time the pillage and destruction of their places of worship.⁴ Libanios did not hesitate to recall that the Emperor "did not order the closing of the temples, or forbid people to enter them, or proscribe the burning, the incense, and the other rites which are carried out on the altars and in the temples." But in spite of all, he did not seem very happy as to the dispositions of Theodosius: after throwing the blame for these misfortunes on the monks, "men clothed in black, more greedy than elephants," and denouncing the excesses to which they gave themselves up, he added: "If you approve of that, if you authorise it, we will resign ourselves to it, not without pain, but as subjects who intend to show themselves to be docile."⁵

This clever profession of loyalty did not suffice to preserve the temples from ruin, and Libanios had reason to fear the

¹ All that can be cited is a law of the 25th of May 385 (*Cod. Theod.*, XVI, x, 9) renewing the prohibition of bloody sacrifices or divination. Again, magic, sorcery and astrology were expressly excluded from the Paschal amnesties of 384, 385 and 386 (*ibid.*, IX, xxxviii, 7 and 8; *Const. Sirm.*, 8).

² Rufinus, *Hist. eccles.*, XI, xxiii; Theodoret, *Hist. eccles.*, V, xxi. Cf. Rauschen, *Jahrbücher*, pp. 228, 270.

³ This was his discourse *Περὶ τῶν ἱερῶν* (*Pro templis*). It has often been dated 384 (Tillemont, *Hist. des empereurs*, Vol. V, pp. 232 and 734; F. Martroye, *La répression de la magie*, in *Revue historique de droit*, 1930, pp. 692, n. 2) or in 387 (Boissier, *La fin du paganisme*, Vol. II, p. 295). It is certainly preferable to put it after the mission of Cynegius, and in the time when the pagan party was in favour (cf. Seeck, *Geschichte des Untergangs*, Vol. V, p. 534). On the *Pro templis*, cf. Christ-Staehelin, *Geschichte der griechischen Literatur*, Vol. II, 2, pp. 990 *et seq.*; R. van Loy, *Le Pro Templis de Libanios*, in *Byzantion*, Vol. VIII, 1933, pp. 7-39.

⁴ Seeck, *op. cit.*, Vol. V, pp. 225-227.

⁵ *Pro. templis*, liv.

worst. Once he had submitted to the Church after his penance, Theodosius had recourse to the most rigorous measures. The law signed at Milan on the 24th of February 391 forbade all pagan ceremonies in the city of Rome, sacrifices, visits to temples, and worship of idols, and threatened heavy fines against those officials who should tolerate these things.¹ Learning at this time of the disorders caused at Alexandria by the provocations on the part of the bishop, the Emperor issued a similar prohibition of pagan worship in Egypt, in the edict of Aquileia of the 16th of June,² and the Christian populace of Alexandria hastened to destroy the famous temple of the Serapeum.³ An edict issued at Concordia on the 11th of May 391 deprived apostates of all civil and political rights.⁴ Finally, the edict of Constantinople on the 8th of November 392 soon afterwards completed this legislation: henceforth, throughout the whole of the Empire, it was forbidden for anyone, in any place whatsoever, even in private, to offer sacrifices, to honour the *lares* by fire, *genii* by libations, *penates* by incense, or to adore idols, to construct altars of grass; fines and confiscation were to punish those who contravened these orders.⁵ At the moment when Church and State were being so closely tied together, this was a complete proscription of paganism, which could henceforth be practised only in defiance of the laws and under the threat of severe sanctions.

The Pagan Reaction in Italy (393-394)

The very grave character of this legislation led to a dangerous reaction. The West was then in the hands of a usurper, Eugenius, proclaimed in Gaul by the pagan general Arbogastus in August 392, after the death of Valentinian II.⁶

¹ *Cod. Theod.*, XVI, x, 10.

² *Cod. Theod.*, XVI, x, 11.

³ Sources given by Rauschen, *Jahrbücher*, pp. 301-303. He dates the event in 389 (*ibid.*, pp. 534-536), but wrongly, as Seeck has shown (*op. cit.*, Vol. V, p. 534); it was later than the law of the 16th of June 391.

⁴ *Cod. Theod.*, XVI, vii, 4 and 5; XI, xxxix, 11. Seeck, in his *Regesten*, suggest that those texts should be transferred to the 9th of June.

⁵ *Cod. Theod.*, XVI, x, 12.

⁶ On the series of events from the death of Valentinian II (15th of May 392) down to the war of Theodosius against Eugenius, and on the attitude of Ambrose to the usurper, cf. J. R. Palanque, *op. cit.*, pp. 264-286 and 544 *et seq.*

Eugenius, who was a Christian, decided after long hesitation to profit by the discontent of the pagans in Rome, and when he took possession of Italy he proceeded to meet their complaints (spring of 393). The temples received in a disguised form their confiscated goods; the statue of Victory was taken back to the Senate; the prefect of Italy, Nicomachus Flavian, presided over a solemn restoration of all the proscribed cults, and the vexatious treatment of Christians and the favours granted to their opponents seem to have led to many apostasies in Rome and throughout Italy. The Church found itself powerless in face of this outbreak of revived superstitions. Ambrose excommunicated Eugenius¹ and left his episcopal city in order to avoid any contact with him. After a stay of some months at Bologna and Florence (autumn of 393 till the summer of 394), he returned to Milan, expecting severe persecution on the part of those in power, should they be victorious over Theodosius. But the latter, after a lengthy preparation, arrived at the gates of Italy together with his army, and won the victory after a long battle in Venetia (6th of September 394). In the course of the fight, all those responsible for the pagan reaction perished. Theodosius, at the entreaties of Ambrose, pardoned those who had sided with the "tyrants," but abrogated all the acts of the latter, and applied everywhere the severe prescriptions laid down in 392.

The last Laws against Paganism

The victory of Theodosius thus marked the final defeat of paganism. After his death, which followed very soon after his triumph, more laws were passed against the pagan superstition.² In the East, Arcadius renewed in 395 the

¹ Even so, he made it clear that he was loyal to his authority, which he regarded as legitimate, in contrast to that of Maximus, who ten years earlier had been guilty of robbery and murder in regard to Gratian (cf. *Epist. lvi* of Ambrose, in which we see at once a recognition of the established power, combined with absolute opposition to its pagan policy).

² According to Martroye (*art. cit.*), it was only then that legislation really referred to paganism, for the previous edicts were directed only against magic. But this ingenious interpretation has rightly been regarded as paradoxical by most writers. Cf. Vol. I, p. 226.

prohibitions of his father,¹ and in 396 abolished all exemptions enjoyed by the priesthoods,² and in 399 ordered the demolition of rural temples.³ In the West, Honorius in 407 and again in 415 confiscated all the revenues of the temples, and suppressed all ceremonies savouring of paganism.⁴ Under Theodosius II again, imperial constitutions ordered the destruction "of all the sanctuaries, temples and edifices of idolatry, if any still remain intact,"⁵ and dealt with pagans "who may still be in existence, although there ought no longer to be any."⁶ But the terms used show that this was merely a liquidation of a régime which had passed. The decisive date in this matter was under the first Theodosius, who, completing the work of Gratian, broke off all connections with paganism and, while not persecuting its followers, made it a religion deprived of its secular privileges and finally even of all its rights. Freedom of worship no longer existed for it. The only religion was henceforth Christianity.⁷

¹ *Cod. Theod.*, XVI, x, 13 (7th of Aug. 395).

² *Ibid.*, XVI, x, 14 (7th of Dec. 396).

³ *Ibid.*, XVI, x, 16 (10th of July 399).

⁴ *Ibid.*, XVI, x, 19 (15th of Nov. 407, according to Seeck, *Regesten*, p. 312); XVI, x, 20 (30th of Aug. 415). In the time of Stilicon (cf. the laws of the 20th-29th of Aug. 399, *Cod. Theod.*, XVI, x, 15 and 17), and of Jovius, a certain favour was for a time shown to the pagans. Cf. a later volume of the present work.

⁵ *Cod. Theod.*, XVI, x, 25 (14th of Nov. 435).

⁶ *Ibid.*, XVI, x, 22 (9th of April 423). On this legislation in the fifth century, see a later volume.

⁷ We must nevertheless add that the Jews were expressly granted toleration. Though polygamy was forbidden them (*Cod. Just.*, I, ix, 7; 30th of Dec. 393) as well as marriages with Christians or inversely (*Cod. Theod.*, XVI, viii, 6; 13th of Aug. 399; *ibid.*, III, vii, 2; IX, vii, 5, 14th of March 388), they continued to be exempted from *munera* (*ibid.*, XIII, v, 18, 18th of Feb. 390), and their priests were dispensed from curial duties in the same way as Christian priests (*infra*, p. 711, n. 2). Lastly, liberty of worship was formally permitted them, and those who destroyed synagogues were punished by the law (*ibid.*, VII, viii, 2; *Cod. Just.*, I, ix, 4, 6th of May 368; *Cod. Theod.*, XVI, viii, 8 and 9, 17th of April 392 and 29th of Sept. 393). These protecting laws will be renewed in the fifth century. It is remarkable to find the government of the Christian emperors opposing very definitely the popular anti-semitism which often showed itself in the East and also in Rome (cf. F. Barth, *Ambrosius und die Synagoge zu Callinicum*, in *Theologische Zeitschrift aus der Schweiz*, Vol. VI, 1889, pp. 65-86). On the Jews in the Empire, cf. Haller, *La question juive pendant le premier millénaire chrétien*, in *Revue d'histoire et de philosophie religieuses*, Vol. XV, 1935, pp. 293-334.

§ 3. THE PRIVILEGES OF THE CHURCH

The Church above Common Law

After 394, the Christian Church thus enjoyed alone the material and moral advantages which Constantine had conferred upon the Catholic clergy in order to put it on an equal footing with the pagan priesthoods. These favours were now all the more valuable in that they were no longer shared with others, but formed in this way veritable privileges.

The State did not, indeed, surrender all its prerogatives. The monks of the East continued to be suspect to the Government because of their turbulence and their independence.¹ Moreover, the clergy were constantly suspected of seeking bequests.² But in spite of this mistrust, some new favours were accorded to the Church. Far from being deprived of common law, as Ambrose complained in 384,³ we might say that ten years later it was itself raised above common law through a large number of judicial or fiscal privileges.

Fiscal Exemptions

From the time of Constantine, the clergy had been exempted from the taxes (*munera personalia*) imposed upon all the citizens.⁴ Gratian had confirmed this exemption,⁵ and had even extended it to subordinate agents of the clergy: the *custodes* of the churches and oratories.⁶ He also dispensed from the impost of *chrysargyros* the clergy who indulged in commerce, so long as the sum in question did not exceed ten golden *solidi* in the Italian prefecture, or twenty in that of the Gauls.⁷

The State displayed greater hesitation in the matter of exempting clergy from the duties which were connected

¹ Cf. *supra*, p. 495.

² Cf. laws of Valentinian I (*Cod. Theod.*, XVI, ii, 30th of July 370) and of Theodosius (*ibid.*, XVI, ii, 27 and 28, 21st of June and 23rd of Aug. 390).

³ "Soli ex omnibus clerico commune jus clauditur" (*Epist.*, xviii, 14).

⁴ Cf. Vol. I, p. 7. ⁵ *Cod. Theod.*, XVI, ii, 24 (5th of March 377).

⁶ *Ibid.*, XVI, ii, 26 (31st of March 381).

⁷ *Ibid.*, XIII, i, 11 (5th of July 379).

with the *curiae*, or inversely, that of allowing curial officials to enter the ranks of the clergy. The whole social structure of the Later Empire, indeed, rested on the organisation of closed classes, from which one could not depart without injuring fiscal interests. In regard to the curial officials in particular, who had previously constituted the aristocracy of the town officials and were at that time reduced to a lamentable situation: "they were in turn victims and agents of the fiscal inquisition, obligatory and hereditary collectors of taxation and responsible for its complete payment at the cost of their own possessions,"¹ and a detailed and constantly renewed legislation formally forbade any evasion. The sole exception granted was in favour of the Catholic clergy.² Constantius allowed the curial officials to abandon their state with all its duties in order to receive the episcopate;³ in the case of the other sacred orders they had the right to accept these only on condition that they gave up their possessions to the curia⁴ or to a member of their family who would assume all their obligations.⁵ If the latter should disappear, the cleric would have to return to his place in the curia. There were complaints about this legislation, which led to aged priests being removed from their ministry.⁶ Nevertheless, it was not modified very much: the law of the 17th of June 390⁷ merely freed from all obligation the curial officials who had entered into the ranks of the clergy prior to 388, but at the same time it imposed on those who were ordained after that date the surrender of all their possessions to the curia. This at least prevented their being compelled some day to resume their former state.⁸

¹ A. de Broglie, *L'Eglise et l'Empire romain au IV^e siècle*, 3rd Part, Vol. II, pp. 462-463.

² Also the Jewish priesthood (cf. *Cod. Theod.*, XVI, viii, 3 and 4; XII, i, 99, etc.).

³ *Ibid.*, XII, i, 49 (29th of Aug. 361).

⁴ In the East, until the time of Theodosius (*ibid.*, XII, i, 104, 7th of Nov. 383).

⁵ In the West, from Constantius to Gratian (*ibid.*, XII, i, 49, 50, 59, 99); in the East after 386 (*ibid.*, XII, i, 115).

⁶ Cf. the protest of St. Ambrose in 384 (*Epist.*, xviii, 13) and in 388 (*Epist.*, xl, 29).

⁷ *Cod. Theod.*, XII, i, 121.

⁸ Another law, of the 31st of July 392 (*ibid.*, XII, i, 128), explains that the sons of clerks who do not form part of the clergy are not to be exempted.

Judicial Privileges

Where considerations of the revenue did not enter in, the State adopted a more liberal attitude. The civil jurisdiction which Constantine had attributed to bishops¹ continued; it was purely optional, but several Christians must have preferred it to that of the secular tribunals, both by reason of its gratuitous character and also because of its fairness. We find, indeed, the most popular and respected bishops complaining that they were besieged by litigants, and thus hindered in their pastoral ministry. Hence a law of 398 had to try to stem this torrent and repeat that a bishop should be approached only if the two parties should expressly agree on the point.² But in the case of disputes between clerics, the African councils of 397 and 398 made obligatory the recourse to episcopal jurisdiction.³

The Right of Sanctuary

In criminal matters the bishops were not competent to judge the laity; but indirectly they could affect sentences passed by the regular tribunals through the exercise of the right of sanctuary.⁴ Although there was no law explicitly approving the existence of this usage, the churches had become places of refuge,⁵ as the pagan temples had been previously. This practice must have led to many abuses, for the bishops, ministers of mercy, must have felt themselves bound freely to receive fugitives of any kind. Hence the

¹ Cf. Vol. I, p. 62.

² *Cod. Theod.*, XVI, ii, 33; *Cod. Just.*, I, iv, 7 (27th of July 398).

³ Council of Carthage in 397, canons 9 and 11; Council of 398, canons 59 and 87. Cf. a later volume.

⁴ Also by the exercise of the right of *intercessio* by which the bishops could intercede with the judges to obtain pardon for those condemned. Cf. the declarations of St. Augustine (*Epist.* clii-cliii), those of St. Ambrose (*De officiis*, II, xxi, 102; *Expos. ps. CXVIII*, viii, 41; *Epist.*, xxv, 3) and his interventions with the emperors in favour of a certain pagan in 382 (Sozomen, *Hist. eccles.*, VII, xxv), also on behalf of rebels of Thessalonica (*Epist.* li, 6), some followers of the usurper Maximus (*Epist.*, xl, 25) and of Eugenius (*Epist.*, xli and lxii), etc.

⁵ Cf. the examples given by Ammianus Marcellinus, XV, xxxi (at Cologne in 355); XXVI, iii (at Rouen in 364); Gregory of Nazianzum, *Or.*, xliii, 56 (at Caesarea in Cappadocia in 372), etc.; also canon 8 of Sardica.

pious Theodosius himself restricted this right in 392: those who were debtors to the revenue or criminals could not henceforth take advantage of the immunity of holy places.¹ Here for the first time we find the right of sanctuary recognised, even though it be only to limit it.²

The Privilege of the Forum

As to the privilege of the forum properly so called, i.e. the exemption of members of the clergy from ordinary justice, Gratian and Theodosius expressly extended this to penal cases. So far as simple clerics were concerned, a law of 376 admitted episcopal jurisdiction in the case of light offences, provided that ecclesiastical interests were concerned.³ But the first law which declared clerics to be subject to the ecclesiastical forum was a constitution of the 4th of February 384 in which the prefect of Egypt was blamed for having put clerics to the torture, for these "have their own judges, and have nothing to do with the public laws."⁴ Judicial steps could be ordered only when the guilt had been recognised by an ecclesiastical judge: such was the new principle, which would be confirmed, made more precise, and sometimes limited by the successors of Theodosius.⁵

As for the bishops, Constantius had already forbidden that these should be taken before the imperial tribunals.⁶ Valentinian I next made it clear that they should be judged only by their peers, whether for questions of an ecclesiastical

¹ *Cod. Theod.*, IX, xl, 15 (13th of March 392); XI, xxxvi, 31 (9th of April); IX, xlv, 1 (18th of Oct.).

² This right will give rise later on to much questioning: e.g. in 395 at Constantinople (the family of the prefect Rufinus, Zosimus, V, viii), in 396 at Milan (cf. *Vita Ambrosii*, xxxiv), etc. Hence the need for legislation restricting the right. Cf. F. Martroye, *L'asile et le législation impériale du IV^e au VI^e siècle*, and a later volume of the present work.

³ *Cod. Theod.*, XVI, ii, 23 (17th of May 376). Cf. the interpretations—divergent, incidentally—given by R. Génestal, *Les origines du privilège clérical*, in *Nouvelle Revue historique de Droit*, Vol. XXXII, 1908, p. 175, and G. Lardé, *Le tribunal du clerc*, pp. 23-26.

⁴ *Const. Sirmond.*, 3.

⁵ On the *privilegium fori* in the fifth and sixth centuries, cf. R. Génestal, *art. cit.*, and a later volume.

⁶ *Cod. Theod.*, XVI, ii, 12 (23rd of Sept. 355).

nature or for offences against the common law.¹ The Emperor naturally retained the power to judge if appeal should be made to his own tribunal. This was the case with Pope Damasus I, whom Valentinian I pronounced innocent of the accusation of murder made against him in 371,² and for Priscillian, whom Maximus caused to be condemned for magic in 386 by his praetorian prefect.³ The Roman Council of 378 seems to have desired that the Emperor should be recognised as the judge-in-ordinary of the Bishop of Rome, but Gratian, respecting ecclesiastical autonomy, did not accept the suggestion.⁴

The State as the Secular Arm

The documents of this time, and in particular the synodal letter of 378, seem to confuse and put on the same plane the *privilegium fori* in penal matters, and the normal exercise of ecclesiastical justice in religious, dogmatic or disciplinary questions. Actually the competent jurisdiction was the same in the two cases: first the episcopal tribunal, then the provincial or "diocesan" council, and finally the appeal to the Roman Church. In both cases the State regarded itself as obliged to carry out the ecclesiastical sentences. On the request of the Roman Council, the rescript of Gratian in 378 organised this intervention of the "secular arm": recalcitrant churchmen were to be compelled by the civil authorities to submit themselves to judgement or, after condemnation, to vacate their places;⁵ and this took place regularly following the councils which restored orthodoxy between 378 and 383.⁶

It was by applying these principles that the State henceforth regarded as one of its functions the proscription of heresy. It did not go so far as to interfere with the bodily

¹ His law is known only through an allusion in the synodal letter of the Roman Council of 378 and another in a letter from St. Ambrose to Valentinian II (*Epist.*, xxi, 2). It must date in 367; cf. R. Génestal, F. Martroye, *art. cit.*

² Cf. Vol. I, p. 297.

³ Cf. *supra*, p. 643.

⁴ Synodal letter, *Et hoc gloriae*, § 11; rescript *Ordinariorum* (*Collectio avellana*, xiii). Cf. the convergent interpretations of Batiffol, *Le siège apostolique*, pp. 44 and 49, and Caspar, *Geschichte des Papsttums*, Vol. I, pp. 211-214.

⁵ Cf. Batiffol and Caspar, *loc. cit.*

⁶ Cf. Vol. I, pp. 360 *et seq.*

freedom of heretics:¹ we have already mentioned how indignantly the Catholic bishops condemned the execution of the Priscillianists by order of Maximus.² But heretics were deprived of the use of Catholic churches, and indeed of all freedom of worship and assembly.³ Theodosius and his sons multiplied laws in this regard. One whole title of the Theodosian Code⁴ is devoted to these measures. In 387, probably because of the events at Milan in the preceding year, Theodosius denied that the previous legislation had been abandoned;⁵ and in 388, as soon as he had set foot in the West, he renewed the laws concerning Arian worship,⁶ thus abrogating the law of Valentinian II of the 23rd of January 386.⁷ Later, new texts confirmed the prohibition to stay⁸ in Constantinople,⁹ and forbade heretics to meet in the villages, to proceed to episcopal consecrations, and even to ordain priests.¹⁰ This was aimed at the Arians and the Apollinarians.¹¹ As to the Eunomians (or Anomeans), these were regarded as professing a more serious and more dangerous error, and were reduced to a state of civil incapacity¹² like that which had been applied to apostates¹³ and the Manichaeans.¹⁴ This deprivation of civil rights would

¹ Only their juridical liberty was affected. Cf. n. 5, *infra*.

² Cf. *supra*, pp. 643 and 696.

³ Cf. laws from 381 to 384 (cf. Vol. I, p. 368, n. 1; p. 376, n. 4; p. 384, n. 1).

⁴ Title V of Book XVI.

⁵ *Cod. Theod.*, XVI, v, 16 (9th of Aug. 387; date given by Seeck, *Regesten*, p. 273).

⁶ *Ibid.*, XVI, v, 15 (14th of June, 388). ⁷ Cf. *supra*, p. 694, n. 2.

⁸ *Cod. Theod.*, XVI, v, 19 (26th of Nov. 389), renewing that of 21st of Jan. 384 (*ibid.*, XVI, v, 13).

⁹ *Ibid.*, XVI, v, 20 (19th of May 391).

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, XVI, v, 21 (15th of June 392) and 22 (15th of April 394).

¹¹ The last mentioned were the subject of a special law on the 10th of March 388 (*ibid.*, XVI, v, 14).

¹² Deprivation of the right to inherit and bequeath, and to hold public offices (*ibid.*, XVI, v, 17; 4th of May 389).

¹³ Cf. *supra*, p. 703, nn. 2 and 3; p. 707, n. 4.

¹⁴ The Manichaean cult had been proscribed since the time of Diocletian. Valentinian I renewed the prohibition in 382 (*Cod. Theod.*, XVI, v, 3), Theodosius added the incapacity to inherit and bequeath (*ibid.*, XVI, v, 7-9, 8th of May 381 and 31st of March 382), and then forbade them to stay in Rome (*ibid.*, XVI, v, 18, 17th of June 389).

very soon be applied to all heretics by the law of Arcadius dated the 24th of November 395.¹

The Privileged Church

The State, which thus opposed those who deserted the Church, declared itself at the same time its protector by the laws of the 23rd of March 395² and of the 23rd of January 397,³ in which Honorius solemnly pronounced that "everything which has been laid down at various times by our predecessors (Gratian and Theodosius) in regard to the holy churches will continue without violation or modification," and forbade "any part of the privileges of the churches to be taken away," or "to lessen the privileges hitherto acquired by respect for religion," or "to diminish the privileges of the venerable Church."

The Church could thus count henceforth on faithful protection by the civil power. But it must be observed that this recourse to the secular arm was not unaccompanied by some danger. The State, which convoked councils, provided transport for the bishops, ratified and carried out their decisions, and undertook to render powerless any resistance or dissidence,⁴ might be tempted to intervene in matters strictly belonging to the Church itself. St. Ambrose, more clearly and more completely than an Athanasius or a Hilary, laid down the principle of ecclesiastical autonomy: "Divine things are not subject to the imperial power. . . . The palaces concern the Emperor, the churches concern the bishop,"⁵ and, in an expressive formula which has rightly

¹ *Ibid.*, XVI, v, 29. He had already renewed the penalties against the Eunomians (*ibid.*, XVI, v, 25, 13th of March 395) and the prohibition for any sect to meet or hold ordinations (*ibid.*, XVI, v, 26, 30th of March 395).

² *Ibid.*, XVI, ii, 29.

³ *Ibid.*, XVI, ii, 30, and XI, xvi, 21-22. The privileges of the Bishop of Rome are expressly mentioned here.

⁴ Cf. the Councils of Arles (Vol. I, pp. 30 *et seq.*), Nicaea (pp. 88 *et seq.*), Tyre (pp. 124 *et seq.*), Sardica (pp. 147 *et seq.*), Arles, Milan and Béziers in 353-356 (pp. 171-173), Rimini and Seleucia (pp. 198 *et seq.*), Constantinople and Aquileia in 381 (pp. 367 *et seq.*), and Constantinople in 394 (*supra* pp. 625-626).

⁵ *Epist.*, xx, 8, 19. Cf. also *Epist.* xxi, 17; *Contra Auxentium*, iii, xxiv, xxxi, etc.

become famous, he informed the Emperor that he was not the head of the Church: "Imperator intra ecclesiam non supra ecclesiam."¹ But he himself found by experience that princes and their legal advisers would not willingly surrender an authority which they considered legitimate. The behaviour of a Constantius in the middle of this century, and that of a Justinian a hundred and fifty years later, would show very well that, in exchange for the privileges which it had granted, the State was only too ready to claim a domination which decidedly compromised the independence of the Church.

§ 4. CONCLUSION

Limiting ourselves to the study of the fourth century, the history of which we thus conclude, we must above all stress the happy effects brought about by the union between Church and State, sealed in the time of Theodosius. The imperial absolutism, the arbitrary character of which, and even its bloody and oppressive nature, was upheld by the adulation of a servile court, was limited by the intervention of the bishops. It has been said very truly that "the power and the freedom of the clergy became the bulwark of public freedom and that of the law."² Inasmuch as the Emperor was "within the Church," he was subject, like all the faithful, to the obligations imposed by the Gospel. The government of the Christian princes was certainly more liberal, more charitable than that of the pagan emperors.³ In addition, in accepting for themselves the primacy of the spiritual, they devoted themselves to the work of introducing into the laws the principles of Christian morality, which Constantine had begun to introduce into Roman Law.⁴ Not

¹ *Contra Auxentium*, xxxvi.

² H. von Campenhausen, *Ambrosius von Mailand*, p. 271.

³ Cf. the amnesties published almost every year at Easter (*Cod. Theod.*, IX, xxxviii).

⁴ Cf. Vol. I, pp. 63-64. To the legal observance of Sunday (confirmed in 386 and in 392, *Cod. Theod.*, II, viii, 18-20; VIII, viii, 1-3) was henceforth added the observance of Lent (*ibid.*, IX, xxxv, 4).

only did new laws severely punish delation,¹ defamation,² usury,³ the selling of young children,⁴ and military excesses,⁵ which the ordinary sentiments of humanity based on natural ethics would have sufficed to forbid; but, even more than in the time of Constantine, the penal code was influenced by Christian morals. The modesty of the female sex was protected by forbidding women to appear in the courts of justice.⁶ By way of exception to the rules which confined all in the social class in which they were born, actresses converted to Christianity were allowed to abandon their profession.⁷ It was even forbidden to wear in the theatre the costume of Christian virgins,⁸ and this prohibition recalls the similar one concerning the wearing of the imperial vesture. Finally, adultery,⁹ and unnatural vices¹⁰ were severely punished.

There still remained many scandalous practices. The games in the amphitheatre continued to be tolerated, at least down to the beginning of the fifth century,¹¹ the brothels remained open, and slavery was not abolished.¹² In this society, so refined in many respects, morals were only too often brutal and gross. But in these matters, profound transformation could not be the work of a day. It was enough that the seeds should be sown in this century, and these would bear fruit later. Amongst these seeds, the most fruitful was perhaps the progressive and ultimately the complete conversion of the Emperors to the faith of Christ, and in consequence, the integration of the Catholic Church,

¹ *Cod. Theod.*, IX, x, 12-13 (30th of Jan. and 21st of Sept. 380); IX, ii, 2 (30th of Dec. 380); X, x, 17 (26th of Oct. 382); IX, i, 14 (17th of May 383), etc.

² Laws concerning the *famosi libelli* (*ibid.*, IX, xxxiv).

³ *Ibid.*, II, xxxiii, 2 (25th of Oct. 386).

⁴ *Ibid.*, III, iii, 1 (11th of March 391).

⁵ *Ibid.*, VII, ix, 2 (29th of July 393).

⁶ *Ibid.*, XV, vii, 11 (28th of Sept. 393).

⁷ *Cod. Theod.*, XV, vii, 4 and 8 (27th of April 380, 8th of May 381).

⁸ *Ibid.*, XV, vii, 12; *Cod. Just.*, IX, xli, 4 (29th of June 394).

⁹ *Cod. Theod.*, IX, vii, 4 and 7; *Cod. Just.*, IX, ix, 32; IX, xvi, 9 (11th of Dec. 386, 7th of Dec. 392).

¹⁰ *Cod. Theod.*, IX, vii, 6 (shortly before the 4th of May 390).

¹¹ Cf. a later volume.

¹² On the survival and final disappearance of slavery, see a later volume.

freed from heresies, into the State, which officially became its patron, and which, for the time being at least, put its powers humbly at its service. The fourth century, which began with the change of attitude of Constantine, ended with the penance of Theodosius, and these two events, so fraught with consequences, make it a really great one.

APPENDIX

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE OF POPES AND EMPERORS

		<i>Emperors</i>		<i>Popes</i>	
	West		East		
306-337	Constantine I	306-313	Maximin Daia	310-314	Miltiades
		308-324	Licinius	314-335	Silvester I
		324-337	Constantine I	336	Mark
337-340	Constantine II	337-361	Constantius	337-352	Julius I
340-350	Constans				
350-353	<i>Magnentius</i>				
351-361	Constantius				
		361-363	Julian	352-366	Liberius
		363-364	Jovian	356-365	<i>Felix</i>
364-375	Valentinian I	364-378	Valens	366-384	Damasus
375-383	Gratian	378-379	Gratian	366-367	<i>Ursinus</i>
383-387	Valentinian II	379-395	Theodosius I	384-399	Siricius
383-388	<i>Maximus</i>				
388-395	Theodosius I				
392-394	<i>Eugenius</i>				
395-423	Honorius	395-408	Arcadius	399-402	Anastasius

The names in italics are those of usurpers and anti-popes. Maximus was recognised as legitimate Emperor of the Gauls from 384 to 387.

BIBLIOGRAPHY TO CHAPTERS

(For General Bibliography, see Vol. I, p. 385)

Chapter I

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Chapter III

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siècle, Geneva, 1924; Hermann Wolfgang Beyer, *Die Eigenart der christlichen Kunst im Rahmen der Spätantike*, in *Festgabe für Victor Schultze*, Stettin, pp. 67-81; L. Bréhier, *L'art chrétien, son développement iconographique, des origines à nos jours*, Paris, 1st edn., 1918; 2nd edn. 1929, and *Les origines de la Basilique chrétienne*, Paris, 1927; Howard C. Butler, *Early Churches in Syria from Fourth to Seventh Centuries*, edited and completed by E. Baldwin Smith, Part I, Princeton, 1929; C. Clerc, *Les théories relatives au culte des images chez les auteurs grecs*, Paris, 1915; Ch. Diehl, *L'art chrétien primitif et l'art byzantin*, Paris and Brussels, 1928; E. von Dobschuetz, *Der Apostel Paulus, II. Seine Stellung in der Kunst*, Halle-a-S., 1928; R. Dussaud, *Les mouvements syriens à l'Exposition d'art byzantin*, in *Syria*, Vol. XII, pp. 305-315; W. Elliger, *Die Stellung der alten Christen zu den Bildern in den ersten vier Jahrhunderten (Studien über christliche Denkmäler, H. 20)*, Leipzig, 1934, and *Zur Entstehung und frühen Entwicklung der altchristlichen Bildkunst (Studien über christliche Denkmäler, H. 23)*, Leipzig, 1934; A. Fabre, *Manuel d'art chrétien*, Paris, 1928; J. Ficker, in *Gesamm. Studien zur Kunstgeschichte, Festgabe für A. Springer*, 1885; K. Holl, *Gesamm. Aufsätze, für Kirchengeschichte*, Bd. II: *Der Osten*, 1928; G. de Jerphanion, *La Voix des monuments, Notes et études d'Archéologie chrétienne*, Paris and Brussels, 1930; C. M. Kaufmann, *Handbuch der christlichen Archäologie*, 3rd edn., 1922; J. P. Kirsch, *Die christl. Kultusgebäude im Altertum*, Cologne, 1893, and *Der Ideengehalt der ältesten sepulchralen Darstellungen in den römischen Katakomben*, in *Römische Quartalschrift*, Vol. XXXVII, 1923, pp. 1-20; B. Kleinschmidt, *Lehrbuch der christlichen Kunstgeschichte*, Paderborn, 1910; A. Knoepfler, *Der angebliche Kunststuss der ersten Christen*, in *Festschrift G. Hertling*, Kempten and Munich, 1913, pp. 43 et seq.; F. X. Kraus, *Geschichte der christlichen Kunst*, Freiburg in Bresgau, 1895-1900, 2 vols.; A. Kruecke, *Der Nimbus und verwandte Attribute in der frühchristlichen Kunst*, Strasburg, 1905; K. Kuenstle, *Ikongraphie der christlichen Kunst*, Freiburg, 1928, 2 vols.; E. Le Blant, *Etude sur les sarcophages chrétiens de la ville d'Arles*, Paris, 1878; H. Leclercq, *Manuel d'Archéologie chrétienne*, Paris, 1907; G. Leroux, *Les origines de l'édifice hypostyle en Grèce en Orient et chez les Romains*, Paris, 1913; W. R. Lethaby, *Early Christian Art*, in *Cambridge Mediaeval History*, Vol. I, 1911, ch. xxi, pp. 598-614; H. Lietzmann, *Die Entstehung der christlichen Kunst*, in *International Wochenschrift*, 1911, pp. 481 et seq.; H. Lothar, *Realismus und Symbolismus in der altchristlichen Kunst*, Tübingen, 1931; O. Marucchi, *Éléments d'Archéologie chrétienne*: Vol. II, *Les Catacombes romaines*, Paris and Rome, 1903; Vol. III, *Basiliques et églises de Rome*, Paris and Rome, 2nd edn., 1909, and *The Evidence of the Catacombs for the Doctrines and Organisation of the Primitive Church*, London, 1929; I. H. Meille, *L'image de Jésus dans l'Histoire et dans l'Art*, Paris, 1928; K. Michel, *Gebet und Bild in frühchristlichen Zeit (Studien über christl. Denkmäler, hsg. von J. Ficker, Neue Folge, 1 Heft.)*, Leipzig, 1902; G. Millet, *Byzance et non l'Orient*, Paris, 1908; W. Neuss, *Die Kunst der alten Christen*, Augsburg, 1926; A. Pératé, *L'Archéologie chrétienne*, Paris, 1892; J. B. de Rossi, *Roma Sotterranea cristiana*, Rome, 1864-1877, 3 vols.; W. Rothes, *Heidnisches in altchristlicher Kunst und Symbolik*, in *Festgabe Albert Ehrhard*, Bonn and

Leipzig, 1922, pp. 381-406; H. Schrader, *Ikonographie des christlichen Kunst*, I Teil, *Die Auferstehung Christi*, Berlin, 1932; V. Schultze, *Grundriss der christlichen Archaeologie*, Munich, 1919, 2nd edn., 1934; J. Strzygowski, *Kleinasien, ein Neuland der Kunstgeschichte*, Leipzig, 1903, and *Ursprung der christlichen Kirchenkunst*, Leipzig, 1920; G. Stuhlfauth, *Die ältesten Porträts Christi und der Apostel*, Berlin, 1918; Id., *Die apokryphen Petrusgeschichten in der altchristlichen Kunst*, Berlin, 1925; Id., *Der christliche Kirchenbau des Abendlandes*, Berlin, 1925; P. Styger, *Die altchristliche Grabeskunst, Versuch der einheibl. Auelgung*, Munich, 1927, and *Die altchristliche Kunst. Grundlegende Erörterungen über die Methode der Datierung und Auslegung*, in *Zeitschrift für kathol. Theologie*, Vol. LIII, 1929, pp. 545-563; L. von Sybel, *Das Werden christl. Kunst*, in *Repert. f. Kunstwiss.*, Vol. XXXIX, 1926, pp. 118 *et seq.*, and *Frühchristliche Kunst. Leitfaden ihrer Entwicklung*, Munich, 1920; J. Wilpert, *Die Malereien der Katakomben Roms*, Freiburg in Bressgau, 1903; Id., *Die römischen Mosaiken und Malereien der kirchlichen Bauten von IV bis XIII Jahrhundert*, Freiburg in Bressgau, 2nd edn., 1924; Id., *Sarcophagi christiani antichi*, 5 vols., Rome, 1929-1936. See also *History of the Primitive Church*, Vol. II, pp. 438 *et seq.*, and Vol. IV, pp. 1052 *et seq.*

Chapter IV

Besides the works on ecclesiastical geography mentioned in the General Bibliography, we must mention the following: R. Sohm, *Kirchenrecht*, Vol. I, 1892; G. Rauschen, *Jahrbücher der christlichen Kirche unter Theodosius dem grossen*, Freiburg in Bressgau, 1897; K. Luebeck, *Reichseinteilung und kirchliche Hierarchie des Orients bis zum Ausgange des vierten Jahrhunderts*, Munster, 1901; A. Harnack, *Entstehung der Kirchenverfassung*, Leipzig, 1910; P. Batiffol, *Le siège apostolique*, 359-451, Paris, 1924, ch. iv and v. Some bibliographical indications are also given for each region:

§ 2. 1. S. Vailhé, art. *Constantinople*, in *Dictionnaire de théologie catholique*, Vol. III, 1908, col. 307 *et seq.*; G. Bardy, art. *Asie*, in *Dictionnaire d'histoire et de géographie ecclésiastiques*, Vol. IV, 1930, col. 941 *et seq.*; and the works already mentioned on Gregory of Nazianzum and the other Cappadocians in Vol. I, pp. 404 *et seq.*

§ 2. 2. Ch. Diehl, *L'Egypte chrétienne et byzantine*, in *Histoire de la Nation égyptienne*, Vol. III, Paris, 1933; J. Faivre, art. *Alexandrie* in *Dict. d'hist. et de géographie ecclés.*, Vol. II, 1914, col. 289 *et seq.*

§ 2. 3. Le Quien, *Oriens christianus*, 3 vols., Paris, 1740; R. E. Brunnnow and A. v. Domaszewski, *Die Provincia Arabia*, 3 vols., Strasburg, 1905-1909; C. Karalevskij, art. *Antioche*, in *Dict. d'hist. et de géographie ecclés.*, Vol. III, 1924, col. 563-703; R. Aigrain, art. *Arabie*, *ibid.*, col. 1158 *et seq.* (§ iv: *The Roman Province after the time of Diocletian*); S. Vailhé, *Formation du patriarcat de Jérusalem*, in *Echos d'Orient*, Vol. XIII, 1910, pp. 327 *et seq.*; *Formation du patriarcat d'Antioche*, *ibid.*, Vol. XV, 1912, pp. 109-125 and

193-201; *La province ecclésiastique d'Arabie*, *ibid.*, 1889, pp. 166-179; L. Duchesne, *Le pape Sirice et le siège de Bostra*, in *Annales de philosophie chrétienne*, 1885, pp. 280-284; F. Cavallera, *le schisme d'Antioche (IVe-Ve siècles)*, Paris, 1905; Chr. Baur, *Johannes Chrysostomus und seine Zeit*, Vol. I: *Antiochien*, Munich, 1929; E. W. Brooks, *A Synod of Caesarea in Palestine in 393*, in *Journal of Theological Studies*, Vol. III, 1902, pp. 433-436.

§ 3. 1. Add to works indicated in Vol. I, pp. 394, 403, the following: A. Toulotte, *Géographie de l'Afrique chrétienne*, 4 vols., Rennes and Montreuil-sur-Mer, 1894; J. Mesnage, *L'Afrique chrétienne. Evêchés et ruines antiques*, based on MSS. of Mgr. Toulotte, Paris, 1912; also *Le christianisme en Afrique*, Algiers and Paris, 1914; A. Audollent, art. *Afrique*, in *Dict. d'Hist. et de géographie ecclési.*, Vol. I, 1912, col. 705 *et seq.*; F. Cabrol and H. Leclercq, art. *Afrique*, in *Dict. d'archéol. chrét. et de liturgie*, Vol. I, 1907, col. 576 *et seq.*; Ferrère, *La situation religieuse de l'Afrique romaine depuis la fin du IVe siècle jusqu'à l'invasion des Vandales*, Paris, 1897. The most important work is still that of P. Monceaux, *Histoire littéraire de l'Afrique chrétienne*, especially Vol. III, pp. 85-89 (on ecclesiastical organisation), pp. 208-213 (on the Councils), also Vols. IV and V, *passim*.

§ 3. 2. To books indicated in Vol. I, p. 404, add: A. Eitel, *Die spanische Kirche in vorgermanischer Zeit*, in *Festgabe Finke*, Munster, 1925; A. Lambert, art. *Baetica*, in *Dict. d'hist. et de géogr. ecclési.*, Vol. VI, 1932, col. 165-180; art. *Astorga*, *ibid.*, Vol. IV, 1930, col. 1199-1225; art. *Barcelone*, *ibid.*, Vol. VI, 1932, col. 671 *et seq.*; E. Ch. Babut, *Priscillien et le priscillianisme*, Paris, 1909; *Saint Martin de Tours*, Paris, 1912; H. Delehaye, *Saint Martin et Sulpice-Sévère*, in *Analecta Bollandiana*, Vol. XXXVIII, 1920, pp. 5-136; C. Jullian, *Remarques critiques sur les sources de la vie de saint Martin*, in *Revue des études anciennes*, Vol. XXIV, 1922, pp. 37-47, 123-128, 229-235, 306-312; Vol. XXV, 1923, pp. 49-55, 139-143, 234-249; J. R. Palanque, *Les dissensions des églises des Gaules à la fin du IVe siècle et la date du concile de Turin*, in *Revue d'Histoire de l'Eglise de France*, Vol. XXI, 1935, pp. 481-501 [rectifying the date 417 given by Babut in *Le concile de Turin, Essai sur l'histoire des églises provençales au Ve siècle et sur les origines de la monarchie ecclésiastique romaine* (417-450), Paris, 1904].

§ 3. 3. F. Ughelli, *Italia sacra sive de episcopis Italiae et insularum adjacentium*, re-edited by J. Coleti, 10 vols., Venice, 1717-1722; D. Farlati, *Illyricum sacrum*, continued by J. Coleti, 8 vols., Venice, 1780-1819; C. Cipolla, *Della giurisdizione metropolitica della sede Milanese nella regione X Venetia et Histria*, in the collection *Ambrosiana*, Milan, 1897; P. F. Kehr, *Italia pontificia*, 8 vols., Berlin, 1906-1935; F. Savio, *Gli antichi vescovi d'Italia dalle origine al 1300 descritti per regioni, Il Piemonte*, Turin, 1899; *La Lombardia, I: Milano*, Florence, 1913; *La Lombardia II, parte 1 and 2*, Bergamo, 1929 and 1932; F. Lanzoni, *Le diocesi d'Italia dalle origine al principio del secolo VII*, Faenza, 1927; J. R. Palanque, *Saint Ambroise et l'Empire romain*, Paris, 1933; J. Zeiller, *Les origines chrétiennes dans la*

province romaine de Dalmatie, Paris, 1906, and *Les origines chrétiennes dans les provinces danubiennes de l'Empire romain*, Paris, 1918.

§ 4. Cf. the works mentioned, Vol. I, p. 404, and especially the following : P. Batiffol, *Le siège apostolique*, ch. iv ; E. Caspar, *Geschichte des Papsttums*, Vol. I, ch. vi and vii ; and the work of Lanzoni mentioned above (§ 3. 3).

Chapter V

On several points, consult once more A. Harnack, *Mission und Ausbreitung des Christentums in den ersten drei Jahrhunderten*, 2 vols., 4th edn., Leipzig, 1924. For the fourth century, cf. Duchesne, *Histoire ancienne de l'Eglise*, Vol. II, pp. 566-575 (Arianism among the Goths) ; Vol. III, pp. 520-580 (Christianity east of the Empire), and *Autonomies ecclésiastiques, Eglises séparées*, Paris, 2nd edn., 1905 (ch. vii : Christian missions to the south of the Empire) ; J. Zeiller, *L'Empire romain et l'Eglise (Histoire du monde*, edited by E. Cavaignac, Vol. V, 2), Paris, 1928 (ch. iv : Christianity outside the Empire). On Armenia in particular, see H. Gelzer, *Die Anfänge der armenischen Kirche*, in *Verhandlungen der kgl. sächsischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaft, phil. hist. Kl.*, Vol. XLVII, 1895, pp. 138-171 ; L. Petit, art. *Arménie*, in *Dict. de théol. cath.*, Vol. I, 1903, col. 1188 *et seq.* ; F. Tournèbize, *Histoire politique et religieuse de l'Arménie*, Paris, 1910 ; art. *Arménie* in *Dict. d'histoire et de géographie ecclés.*, Vol. IV, 1930, col. 294 *et seq.*, and art. *Aghouanie*, *ibid.*, Vol. I, 1912, col. 953-954 ; Norman H. Baynes, *Rome and Armenia in the Fourth Century*, in *English Historical Review*, Vol. XXV, 1910, pp. 625-643 ; J. B. Aufhauser, *Armeniens Missionierung bis zur Gründung der armenischen Nationalkirche* in *Zeitschrift für Missionswissenschaft*, Vol. VIII, 1918, pp. 73 *et seq.* ; J. Marquardt, *Die Entstehung der armenischen Bistümer*, in *Orientalia christiana*, Vol. XXVII, 2, 1932, pp. 1 *et seq.* On Persia, see J. Labourt, *Le christianisme dans l'empire perse sous la dynastie sassanide*, Paris, 1904 ; A. Allgeier, *Untersuchungen zur ältesten Kirchengeschichte von Persien*, in *Der Katholik*, Vol. XCVIII, 1918, pp. 224 *et seq.* ; 289 *et seq.* On the Christian communities around the Red Sea, see R. Aigrain, art. *Arabie* in *Dict. d'hist. et de géogr. ecclés.*, Vol. III, 1924, col. 1233 *et seq.* (§ viii : Christianity in Southern Arabia) ; C. Conti Rossini, art. *Axoum*, *ibid.*, Vol. V, 1931, col. 1257-1259 ; and *Storia d'Etiopia*, Vol. I, Milan, 1928 ; A. Kammerer, *Essai sur l'histoire antique d'Abyssinie, Le Royaume d'Aksum et ses voisins d'Arabie et de Méroé*, Paris, 1926 ; E. A. Wallis Budge, *History of Ethiopia*, London, 1928 ; J. B. Coulbeaux, *Histoire politique et religieuse de l'Abyssinie*, Vol. I, Paris, 1929. On the Danubian countries and the Goths, see J. Zeiller, *Les origines chrétiennes dans les provinces danubiennes de l'Empire romain*, Paris, 1918. On Gaul, see C. Jullian, *Histoire de la Gaule*, Vol. VII, Paris, 1926, pp. 264-273 ; E. de Moreau, *Saint Victrice de Rouen, apôtre de la Belgica secunda*, in *Revue belge de philologie et d'histoire*, Vol. V, 5, 1926, pp. 71-79, and the works on St. Martin mentioned above, in the Bibliography to Chapter IV, §2, 2. Cf. also the works on paganism mentioned below.

Chapter VI

On the relations between Church and State, besides those works already mentioned in the General Bibliography, we must mention the following: A. Gueldenpenning and I. Ifland, *Der Kaiser Theodosius der Grosse*, Halle, 1878; H. von Campenhausen, *Ambrosius von Mailand als Kirchenpolitiker*, Berlin and Leipzig, 1929 (2nd Part: *Kirche und Staat*, 383-397); J. R. Palanque, *Saint Ambroise et l'Empire romain, Contribution à l'histoire des rapports de l'Eglise et de l'Etat à la fin du IV^e siècle*, Paris, 1933. On the juridical problems which arose: Troplong, *De l'influence du christianisme sur le droit civil des Romains*, Paris, 1843; Schmidt, *Essai historique sur la société civile dans le monde romain et sur sa transformation par le christianisme*, Strassburg, 1853; W. K. Boyd, *The Ecclesiastical Edicts of the Theodosian Code*, New York, 1905; Knebler, *Die Einwirkung der älteren christlichen Kirche auf die Entwicklung des Rechts und die sozialen Begriffe*, in *Theologische Arbeiten aus dem rheinisch-wissenschaftlichen Predigerverein*, 1909, pp. 93-110; R. Génestal, *Les origines du privilège clérical*, in *Nouvelle Revue historique de droit*, Vol. XXXII, 1908, pp. 164-212; G. Baviera, *Concetto e limiti dell'influenza del cristianesimo sul diritto romano*, in *Mélanges Girard*, 1912, Vol. I, pp. 67-121; F. Martroye, *Saint Augustin et la compétence de la juridiction ecclésiastique au Ve siècle* (studies also the fourth century), in *Mémoires de la Société nationale des Antiquaires de France*, Vol. LXX, 1911; and *L'asile et la législation impériale du IV^e au VI^e siècle*, *ibid.*, Vol. LXXV, 1919; G. Lardé, *Le tribunal du clerc dans l'Empire romain et la Gaule franque*, Moulins, 1920. On paganism, see A. Beugnot, *Histoire de la destruction du paganisme en Occident*, 2 vols., Paris, 1835; V. Schultze, *Geschichte des Untergangs des griechisch-römischen Heidentums*, 2 vols., Jena 1887-1892; G. Boissier, *La fin du paganisme, Etude sur les dernières luttes religieuses en Occident au IV^e siècle*, 2 vols., Paris, 1891; G. E. A. Grindle, *The Destruction of Paganism in the Roman Empire from Constantine to Justinian*, Oxford, 1892; M. A. Huttman, *The Establishment of Christianity and the Proscription of Paganism*, New York, 1914; C. H. Moore, *The Pagan Reaction in the late Fourth Century*, in *Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association*, 1919, pp. 122-134; and above all J. Geffcken, *Der Ausgang des griechisch-römischen Heidentums*, Heidelberg, 1920. Cf. also F. Martroye, *La répression de la magie et le culte des Gentils au IV^e siècle*, in *Revue historique de droit*, 4th series, Vol. IX, 1930, pp. 669-701 (he minimises too much the bearing of the laws of the fourth-century emperors against paganism); J. Wytzes, *Der Streit um den Altar der Viktoria*, Amsterdam, 1936; L. Malunovicz, *De Ara Victoriae in curia romana quomodo certatum sit*, Vilna, 1937.

